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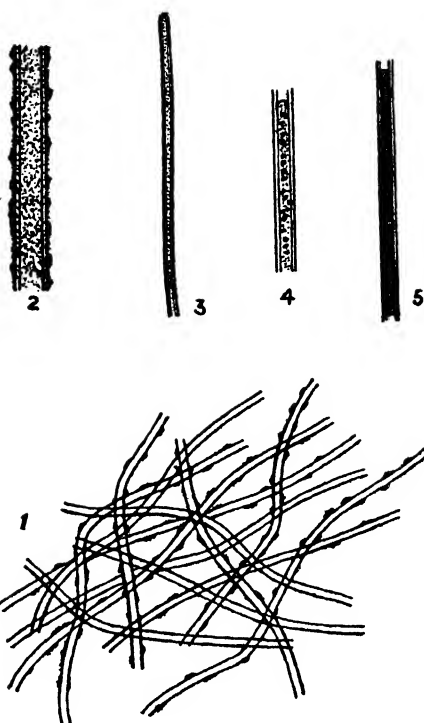
VOLUME VIII

1942

**Notes on the Occurrence of a Cosmopolitan Blue-green
Alga in the Hotsprings at Wairaki in the Thermal
Region of the North Island of New Zealand.**

By K. BISWAS.

The specimen of an alga, which forms the subject of my study, was collected in the middle of April, 1941, by Mrs. Joan Townend while on a visit to the North Island, New Zealand, where her husband Mr. H. P. V. Townend, C.I.E., I.C.S., was then spending his holidays. The alga was received after a period of five months in a dried state as several small patches stuck on to two separate slips of paper. The delay in the receipt of the material was due evidently to the present war condition. One of the specimens is pale yellowish green and the other blue-green. It is noteworthy that the dried specimen of the alga retained much of its original colour of the fresh specimens as found in nature. Mrs. Townend's field observation as noted in her letter to me illustrates clearly the habitat condition of the plant. Her note runs as follows:—'The little specimens of algae I got for you are from the hotsprings at Wairaki in the thermal region of the centre of the North Island of N.Z. The water in which this alga was growing was just cool enough to allow one to put one's hand into it. A little higher up the mountain side, it was boiling. The region is one of many geysers and vent holes with escapes of steam and many different minerals are contained in the various waters. The alga was growing both in pools which are constantly filled by geysers and down the slopes over which they overflow. The spot from which I took this was a series of terraces formed of silicate in the water flowing down from a geyser. A thin film of water constantly passes over the silicate surface which is of yellowish colour and quite hard.' The alga after it was kept in warm water for a quarter of an hour was quite suitable for microscopic examination. After about half an hour some of the portions of the filaments and the hormogones showed even signs of reviving from their desiccated state and exhibited different stages of the growth of the filaments. I am, therefore, able to identify the alga as *Phormidium ambiguum* Gomont, without much difficulty often experienced in tackling such dried, delicate materials of some of the members of the family of *Oscillatoriaceae* to which this alga belongs. When soaked in water the smooth, slimy, coherent blue-green thallus composed of agglutinated filaments indicates undoubtedly its generic characters of *Phormidium*.



EXPLANATION OF FIGURE.

Phormidium ambiguum Gonnont.

1. Portion of the plant mass showing the tortuous entangled nature of the filament. $\times 200$.
2. Portion of empty filament showing the nature of the sheath impregnated with Silicified particles. $\times 650$.
3. Portion of trichome with the round apex. $\times 500$.
4. Homogone. $\times 500$.
5. Portion of filament with trichome showing the nature of the cells. $\times 500$.

This species of *Phormidium* forms blue-green, dark or pale yellowish green spreading layer on the substrata. In the present case it was also found to form similar expanded layer on the terraces of silicate over which thin film of water from a geyser constantly flowed down. The plant masses, composed of densely entangled filaments covering portions of the pools, slopes and terraces over which the geysers overflow, lend, as Mrs. Townsend says, a definite bluish or yellowish green colour to an extensive area wherever they were noticed to grow. Filaments $4-6\mu$ in diameter, elongated, tortuous in various ways forming a network

over the substratum; sheath mucous, well defined, hyaline, firm, adherent, or sometimes diffuent and often coated with particles of silicon dioxide making filaments somewhat fragile; trichome 3-5 μ broad, long, pale yellowish green or blue-green, more or less constricted, apex rounded, without calyptra; crosswalls, which are not so distinct in the dried specimens, appeared sparsely granular; cells shorter than broad or as long as broad, 2 μ long, hormogones abundant, cell-contents granular, blue-green. The plant-mass, when kept in water for a week, did not renew its growth in the artificial condition. Treated with dilute HCl (5% aqueous solution) the silica particles become more refractive and the filaments, the trichomes and the cells lose their blue-green colour due to the destruction of the phycocyanin pigments in them; otherwise, they do not seem to be much affected. Gas vacuole (Pseudovacule) was observed by Lammarman in 1910, but no such vacuole is distinctly present in this form of the alga. Habitat—on stones in hot springs or in the warm water of the pools and slopes and on rocky terraces over which the water of the geysers flows down.

This is a cosmopolitan species which has been found to grow in hot and cold water, or fresh and brackish water of stagnant pools, running streams, or on wet soil, rocks or wood and other substrata. It is thus adapted to varying ecological conditions and it frequently forms, as in the region of hot springs of the North Island, New Zealand, more or less a pure association of its own.

This species has been reported from nearly all over the Central and Southern Europe, North America and Tropical Africa. It has also been noted to occur as far east as Ceylon by Ferguson, Maymyo and Burma by S. L. Ghose, and Thailand (Siam) by Volz. Gomont was the first to discover this alga and described it in his *Monographie Des Oscillariees*, p. 178, Tab. 5, fig. 10, 1892, and subsequently other algologists recorded the species in their works under various names, such as, *Amphithrix amoena* Kuetz.: Phyc. gen., p. 220; Sp. Alg. p. 274; Tab. Phyc. I, p. 45, t. 79, f. I; *Phormidium lyngbyaceum* Fres. in Rab. exs. n. 75; Rab. Fl. Eur. Alg. II, p. 124: non Kuetz.; *Phormidium papyrinum* de Bary in Rab. exs. n. 265! non Kuetz.; *Phorm. papyraceum* Rab. Fl. Eur. Alg. II, p. 125; *Chtonoblastus incrustans* Hilse in Rab. exs. n. 1956 p.p.; *Lyngbya Juliana* β *Paludinae* Wittr. in W. et N. exs. fasc. X, n. 492, Descript., p. 59; *Lyngbya Paludinae* Hansg. Prodr. II, p. 101; *Phormidium ambiguum* Gom., Setchell & Gardner, Algae of North-Western America, Univ. Calif. Pub. Bot. I, p. 185, 1903; *Detoni Sylloge Algarum*, Myxophyceae, pp. 240-241, 1907; Tilden Minnesota Algae, Vol. I, p. 103, Pl. V, fig. 5, 1910; Pascher, Sussw. Flora, Heft 12, Cyn. Geitler, p. 382, 383, fig. 482, 1925; P. Frey, 'Algues, provenant des récoltes de M. Henri Gadeau de Kerville dans le canton de Bagneres-de-Luchon (Haute-Garonne)' p. 156, fig. 137,

1930; Rab. Kryptogamen Flora, Bend XIV, Cyan. Geitler, p. 1015, fig. 647e, 1932.

This species is also recorded by Prain from 'Salt Lakes, Calcutta' under the specific name *Phormidium Lyngbyaceum* Kg. which is synonymous to *Phormidium ambiguum* Gom., in his Vegetation of the Districts of Hughli, Howrah and the 24-Parganas (*Records of the Botanical Survey of India*, Vol. III, No. 2, p. 333, 1905). The wide range of distribution of *Phormidium ambiguum* from Europe to Africa and Eastern Asia to America clearly shows that this species is likely to be discovered also from various other localities in India. Out of the 85 species of *Phormidium* hitherto known to science only 28 species have so far been recorded from India.

During the examination of this algal material a narrow, very rapidly moving emerald-green *Euglena* sp., about 15–20 μ long and 4 μ broad with its long hyaline flagella, was detected under the microscope but it could not be killed and studied in detail. It is very likely that this species of *Euglena* was in a dormant stage in the algal matrix and renewed its vital activities after the application of warm water. Nothing definite can, however, be said about it with such superficial examination of an isolated single specimen.


I am much indebted to Mrs. H. P. V. Townend for her kindly collecting for me this interesting algal specimen and bringing it all the way from New Zealand.

HERRARIUM,

Royal Botanic Garden,
Calcutta, Jany. 12, 1942.

Received 16-1-1942.

Published 30-11-1942.



Anatomical Studies on Indian Plant Galls—Part I.

By R. D. SAKSENA.

(Communicated by Dr. K. P. Biswas.)

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I. INTRODUCTION.

Galls are abnormal structures, either uni- or multi-cellular, on the roots, stems, buds, leaves or flowers of plants, arising as a result of the reaction of the plant to some kind of stimulus, produced by an external agent belonging to the Vermes, Arthropoda, Fungi and Bacteria. Gall formation on a plant often involves an abnormal growth and development or a retardation of the plant organ and with it is closely connected the nutrition of the gall-producing organism. While feeding on the plant body, the gall-producer stimulates the plant cells to increased activity and division and thus brings about an over-growth. Galls produced by different agents on different plants are characteristically different in structure not only externally but also anatomically.

Galls have been known from very early times to the Chinese and the Indians. They have been extensively studied in Europe and America by numerous workers like von Schlechtendal, Darboux, Kieffer, Rübsaamen, Trotter, Houard and others. The exhaustive works of Küster, Cosens and Ross are of special importance on account of their anatomical studies of galls.

Very little, however, has been done in India on plant galls. The early records of galls from India by Buckton (1889-1900), Kieffer (1905, 1908), Houard (1908) and others are often very incomplete. Later, Ramachandra Rao (1917, 1923) and Felt recorded a number of galls on grasses produced by gall midges. Ramakrishna (1924), Mani (1935) and Mathur (1935) recorded a

few plant galls produced by Psyllids. Numerous Indian galls were also included by Houard (1908) in his monographic work on the zooecidia of Africa, Asia and Oceania. Some Indian galls were also recorded by Doctres van Leeuwen (1926) in their book on the galls of Netherlands East Indies. In 1924, Sundar Raman summarized all the available information on the insect and mite galls described from India. All these records of Indian galls are very incomplete and no case include an account of the anatomical characters. The first worker in India to turn his attention to a study of the anatomy of plant galls was Mani (1934-1939), whose systematic studies on the morphology and biology of several Indian gall midges and midge galls may be said to have laid the foundation of this subject in India.

In the present paper, which is the first of a series of studies on the anatomy of Indian plant galls, an attempt is made to describe briefly the anatomy of some common galls produced by Acarina and Diptera. This paper may be taken as a supplement to Mani's studies (*op. cit.*). In future contributions it is proposed to deal with the anatomy of galls produced by other agencies.

This study was undertaken by me at the suggestion of Mr. M. S. Mani, Imperial Agricultural Research Institute, New Delhi, who donated the materials and all necessary literature and also guided me in the work. My thanks are due to Dr. R. K. Singh, Principal, Balwant Rajput College, Agra, for facilities for work, for constant encouragement and for other courtesies. I am also indebted to the authorities of the Imperial Agricultural Research Institute, New Delhi, for permission to use the Imperial Pusa Library.

II. MATERIAL AND METHODS.

The galls were collected during 1929-1933 in South India and Bengal by Mr. M. S. Mani and were fixed in formalin. Ross (1932) recommends the use of 50-70% alcohol as a fixative for plant galls meant for anatomical studies. Flemming's fluid consisting of 180 c.c. of 1% chromic acid, 25 c.c. of 2% osmic acid, 12 c.c. of acetic acid and 210 c.c. of distilled water may also be used. Best results were obtained with 20% solution of formalin. A more detailed account of the technique of preparing plant galls may be found in Schneider-Zimmermann (1922). The galls were then passed through graded alcohol, dehydrated in absolute alcohol, cleared in cedar wood oil and xylol and embedded in paraffin. Longitudinal and transverse sections were cut to an average thickness of 50-100 microns, stained in acid fuchsin or iron-alum haematoxylin and mounted in Canada balsam in the usual way. The photomicrographs were taken by Mr. M. S. Mani in 1936 and the line drawings were made by me with the help of camera lucida. Duplicates of the specimens of the galls dealt with in this paper are preserved in formalin in

the collections of the Zoological Survey of India, Indian Museum, Calcutta.

III. ACARINA GALLS.

The majority of the Acarina galls are produced by mites of the family Eriophyidae on different vascular plants and are divided by Küster (1911) into 'leaf margin curls', 'beutel gall or pouch galls' and organoid galls of different types. Zacher (1925) divides them into the histioide types of erinium, pouch galls, leaf rolls or fold, leaf deformations and into the organoid types of shape anomalies, branching anomalies, new growths and castrations. Besides the Eriophyidae, two other families of mites, viz., the Thrombididae and the Bdellidae also produce galls on plants.

Most of the mite galls are formed on leaves and flowers, though a few mites form galls on stems also. All mite galls have a more or less similar structure: they are usually pouch-like invaginations of the leaf, enclosing one or more cavities full of hairy outgrowths. The cavities always communicate with the outside by a minute hole, usually on the underside of the leaf. According to the external shape, mite galls on leaves are grouped into two classes: Ceratoneon and Cephaloneon galls. The anatomy of the cephaloneon type of pouch galls on leaf of *Pongamia glabra* Vent. is described below.

Pongamia glabra Vent.

Cephaloneon galls on leaves by *Eriophyes cheriani* Masec.¹

As characteristic with mite galls on leaves, the large cavity of the galls (Fig. 1) is clothed with dense covering of tufts of long, golden-brown, slender, tomentose hairs. The narrow opening underneath is more densely covered by hairs than the wall of the cavity.

Epidermis consists of cells relatively smaller than in normal leaf. Cuticle is a little thicker than on a healthy epidermis. The stomata are normally distributed. The epidermis of the underside of the leaf, which in the gall lies on the inside and forms the invaginated wall of the gall cavity, is completely degenerated, devoid of chlorophyll and stomata. The cells have grown out into long (Fig. 2) unicellular hairs, rising in tufts from fleshy papillar projections. Each hair is about twenty times as long as thick, pointed, and devoid of protoplasm. The hairs on the narrow neck and near the opening are pointed downwards.

¹ Masec, A. M. *Ann. Mag. Nat. Hist.*, (10), XI, p. 201.
Mani, M. S. *Rec. Indian Mus.*, XXXVI, p. 425, (1934).

The tissue of the gall is about twenty to thirty times thicker than a normal leaf. It is mainly composed of small, sub-

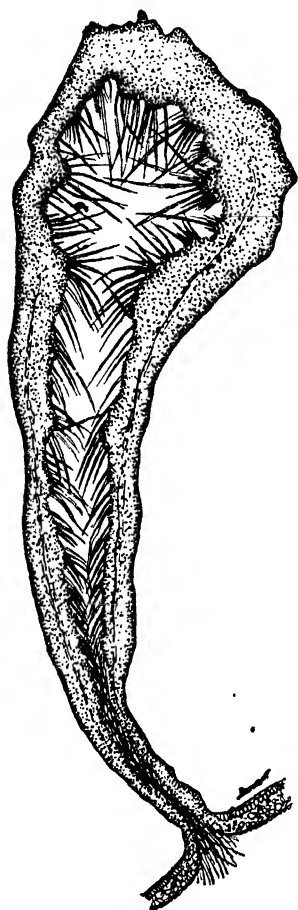


FIG. 1.—Longitudinal section of polypoid gall of *Pongamia glabra* Vent. (under low power).

globose, undifferentiated parenchyma cells, smaller immediately beneath the epidermis than elsewhere. The palisade and spongy parenchyma of a normal leaf are entirely absent in the gall tissue (Fig. 2) but the chloroplasts are more or less well distributed in the sub-epidermal layers of cells of the gall. Intercellular spaces are sparse in the middle tissue, while they are totally absent in the interior. The veins are completely degenerated and the vascular bundles composing them are scattered in the simple undifferentiated parenchyma of the gall tissue (Figs. 1 and 2) in an irregular manner. The number of vessels appear to be almost the same as in the normal part of a leaf. Tanniniferous cells are seen here and there in the parenchyma. The innermost layer of cells, just below the tomentose hairs, are actively proliferating cells. Very rarely dense tomentose outgrowths are formed from the epidermal cells of the gall on the outside. The normal leaves are not hairy and the development of hairy outgrowths in the gall is an instance of new tissue formation.

IV. DIPTERA GALLS.

Among the Diptera only one family, Itonididae, is of importance as gall-producer. This family has extensively been studied in India by M. S. Mani (*op. cit.*). Most of the galls by Diptera are formed on parts of plant above ground; a few species produce galls on the roots of Phanerogams. The galls are of different types, viz. beutel galls (pouch galls), leaf margin galls, leaf curls, globose or fusiform swellings of stem, branch, leaf, or fruit. Most of the galls are of the histioid type, although a few organoid type of Diptera galls are also known. Other Diptera which produce galls on plants are *Anthomyia*, *Chlorops*, *Liparia* and *Agromyza*. In this

paper are dealt with the midge galls on stems, buds, leaves and flowers.

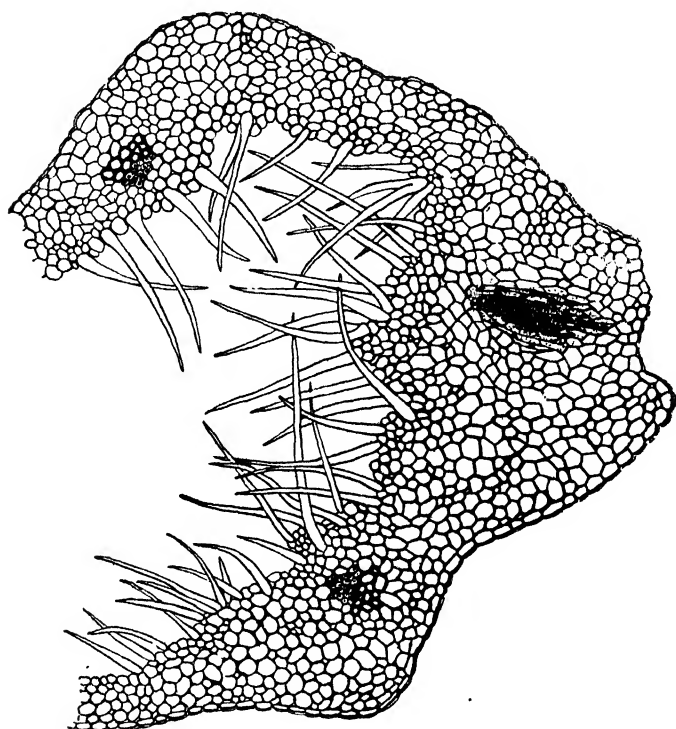


FIG. 2.—Transverse section of polypoid leaf gall of *Pongamia glabra* Vent. (under low power).

STEM GALLS.

Family—*Cucurbitaceae*.

Momordica charantia Linn.

Organoid galls on stem by *Lasioptera falcata* Felt.¹

Ramakrishna² has figured the galls and the adult midges, but no description of the gall has so far been published. Organoid, hypertrophy; regular, oval, fusiform, often extensive tumescence of the vines, specially the tender ones; green or yellowish-green, densely villous, often longitudinally ribbed and

¹ Mani, M. S. *Rec. Indian Mus.*, XXXVI, p. 394, (1934).

² Ramakrishna, T. V. *Rep. Proc. Third Ent. Meet.*, I, p. 324, pl. xviii, figs. a, b, (1920).

sulcate; sometimes contorted and branched. Leaves often stunted and tendrils reduced. Solid and fleshy. Larval tunnels longitudinal, two or three in number. Size usually 2 cm. in maximum diameter and 4.5-6 cm. long. Sometimes a whole internode is converted into a gall but very often three-fourth of an internode is swollen.

Figure 3 shows a transverse section of the gall in the middle. Epidermis normal, epidermal covering of long hairs also normal. Parenchyma of the cortex with relatively larger cells. Chloroplasts distributed in the subepidermal layers of cells. Distribution of vascular bundles almost as in normal stem, except that the medullary rays are broader and as a whole the bundles lie

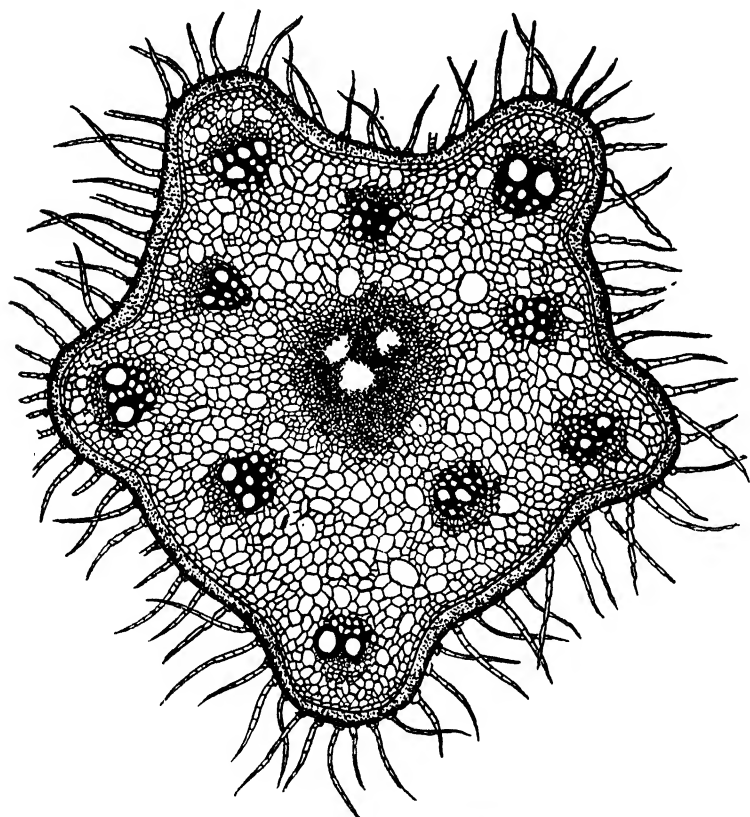


FIG. 3.—Transverse section of shoot gall of *Momordica charantia* Linn. (Redrawn from a photomicrograph by Mani, under low power.)

closer to the epidermis than to the medulla. In the centre of the parenchymatous mass, surrounding the narrow larval tunnel,

is a mass of small, closely-packed proliferating cells. The seat of cell proliferation thus lies in the medulla of the stem.

The anatomical structure of this gall differs from the similar stem galls of *Coccinia indica* (produced by *Neolasioptera cephalandrae*) (vide infra) in the absence of the cystiferous thickening of the larval tunnel, in the scattering of the vascular bundles being less complete and in the cell proliferation being confined to the medulla only.

***Melothria maderaspatana* Cogn.**

Shoot gall by *Lasioptera* sp.

Mani¹ described a shoot gall on this species under the name *Mukia scabrella* Arn.

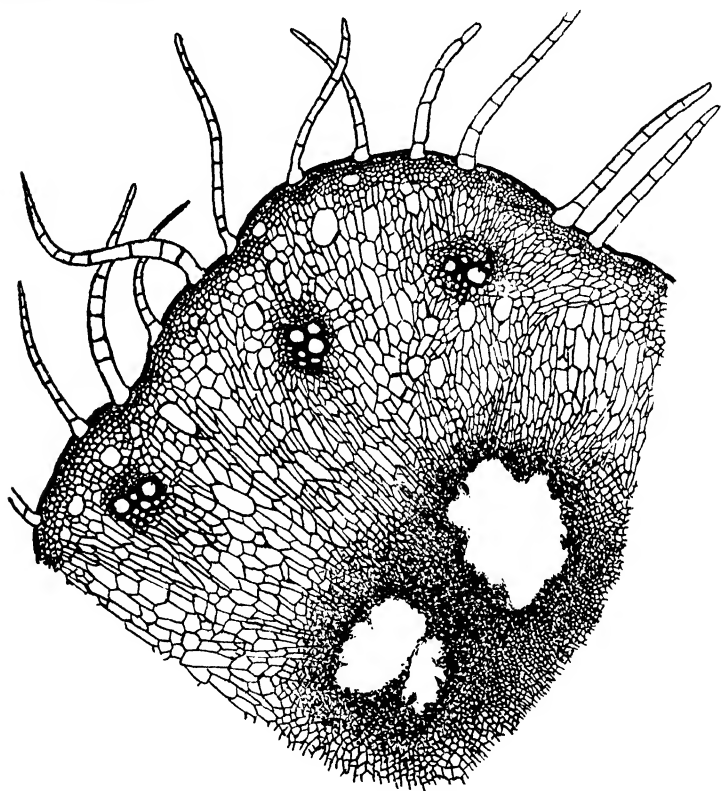


FIG. 4.—Part of transverse section of shoot gall of *Melothria maderaspatana* Cogn. (Redrawn from a photomicrograph by Mani, under low power.)

¹ Mani, M. S. *Rec. Indian Mus.*, XXXVII, p. 450, (1935).

Figure 4 shows a part of the transverse section of the gall under low power of the microscope. Epidermis is normal. Vascular bundles are relatively more irregularly scattered than in the gall of *Momordica charantia*; epidermal cells more abundant than in a normal part of the stem. Cortical tissue comparatively less than medulla, which is the seat of cell proliferation. Parenchyma cells large, regular and hexagonal in shape near the epidermal side but smaller in the interior, gradually merging into the layer of proliferating cells in the very middle. The seat of cell proliferation is the medulla.

Coccinia indica W. & A.

Shoot galls by *Neolasioptera cephalandrae* Mani.¹

This gall was first described by Mani from South India and has since been recorded by him practically from all over India. The galls are fusiform, oval, local or extensive moniliform swellings of the vines. A transverse section through the middle of the gall shows the highly characteristic larval cyst, surrounded by a layer of closely packed small cells with thick walls, with the parenchyma outside. The thickening of the cell walls surrounding the larval cavity has been described by Mani² as cyst-formation. Outside the cyst is an irregular layer of proliferating cells.

The epidermis is quite normal, though most of the epidermal cells are somewhat smaller than in the normal stem. The sub-epidermal cells contain much less chloroplasts than in healthy stems. An extensive parenchyma consists of smaller or larger hexagonal cells. (Plate II, fig. 2.) The vascular elements occur irregularly in the parenchyma. A large vascular bundle is visible in the figure at one end of the larval cyst. There is no differentiation between cortex and medulla.

BUD GALLS.

Bud galls are produced by mites, thrips, coccids and sometimes by midges. In most cases bud galls are of the organoid type and consist of a simple hypertrophy of the component parts. In some cases, however, especially those produced by gall midges, they are histioid and involve very considerable anatomical modifications of the leaves, and sometimes even of the growing axis of the bud. The leaf bud gall of *Crataeva religiosa* Forst., may be taken as typical of a bud gall produced by a gall midge.

¹ Mani, M. S. *Rec. Indian Mus.*, XXXVI, p. 397, fig. 9, (1934); *ibid.*, XXXVIII, p. 193, (1936); *ibid.*, XL, p. 331, (1938).

² Mani, M. S. *Curr. Sci.*, II, p. 18, (1933).

Family—*Cupparidaceae*.

***Crataeva religiosa* Forst.**

Bud gall by *Cecidomyiella crataevae* Mani.¹

The galls are irregular, sub-pyriform, fleshy, lobed swellings of the leaflets of an entire bud. The whole mass of the gall is composed of undifferentiated parenchyma cells of small size. In plate I, figs. 1 and 2 are shown respectively longitudinal and transverse sections of a part of the fleshy lobe of the gall. The mid-rib is seen to be normal, while the laminar portion of the leaflet on either sides of it have become completely converted into the undifferentiated parenchyma of the gall. The epidermis has practically disappeared. The text-figure 5 shows a part of the fleshy lobe of the gall, with some portion of the normal

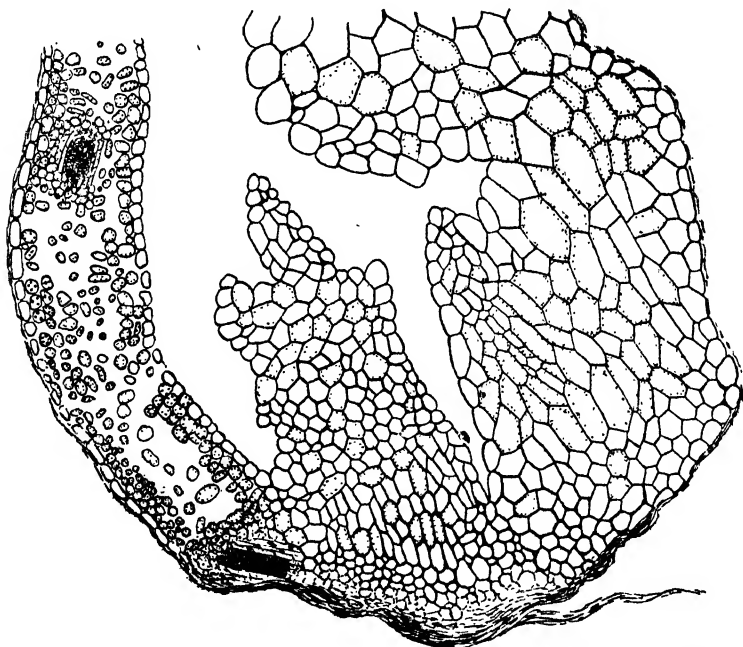


FIG. 5.—Transverse section through a part of the fleshy bud gall of *Crataeva religiosa* Forst. (under low power).

lamina still on one side. The sharp contrast between the differentiated parenchyma in the normal lamina and the large

¹ Mani, M. S. *Rec. Indian Mus.*, XXXVI, p. 428, (1934).

cells in the undifferentiated parenchyma of the fleshy mass of the gall is very prominent. The apical part of a lobe of the gall consists of smaller cells than the interior, owing to the fact that cells in this region are actively proliferating. This is shown under higher magnification in text-figure 6. The vascular elements are normal but deeply embedded and scattered. Only

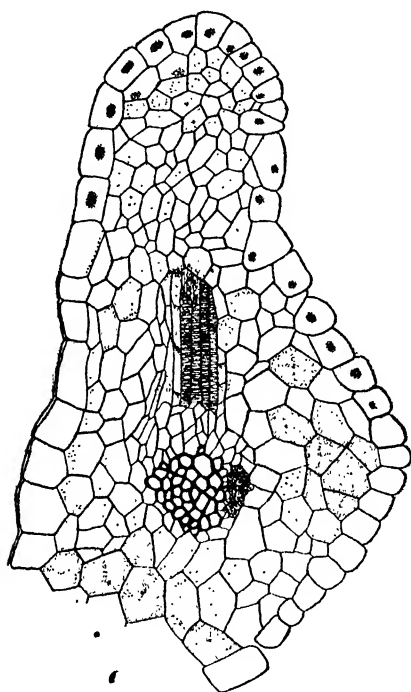


FIG. 6.—Longitudinal section of a fleshy lobe of bud gall of *Crataeva religiosa* Forst. near tip (under low power).

a few layers of cells immediately below the surface of the gall contain chlorophyll. The centres of cell proliferation lie in the mesophyll of the leaflets and cortex of the terminal axis of the bud.

LEAF GALLS.

Most of the galls on petioles and leaf blades produced by Diptera are solid structures, usually of the histioid type. Some pouch galls are also formed on leaf blades by midges.

Family—*Anacardiaceae*.

***Odina wodier* Roxb.**

Galls on petioles and leaf veins by *Odinadiplosis odinae* Mani.¹

Epidermis is normal but in many places covered by scaly layers of cuticle. The subepidermal cells are somewhat oblong and small, while in the interior the cells are more rounded and

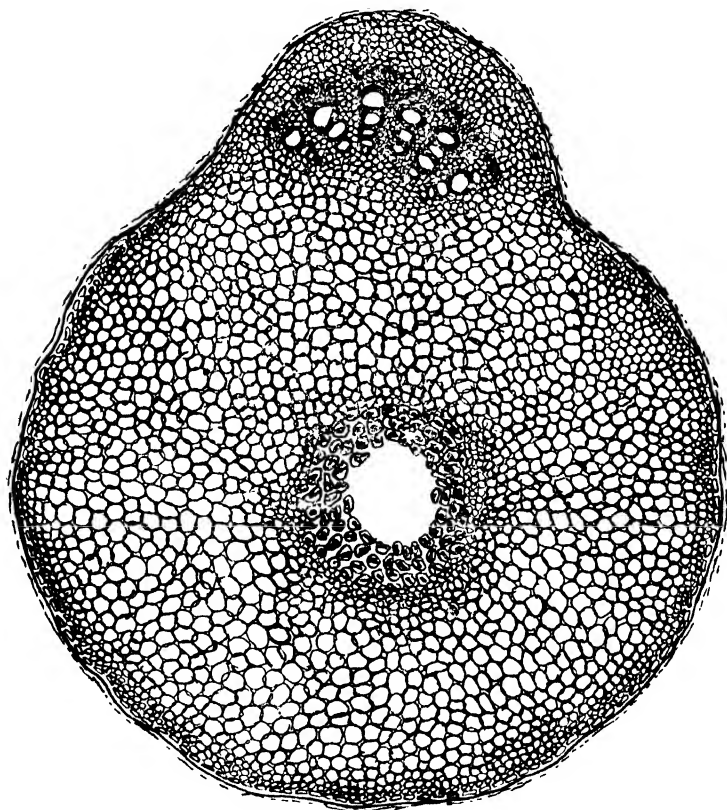


FIG. 7.—Transverse section through a 'Rindengall' of petiole of *Odina wodier* Roxb. (Redrawn from a manuscript figure by Mani (under low power).)

larger. The parenchyma is otherwise undifferentiated. Larval tunnel is surrounded by a cyst of thick-walled cells outside of

¹ Mani, M. S. *Rec. Indian Mus.*, XXXVII, pp. 435-439, (1935).

which is a layer of proliferating cells. When the gall forms as an outgrowth on the petiole, the seat of cell proliferation lies in the cortex and the vascular bundles of the petiole remain normal (Fig. 7). This type of gall is usually called 'Rindengall' (Ross, 1932).

Family—*Leguminosae*.

***Pongamia glabra* Vent.**

Leaf vein gall by *Myricomyia pongamiae* Mani.¹

The galls are irregular and extensive tumescence of the veins of the leaf. A transverse section (Plate I, Fig. 3, under high power) of the gall characteristically resembles a transverse section of a monocotyledonous stem, with the vascular bundles open, isolated and scattered among the undifferentiated mass of small, regular, hexagonal parenchyma cells. The epidermis is normal but without the usual thick cuticle. Chloroplasts are entirely absent in the gall tissue.

Family—*Convolvulaceae*.

***Rivea hypocrateriformis* Choisy.**

Spongy leaf gall by *Asphondylia riveae* Mani.²

The galls are large, globose or egg-shaped solid spongy swellings of the leaf blades, arising as a result of extensive cell proliferation of the entire tissue of the leaf on either sides of the mid-rib. The leaves are folded along the mid-rib while in the bud and the eggs are laid by the adult midge between the folds. The larvae on hatching start feeding on the cell contents and set up cell proliferation, as a result of which the two halves of the blade fuse together and swell up very much. The fusion thus naturally takes place on folded side, i.e. along the upper side of the normal leaf, so that the outer surface of the gall is in reality the under side of the blade. Cell proliferation does not always extend to the entire mass of a lamina but often portions are left normal on the gall. Transverse sections through this region clearly shows the characteristic gradual degeneration of the palisade cells into the undifferentiated spongy parenchyma of the gall (Text-figure 8, Plate II, Fig. 4). Plate II, figure 1, shows a part of the transverse section of the gall near the mid-rib.

¹ Mani, M. S. *Rec. Indian Mus.*, XXXVI, pp. 420-422, fig. 18, (1934).

² Mani, M. S. *Rec. Indian Mus.*, XXXVI, pp. 411-412, (1934).

The bulk of the gall tissue is made of large spongy parenchyma like cells with considerable air-spaces between.



FIG. 8.—Transverse section through a part of the spongy leaf gall of *River hypocrateriformis* Choisy, with a part of the normal leaf blade on the right, showing the gradual disappearance of palisade (under low power).

The epidermis is quite normal, but the fine silky hairs common on the under side of a normal leaf are completely absent. The subepidermal layers of cells contain some chloroplasts but the rest of the cells are wholly devoid of the green colouring matter. Deep in the interior surrounding the irregular, oval larval

chambers are smaller, closely-packed proliferating cells. A true cyst is not found in this gall. The veins of the leaf have become degenerated and the vascular bundles composing them are irregularly scattered in the spongy mass of the gall.

A careful study of the text-figure shows that at the seat of gall formation the palisade cells gradually become smaller and smaller, the spongy cells more numerous and larger until finally in the gall there is no differentiation of tissues.

In his brief account of the morphology of this gall, Mani (*loc. cit.*) described the subepidermal layers of the spongy parenchyma of the gall as becoming elongated and taking on the function of the true palisade cells, which have degenerated in the interior of the gall. My studies have not borne out his view. Although the subepidermal cells in the gall contain some chlorophyll and are thus capable of functioning as assimilating tissues, no trace of elongation of the cells is visible anywhere.

Family—*Leguminosae*.

Acacia leucophloea Willd.

Tomentose leaf gall by *Schizomyia acaciae* Mani.¹

The adult midge lays eggs in between two-folded leaflets and the larvae on hatching start feeding on the cells nearby. This sets up extensive cell proliferation and the two leaflets fuse together into an oval gall, with narrow part of the blade still left normal, especially at the tip. A dense tomentum of brown, unicellular hairs grows on the surface of the gall.

The bulk of the gall tissue (Figs. 9a, 9b) is made of regular, hexagonal, undifferentiated parenchyma cells, full of chlorophyll and tannin. The epidermis is very characteristic and is shown very highly magnified in Fig. 9c. The cuticle is thick, epidermal cells are small and project outwards as shown in the figure. There are no hairs on the normal leaflets, except for a little fine pubescence on tender ones. The appearance of the tomentum on the surface of the gall is formation of tissues (Cosens, 1912). The palisade and spongy parenchymae have become completely degenerated in the gall. In the centre of the mass is a large oval larval cavity, surrounded by a moderately thick layer of small, very closely packed proliferating cells, without the green colouring matter and thus very conspicuous in a section. All the veins are degenerated and the vascular bundles composing them are scattered in the form of a broken ring in the gall tissue.

¹ Mani, M. S. *Rec. Indian Mus.*, XXXVI, p. 406, pl. vii, fig. 1, (1934).

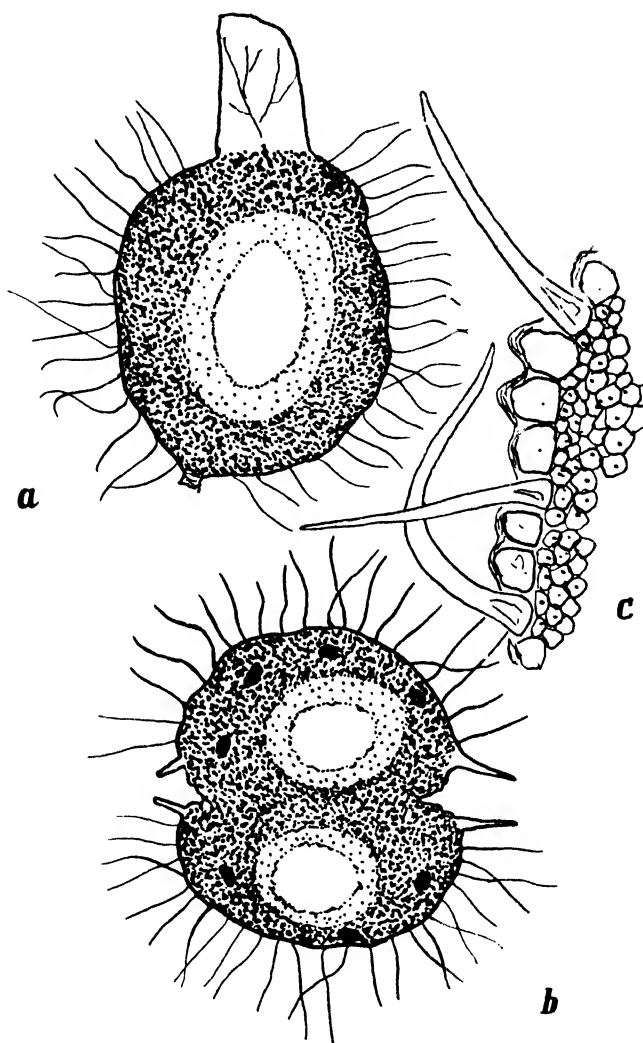


FIG. 9.—Tomentose gall on leaflets of *Acacia leucophloea* Willd. (a) longitudinal section; (b) transverse section (under a hand lens); (c) epidermis and hairs (under high power). (Redrawn from a photomicrograph by Mani.)

FLOWER GALLS.

The simplest type of flower gall consists in the suppression of the essential organs of a flower or in the entire flower. Very

often one or more of the floral envelopes become converted into green and leaf-like structures. Such a type of gall is usually called 'phyllomany'. When the growing points in the floral axis persists and all the floral envelopes turn into green leaf-like organs, even producing branches from their axils, the original floral nature of the growth cannot be recognized. This type of development is called 'Wirrzöpfe'. When this developmental degeneration involves even the essential organs of the flower, the resulting gall is called 'chloranthy'. In many cases galls are formed on the peduncle or pedicel. The bulk of the flower galls produced by midges are however of the histioid type and bring about extensive cell proliferation of one or more of the floral parts with swellings and complete loss of the characteristic features of the organs. The flower gall of *Ipomoea sepiaria* is very characteristic in that the entire flower bud becomes a large, globose, swollen mass, in which no trace of any of the floral parts can be seen.

Natural order Convolvulaceae.

***Ipomoea sepiaria* Koen.**

This gall is produced by an unknown species of gall midge and was recorded by Mani from South India. The following is a full description of the gall: Histioid, subglobose, irregular, solid, fleshy, lobed and tubercular, pale yellow or brown swellings of the entire flower bud, about 15-25 mm. in diameter. The calyx is hypertrophied. The other parts of the flower are completely degenerated into a huge mass.

Plate II, Figs. 3 and 4 show respectively transverse sections of normal flower bud near the tip and a part of a gall. There is no true epidermis. The tissue consists entirely of small undifferentiated parenchyma cells. There are two larval cavities visible in the section and surrounding them is a layer of small proliferating cells. The vascular elements are scattered. Cell proliferation takes place in tissue of the petals, stamens and ovaries. The cells of the galls are somewhat larger than in the normal floral parts.

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FIG. 1.—Longitudinal section of fleshy gall of *Crataeva religiosa* Forst., showing a part of the fleshy lobes and a vein (under low power).



FIG. 3.—Transverse section of *Pongamia glabra* Vent., showing the vascular bundles scattered irregularly in the undifferentiated parenchyma as in a monocotyledonous stem (under low power).



FIG. 2.—Transverse section of the same, showing mid-rib and the fleshy lobes of undifferentiated parenchyma (under low power).

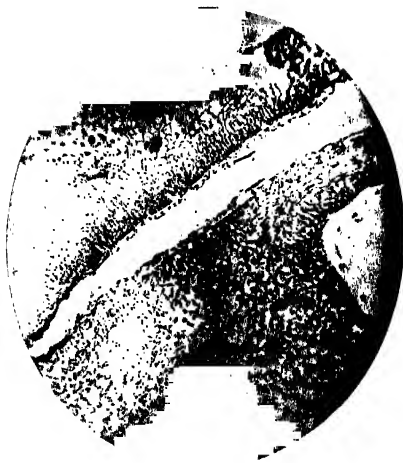


FIG. 4.—Transverse section of spongy leaf gall of *Rivea hypocrateriformis* Choisy, showing the gradual disappearance of palisade and general structure of the spongy mass of gall (under low power).



FIG. 1.—Transverse section of spongy leaf gall of *Rivea hypocrateriformis* Choisy on the lower side, showing the mid-rib and a part of the parenchyma of the gall (under low power).



FIG. 2. Transverse section of a part of solid shoot gall of *Coccinia indica* Cogn., showing larval cyst, scattered vascular bundles, proliferating cells and large parenchyma cells (under low power).



FIG. 3.—Transverse section of flower bud (at tip) of *Ipomoea sipiaria* Koen. (under low power).

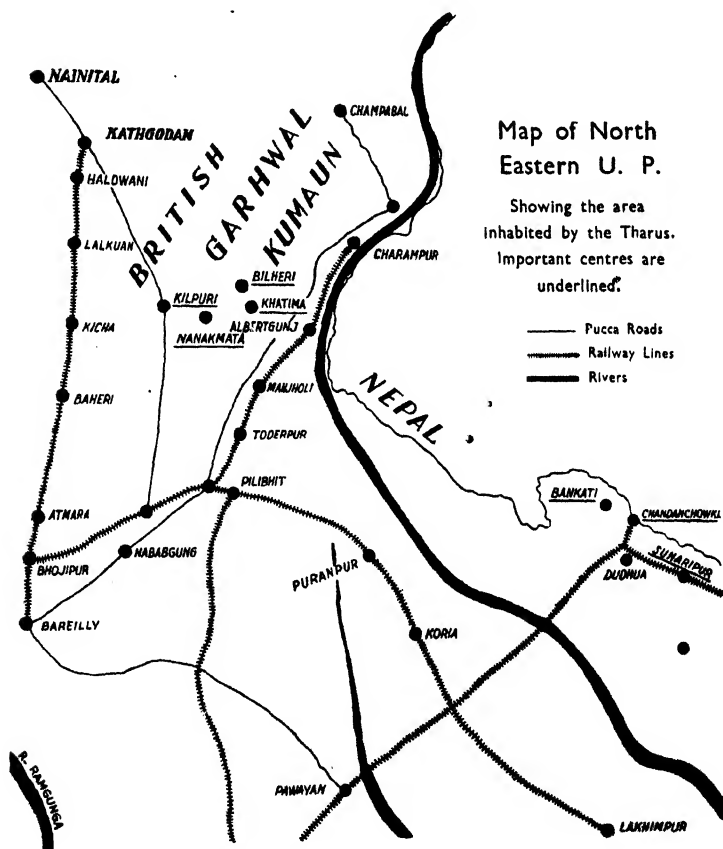


FIG. 4.—Transverse section through a part of the fleshy flower gall of *Ipomoea sipiaria* Koen., showing the irregular fleshy lobes, two larval cysts surrounded by proliferating cells and the undifferentiated parenchyma (under low power).

The Tharus and their Blood Groups.

By D. N. MAJUMDAR.

The Tarai extends across the length of the Himalayas fringing the densely populated plains in the south. It is a low land of morasses and fens mostly covered with thick forests where wild beasts and jungle fever abound to make the country unsafe for settlement. Here dwell the Tharus and Bhoksas, two primitive tribes, who have either migrated for safety or have



been living in their secure asylum for centuries. The Tharus and Bhoksas are most interesting to ethnologists as both have maintained many of their primitive customs and traits in spite of their recent contacts with advanced social groups. The Bhoksas are found dovetailed between the Tharus in the Tarai and Bhabar from the Nainital-Pilibhit district border extending westwards across the north of Bijour district and the south of Garhwal to the Ganges. The total Tharu population as recorded in the 1931 census is 77,021, of which 40,288 are males and 36,733 females (1931 Census, Vol. I, pt. II, p. 523). The distribution of the Tharus province-wise is as follows: Bengal 482, Bihar and Orissa 37,338 and U.P. 39,201. In the Nainital district of the U.P., there are 30,753 Tharus and 6,600 Bhoksas. The Nainital Tharus are found in the following places: Bilhari, Nanakmata, Kilpuri and Tanakpur, but the majority are found in the Khatima Tehsil, which includes the whole of Bilhari Perganah, a part of the old Nanakmata, a part of Kilpuri and Tanakpur. In the Kheri district in U.P., the Tharus inhabit the northern areas bordering Nepal, from Bilraian to Bankati and even beyond. They are found on either side of the river Sarda, in British India and Nepal.

There is little doubt that the Tharus and the Bhoksas belong to the same ethnic stock and it is perhaps true that both of these groups had come to the Tarai at the same time. The little difference in their culture should be attributed to the process of tribal transformation which must have taken place in their present habitat. It is possible that one group joined the ranks of Hinduism earlier than the other. The stories about their origin, the traditions the people still remember, do not give any clue to their affiliation or difference. The Bhoksas say that they came from Dakshin or the south; some among them believe that they have come from Delhi, others that they were Panwar Rajputs and under Udayjit came to live at Bonbassa on the Sarda. Udayjit rendered valuable services to the Raja of Kumaon who gave them shelter. We shall discuss this aspect of their prehistory in another connection.

Culturally the Bhoksas are more advanced than the Tharus; they engage Brahmins to officiate in their marriages, and put on sacred thread like caste people. The Tharus allow divorce and remarriage of widows, the Bhoksas look down upon such practices. The Tharus are a devil-ridden people, have oaths and ordeals in plenty and much of their disputes are settled through them, while the Bhoksas have lost their faith in such expedients. Witchcraft is a special characteristic of the Tharus and so great is the belief in their magical powers that the other people who come to trade with them dare not come too near their villages. The Bhoksas do believe in magic and witchcraft but they do not practise these arts, but leave them to the Tharus who are consulted in times of crises.

DOMINANCE OF WOMEN IN THARU SOCIETY.

The Tharu women have a dominant position in the society. They form 90 p.c. of the crowd in markets and fairs. The women move about freely, and even smoke and drink in the bazar. Fishing is a feminine occupation and outdoor activity such as marketing produce, buying and selling, and business negotiations are also done by women. The acknowledged superiority of women among the Tharus has been the subject of much speculation and widely divergent views are held by scholars who have written on them. The Tharu women do not allow their husbands to touch food or enter the kitchen. They do not allow the men to touch the water pots wherein water for drinking is stored. The women are expert painters and decorators; they paint pictures and scenes depicting fights and warriors on horseback. The women fish and hunt; the men carry traps and receptacles. In the Census Report of the U.P. (1931) further peculiarities of Tharu women are recorded. While the caste women proceed to the fields, very early in the morning, have a meal at mid-day and work till the evening, the Tharu women go to their fields after a good meal corresponding to English breakfast. At mid-day they eat some grain and then return home in time to prepare the evening meal for their men-folk. They thus work two to three hours less than women of other tribes and castes. Again, Tharu women unlike other women do not carry paddy seedlings to the fields where they have to be transplanted; the seedlings have to be carried by men. Other women carry them on their head thus saving the expense of a labourer or two. Local landlords did their utmost to change these conditions but rather than change their mode of life the Tharus chose to leave the fields altogether. The result was an emigration of the Tharus to Nepal and adjacent parts where they live by agriculture or by engaging themselves as labourers.

The tribal code definitely lays down the share of each sex in the property and belongings of the tribe. Women are the sole proprietors of domestic pets, poultry, cattle and the produce of the kitchen garden. They can dispose of these in any way they like and can use the income for their own personal needs. On one occasion a Tharu was tempted to sell a cock to my peon who was collecting provisions for me in the Tanakpur area. The Tharu brought the bird covered all the way to deliver it to my cook personally and realized the price for it. It was not the usual price he charged; he most certainly included consideration for his labour and the mental worry involved in appropriating other people's property, as I came to know later on. In the evening all the neighbouring villages were invited by me to my tent for a demonstration of Tharu dance and music. The wife who owned the cock was also an expected

visitor. When the villagers started for my camp the man who had sold the cock to my peon ran up to my camp before the others arrived and demanded back his cock. My cook did not realize the implications of this demand and began to howl at the man, threatening him with dire consequences should he persist in his efforts to recover the bird. Fortunately, the cock was not meant for dinner that night and this lease of life saved the Tharu from abject exposure before the villagers. I was attracted by the '*golmal*' and enquired from the Tharu what his grievance was. He narrated the story of his discomfiture; how he has sinned against his wife and how he wanted to make amends for it. I ordered the release of the bird and the return of the '*prodigal ward*' at once beamed up his frightened face and a glow was seen in his small covered eyes. What would have been a very delicate situation was remedied and a domestic quarrel which might have broken the ties of their marital life was averted.

While the women have their belongings, the men have their bird traps, ploughs, oil presses, the rewards of their manual labour and the produce of their fields. Even if they own these, they are not free to dispose of them as they please, for they need to consult their wives whose advice they seldom dare ignore. Ill-treatment of husbands by wives is frequent in the Tharu country and very often the aggrieved husband has to approach the Bharara (tribal priest) and through him offer prayers and sacrifices to their gods and goddesses for redress of his sufferings. The women are often seen as hard task masters and their direction of the activities of their menfolk is not always above reproach. But men have accustomed themselves to the ways of their women, and have adapted themselves to the condition of life, and the jealousies and suspicions their women excite in them find expression in their belief in magic and witchcraft and in the various protective devices, charms and amulets, which aim at securing for them a decent livelihood and domestic bliss, a rare privilege of Tharu family life.

The dominance of women in the Tharu country is explained by the tradition that the Tharus are offsprings of mixed marriages between Rajput women and their servants, '*Saises*' and '*Chamars*' with whom the former fled to the jungles to escape the invading armies who killed their king and his men, their husbands and relations. The tradition is supported by the Tharus on the ground that the Tharu women have better physical features than men and they have consistently upheld the ban on the liberties of their menfolk, in spite of contacts with outsiders and the gradual progress they have made in their cultural life. It is true the Rajputs are taken as the progenitors of most of the Hinduized sections of the primitive substratum of population in India. Risley has described the various processes of tribal transformation and has shown how in all these processes the historical element has been supplied by the Rajput families of

Northern India who were believed to wander about and take shelter in inaccessible and even inhospitable regions to escape the lot of serfs and slaves in their native land, as the Mahomedans began to reduce one after another the independent Rajput principalities of Northern and Central India.

Writing about the physiognomy of the Tharu tribe, Nesfield said that the tribe had acquired a slightly Mongolian caste which showed itself chiefly, but not to a striking degree, in slanting eyes and high cheek bones. This he traced to intermarriages which have taken place within the last two or three centuries. But the description he gives of the average Tharu does not seem to be correct. He writes, 'They (the Tharu) have long wavy hair, a dark, almost a black complexion and as much hair on their face and body as is usual with other natives of India. In stature, build and gait they are distinctly Indian and not Mongolian: nor have they any traditions which connect their origin with Nepal.' Risley recorded evidence of Mongoloid traits among the Tharus and Knowles found the 'mongolian style of feature', predominant among them. According to Crooke, 'the most probable explanation based on the available evidence seems to be that the Tharus are originally a Dravidian race who by alliance with Nepalese and other hill races have acquired some degree of Mongolian physiognomy'. That the Tharus have Mongolian features there is hardly any doubt. Their eyes are oblique, their complexion yellow or yellow-brown, hair on the body and face very scanty and straight, their nose thin and of medium size, while other features affiliate them more with the Nepalese than with any australoid or pre-Dravidian tribe or caste. I should think that the Tharus are really a mongoloid people who have assimilated non-mongoloid features—but how much of these are made up of the australoid or pre-Dravidian element and how much by the Rajput type requires further investigation.

Although the Tharu women possess a number of privileges which are usually denied to women of other tribes and castes, and they are more handsome than men, the suggestion of a Rajput strain among the Tharus is not easy to prove. In a few cases we have found regular features, horizontal eyes, high forehead, tall stature and sallow white complexion, but these could be traced to mixed marriages whose memory has not died down in the villages. The cultural life of the Tharus does not suggest any super-imposition of a higher culture on their indigenous pattern of life and living and those traits that appear alien are the result of contacts with foreign elements in the local population. Besides, in cases of mixture between a higher and an inferior race, a sort of hypergamy is practised, and an endogamy develops after a *Jus Connubii* is effected. For a time only hypergamous marriages are allowed till the barriers become rigid enough to bar any further inter-mixture. That may have

been the cause of the origin of a large number of endogamous groups in India; it is also the case in other countries where such mixture has taken place. The frequent marital raids of the Tharus to Nepal from where they secure their supply of women do not support the contention of the comparative purity of race among the Tharus nor do the Tharu women prefer marriages with caste people among whom they live.

The other plausible explanation of the dominance of women among the Tharus may be the natural aversion of men to do any work as is found generally among some mongoloid tribal stock. The mongolian is often found to be sluggish, weak, irresponsible and unwilling worker and in many areas they live on the labours of their wives. This may have pushed the Tharu men into the background while the women have assumed greater and greater responsibility in domestic life, till to-day they wield considerable influence over their menfolk. But even this explanation, I think, is not enough, for responsibility in domestic life may not result in undue importance of the womenfolk. The Tharus unlike other mongoloid tribes are a strong people. Their physical powers and habitual attitudes exhibit their capacity for sustained work, untiring endurance and strenuous efforts. The women appear to be rather delicate in constitution yet they are very brave and help their menfolk in the chase, which is still an important occupation with them. The Tharus are excellent cultivators and will 'till about four times as much land as a plainsman in the same neighbourhood'. The dominance of women, their rights to property, their maltreatment of their husbands, their active rôle in fishing and the chase and also in business negotiations, their liberty in choosing their partners and annulling marriages, all reproduce the conditions of a matriarchal society, and it is desirable to investigate how far the Tharus have in them foreign racial traits which has been seized by zealous social reformers as the explanation of their culture pattern or how the Tharu culture of to-day exhibits survivals of a matriarchal stage. This highly interesting aspect of Tharu culture tempted me to study their racial traits and anthropometric measurements, and blood groups were taken from various Tharu centres. The anthropometric data are being analysed by Prof. P. C. Mahalanobis at the Statistical Laboratory, Calcutta, the results of which will form the subject of a report to be published by the Government of India, Census Operations, 1941. The blood groups data can be discussed without prejudice to the work in progress.

THE INCIDENCE OF MALARIA AMONG THE THARUS.

Another reason that prompts me to discuss the blood groups of the Tharus is their comparative immunity from malarial fever. The Tharus, living as they do in a malarious and

unhealthy country, have been popularly known as immune from malarial infection. As early as 1904, Mr. H. R. Nevill mentioned this fact in the district Gazetteer of Nainital. 'From habituation', so he writes, 'and from a long course of natural selection, the Tharu has become almost immune from the deadly malarial fever of the Tarai. It is not true, as is usually asserted, that the Tharu never suffers from fever, but it is an undoubted fact that he is able to live and flourish in a climate which is generally fatal to emigrants from other districts.' But the Tharus suffer from an eye disease called trachoma which is found in an epidemic form. Boys and girls otherwise handsome and healthy most have their eyes affected with trachoma and often the pupil is seen dilated and even bulges out which add to the volume of the eye folds. The Tharus were also the subject of a report about 30 years ago and their immunity more or less was recognized by the Public Health Department.

How far malaria is selective would be an interesting enquiry. Some correlation between malaria and blood groups was observed by Russian scientists. The Tarai, as we have already mentioned above, is notorious for the incidence of malaria and yet there are people who live and thrive in the unhealthy and inhospitable climate of the Tarai. People who are not habituated to the climate suffer from malaria and in some parts like Chandan Chowki, Dudhwa, Bonbasa and Tanakpur, the incidence of malaria is very high. In Bonbassa where the head works of the Sarda Canal lie, the incidence of malaria among the labour population is so high that the authorities had to devise methods to protect the labourers from malarial infection. Not only was a regular dose of quinine systematically given to the people, but a big house with wire gauze fencing was constructed and as soon as the labourers finished their daily routine duties, they were made to enter the house and remain there till next morning when they would again be harnessed to their respective duties. Those that chafed at this preventive measure were forcibly put into the shed and locked inside, an arrangement, however cruel it might look was necessary in the interest of the work and also of the workers concerned.

Malaria is one big single cause of depopulation in many parts and of loss of vitality in the population, but in the Tarai among the Tharus and Bhoksas, the ravages of the disease have been insignificant compared to those in other parts of India. Onions and garlic in large quantities in their diet are considered to be the cause of immunity from malaria by some, while others claim their immunity from their habitual cleanliness and the full meal they get always. It is difficult either to accept or reject these explanations but even if they be true, similar immunity must develop elsewhere among people who suffer from malaria.

Our enquiries have shown that the Tharus have not developed an absolute immunity from malaria. The Tharu children suffer

from the disease as much as other children. I should think that ninety per cent of these children show their spleens in no uncertain manner. But as the children grow the spleen gradually gets reduced and ultimately become normal and by the age of 12 to 15 the Tharu children develop an immunity. This experience has been corroborated by medical officers of health who have worked among the Tharus and also the local people who know them so well.

THE BLOOD GROUPS.

The Tharu data were collected from various villages round about Chandan Chowki, Dudhwa, Bankati, Bilraian, Sonarpur in the North Kheri Forest Division and from Bonbasa, Tanakpur and Nanakmata in the Nainital District. The anthropometric measurements and blood group data discussed in the paper were obtained, with the kind help of Mr. N. Sen, I.F.S., Divisional Forest Officer, North Kheri division who had accompanied me in my tours and also assisted me in my work throughout my stay in the Kheri forests. The photography, as usual, was done by my friend Mr. P. R. Roy, the reputed artist who voluntarily accompanies me in my ethnographic tours. I am indebted to Roy for generous co-operation and to Mr. Sen for the valuable facilities without which the data could not be secured.

The group sera were made at Lucknow by Dr. V. S. Manglik and as usual were tested against Sera from the Haffkine Institute, Bombay, and those from the Central Research Institute, Kasauli. The laboratory paraphernalia were conveniently carried in a portable trunk and the difficulties of field work were considerably obviated. Tents were pitched in the centre of Tharu villages and where bungalows were available, the Tharus were asked to assemble ostensibly for medical inspection. The local medical officer of health also accompanied me and assisted in the collection of blood samples and his presence and that of the D.F.O. made the work smooth for me and pleasant to the Tharus. So anxious were the women and the children for getting their blood tested that hours before we reached a village centre they were present in numbers for the purpose. Many had to be disappointed as I could not test more than a limited number every day and those that went unexamined had to be satisfied by presents, cigarettes and coins. I don't think if any investigator had similar fortune as I had among the Tharus. The usual precautions, testing the potency of the sera to be used, controls, etc. were taken. Blood was taken from the fore-finger of the left hand with a prick by a blood taking lancet and poured into small sterile test tubes with cotton plugs and containing 1 c.c. normal saline prepared fresh every morning.

Before testing, the supernatant fluid was poured off each deposit of red cells and saline was added to give an even sus-

pension. As the samples were tested two to three hours after collection, few cases of haemolysis occurred.

The table below gives the blood groups of the Tharus and Tibetans:

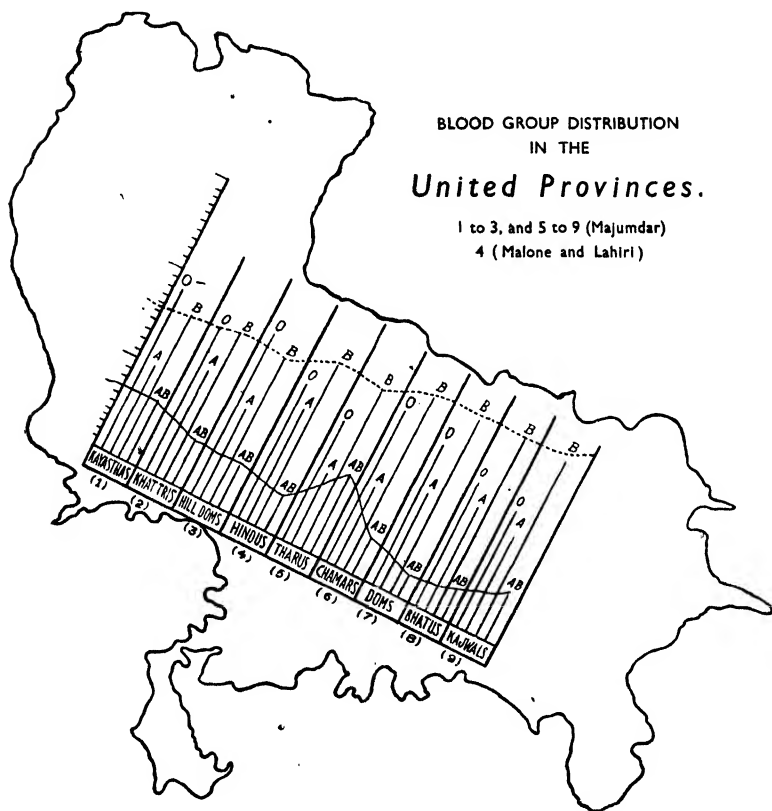
No.	<i>O</i>	<i>A</i>	<i>B</i>	<i>AB</i>	<i>B+AB</i>
Tharus (male and female)—(241) ..	27.1	17.6	37.5	18.4	55.9
Tharu females—(82) ..	25.6	13.4	42.7	18.3	61.0
Tibetans (Tennants)—187	14.9	47.1	13.9	24.1	38.0

Evidently the Tharus show a very high incidence of *AB* which I should think, is larger than that obtained for any Indian caste or tribe except the Tibetans who live on the north-east of India. Even the Tibetans do not show as high a percentage of (*B+AB*) as do the Tharus. Should we therefore conclude that this high *AB* (also *B*) among the Tharus may have given them an immunity to malaria? While measuring the Tharus, I found a number of them were suffering from fever. I noted their number in the register and discovered later that most of those belonged to group *A* while 78 p.c. of the (*B+AB*) group on enquiry said that they were not habitual victims of malarial infection. This, however, may be a mere coincidence but it may also indicate some correlation that exists between blood groups and malaria.

The high incidence of *B+AB* may mean that *O* and *A* are disappearing by the selective action of the environment, leaving *B+AB* to multiply. This is not surprising when we remember how the Negroes of the south (in America) who were used to a warmer climate when driven to the north have succumbed to pulmonary diseases and this is one big single cause of depopulation of the native population in America.

The Tharus derive themselves from a mixture of Rajputs and Nepalese; some say from Rajput women and their menials, the 'Chamars' and 'Saies' and the dominance of the women in the Tharu country is believed to be due to this. The Chamars do not possess mongolian cast of face and Rajputs do not have epicanthic folds in their eyes but most of the Tharus have. Besides, the Rajputs of Northern India have a high *A* value and less *B* and it is difficult to explain the very low incidence of *A* among the Tharus unless we suppose that the *B+AB* group has succeeded in acclimatizing themselves while *A* has not. The large incidence of *B+AB* may both be the cause and effect of a process of inbreeding, and if *B+AB* are immune from malaria, the Tharus as a group now is more immune than the other groups in the neighbourhood. This, however, needs to be

corroborated by blood group data from other malarial districts in different parts of India. Wiener reported the results obtained



by certain Russian investigators which indicate that individuals of Group *O* are less likely to contract malaria than those of group *AB* or group *B*. It must be mentioned here that the two groups *B+AB* are infrequently met in Russia and the percentage of *O* is greater than *B* and *AB*. But the Tharu data show a high *B+AB* value and also that persons with the *B+AB* group suffer less from malaria than *O* or *A*. I do not think that such divergent results are necessarily inconsistent, for the climatic conditions in one part may afford immunity to those of a particular group, while another set of climatic conditions may favour a different blood group in its struggle for adaptation. As a matter of fact all reported correlation between blood groups and diseases could not be corroborated by further investigations. I should think that hasty interpretation of results based on small

samples is perhaps responsible for this and I would plead for an extensive blood group investigations before we admit negative results. But once a people is known to have developed an immunity, the task of applied anthropology begins.

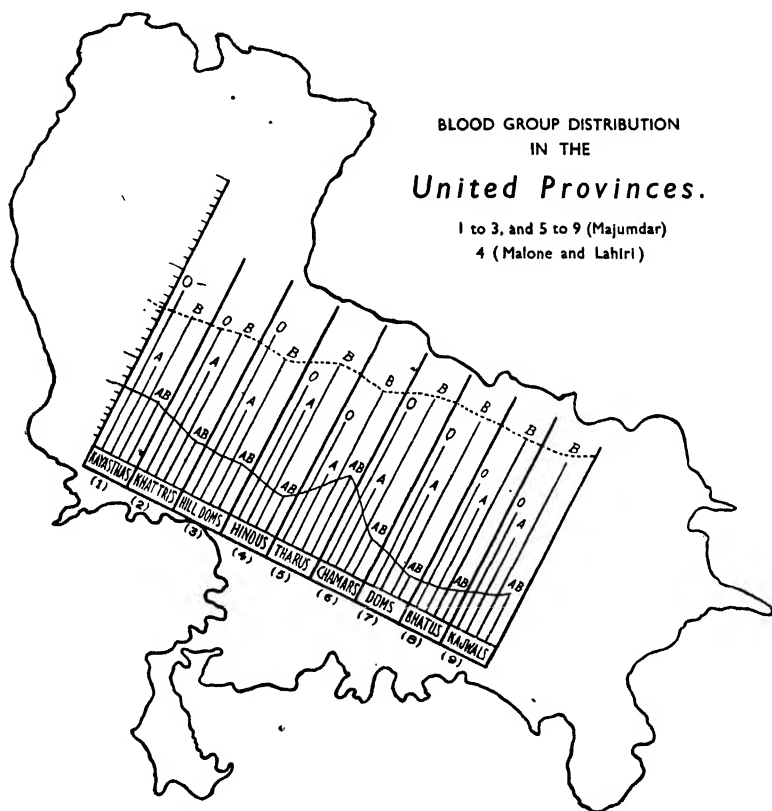
From a comparison of the blood group data available yet, it appears that the *B* concentration is most marked among those social groups which have passed from the tribal to caste status or those which are known to be hybrid castes. The depressed castes in Bengal show a high *B* concentration, so do the criminal tribes of Northern India. The Paniyanas (Aiyappan), the Naga tribes, Angami and Konyak, all exhibit lower percentage of *B*. But as soon as we include in our survey those tribes which are known to be mixed or those who from the nature of their occupation or otherwise allow inter-tribal marriages and extra-marital relationship with neighbouring tribes and castes, the percentage of *B* suddenly increases. Further data are required to substantiate the point, but all the same it appears that hybridization may have something to do with the increase of incidence of a particular blood group in the population.

If we arrange the serological values of (*A-B*) of all Indian tribes and groups available, we get the following arrangement:—

Caste or tribe.		(<i>A-B</i>)	Caste or tribe.		(<i>A-B</i>)
Hazaras	..	.. -14	Bengali Kayasthas	..	-11.7
Jats	..	.. -11	Bengali Brahmins	..	-12.0
Khatriis	..	.. - 5	Bengali-Mahishyas	..	-19.4
Rajputs	..	.. - 5	All non-caste Hindus		-17.8
			Mohammedans	..	-16.7
			Santhals	..	-14.6
	(Hindus	.. -12.7	Marias	..	- 8.1
	Kayasthas	.. -12.7	Chenchus	..	-19.0
	Khatriis	.. - 9.1	Goanese	..	- 6.5
	Chamars	.. -20.6	Mahrattas	..	- 7.3
U.P.	Doms	.. -16.6	Nairs	..	-13.1
	Doms (Hills)	.. -13.8	Paniyans..	..	-52.8
	Bhatius	.. -15.1	Syrian Christians	..	- 2.2
	Karwals	.. -18.0	Tamils	..	- 5.4
	Tharus	.. -20.5	Todas	..	-18.5
			Bhils	..	- 1.5
			Patelias	..	- 1.5

A classification of the tribes and castes into the following groups with values, (-5 and above), (-5 and -15) and (-15 and below) gives the following arrangement with respect to their *A-B* values:

corroborated by blood group data from other malarial districts in different parts of India. Wiener reported the results obtained



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		Mahrattas - 7.3
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		Paniyans -52.8
		Syrian Christians - 2.2
		Tamils - 5.4
		Todas -18.5
		Bhils - 1.5
		Patelias - 1.5
U.P. { Hindus -12.7		
{ Kayasthas -12.7		
{ Khattris - 9.1		
{ Chamars -20.6		
{ Doms -16.6		
{ Doms (Hills) -13.8		
{ Bhatus -15.1		
{ Karwals -18.0		
{ Tharus -20.5		

A classification of the tribes and castes into the following groups with values, (-5 and above), (-5 and -15) and (-15 and below) gives the following arrangement with respect to their *A-B* values:

(X-5)	(-5 and -15)	(-15 and below)
Paniyans, S. India ..	Tamils, S. India.	Non-caste Hindus, Bengal.
Chenchus ,, ..	Khattris, Punjab.	Mohammedans, Bengal.
Nairs ,, ..	Rajputs, C. India.	Mahishyas, Bengal.
Syrian Christian, S. India.	Hazaras, Punjab.	Doms, U.P.
Bhils, South India (Majumdar).	Jats, Punjab.	Bhatu, ,,
Patelias, S. India ..	Bengal Kayastha.	Karwals, ,,
	Bengal Brahmins.	Haburas, ,,
	Goanese, Goa.	Todas, Nilgiri.
	Mahrattas, Bombay.	Tharus, U.P.

It appears therefore that the highest negative values are obtained among the criminal tribes, the Tharus, the non-caste Hindus, Mohammadans and Mahishyas of Bengal. These castes and groups as we know, are of mixed origin. The Tharus are a mongoloid tribe with mixed non-mongoloid traits. They claim mixed descent from Rajputs and Nepalese. The Mohammedans of Bengal are a heterogeneous group because their ranks have swelled by conversion. The Mahishyas originally of aboriginal descent have been fortunate in assimilating non-aboriginal features, while the non-caste Hindus of Bengal are certainly not a homogeneous group. The Doms are a mixed group, so are the Karwals and Bhatu. Thus the high *B* percentage may have arisen from hybridization as we already suggested before.

That this is the experience of field workers will be evident from what Macfarlane observed on the basis of a large number of investigations. She noticed that in the few instances where there were data from two related communities in one locality (except in Cochin) the lower caste or that which probably contains more Dravidian admixture shows a high frequency for *B*. I should put the 'Dravidian' out of this statement as I think the term is a 'misnomer'. If this be true, it is necessary to collect data from groups living in the same locality. Until such data are available the mutation hypothesis should wait. Like many other anthropometric tests the biochemical evidence should be handled with caution till the data speak for themselves.

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The Tharus of Kheri Forests (U.P.).



The Tharus of Kheri Forests (U.P.).

Respiratory Adaptations of the South Indian Homalopterid Fishes.

By SUNDER LAL HORA and NIRMAL CHANDRA LAW.

In a recent paper, one of us¹ dealt with the taxonomy of the Homalopterid fishes known from Peninsular India, and discussed the zoogeographical significance of their occurrence in this part of the country. He described representatives of three genera, *Balitora* Gray, *Bhavana* Hora and *Travancoria* Hora, belonging to the subfamily Homalopterinae. Of these, *Bhavana* is unique among the Homalopterinae in having the gill-openings restricted to above the bases of the pectoral fins. In the Gastromyzoninae, however, several genera, such as *Gastromyzon* Günther, *Pseudogastromyzon* Nichols, *Neogastromyzon* Popta, *Beaufortia* Hora and *Sewellia* Hora, possess similarly modified gill-openings. Besides the reduction of the gill-openings, the structures associated with the mouth, such as lips, barbels, rostral groove, etc., have also undergone structural adaptations in connection with the respiratory needs of the respective fishes. In a general way these modifications were discussed by Hora² in 1932. In this communication we give in greater detail the various modifications in structure connected with the respiratory activities of the South Indian forms.

The respiratory movements of *Balitora brucei* Gray were described by Hora³ in 1923. It was observed that under normal circumstances only a small upper part of the gill-opening, provided with a broad gill-membrane, was functional, while the lower portion was rarely, if ever, used. It was also found that the fish was capable of suspending its respiratory movements for fairly long periods and that whenever any undesirable object entered the mouth it was spouted out with considerable force and thrown away at a distance of an inch or so. In the case of *Hemimyzon yaotanensis*, Fang⁴ observed that the fish 'keeps its head up and down in continuously harmonic motions with the closing and opening of the branchial valves and the ceaseless vibrating of the posterior vertical portions of the pectorals while in respiration'. Hora (*loc. cit.*, 1923, p. 594) found that during respiration the snout of *B. brucei* was slightly raised above the

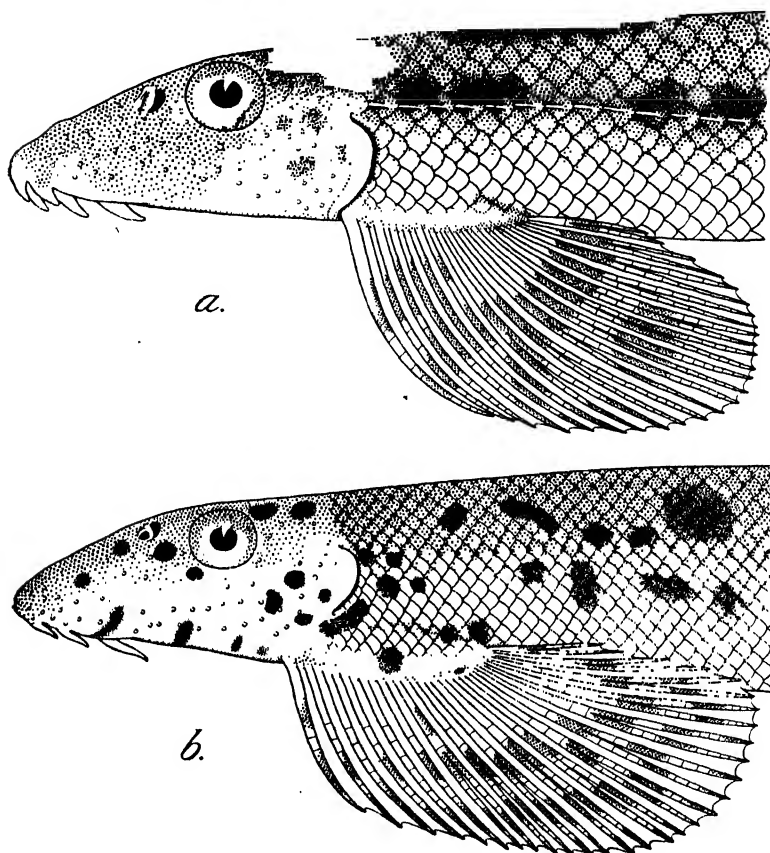
¹ Hora, S. L., *Rec. Ind. Mus.*, XLIII, pp. 221-232, pl. viii (1941). On pages 227 and 228, it is stated that the Sethumalai Hills are in Mysore. Mr. B. S. Bhimachar has kindly informed me that these hills form a part of the Anamalai Hills, which are situated to the south of the Nilgiri Hills.

² Hora, S. L., *Mem. Ind. Mus.*, XII, pp. 325-327 (1932).

³ Hora, S. L., *Rec. Ind. Mus.*, XXV, p. 594 (1923).

⁴ Fang, P. W., *Sinensia*, I, p. 142 (1931).

level of the substratum. He further remarked that 'It seems quite probable that the inner rays of the paired fins, which show



Text-fig. 1.—Lateral view of head and anterior part of body of *Travancoria* Hora and *Bhavania* Hora, to show the nature and extent of their respective gill-openings. $\times 3\frac{1}{2}$.

a. *Travancoria jonesi* Hora; b. *Bhavania australis* (Jerdon).

peculiar movements, are used in driving away the excess of water that may enter below the fish from the anterior end. In still water these rays stop moving to and fro, thus showing that it is only in rapid water that their movements are useful to the fish. By continually pumping out the leakage water from underneath the fish they are directly helping the adhesive surface in the performance of its function. There is a regular channel at the base of pectoral fin along which the water moves before it is expelled at the posterior end and a current flowing in this groove

can be seen by placing a few drops of carmine solution near the anterior end of the base of the pectoral fin'. Thus the movements of the inner rays of the pectoral fins are not associated with respiration, but with adhesion by creating low pressure underneath the fish.¹

At our request Mr. S. Jones conducted experiments on the respiratory movements of *Bhavana australis* in the Kallar Stream, about 30 miles north-east of Trivandrum, by using the same technique as employed in Hora's experiments on *Balitora brucei* (*loc. cit.*) and observed that

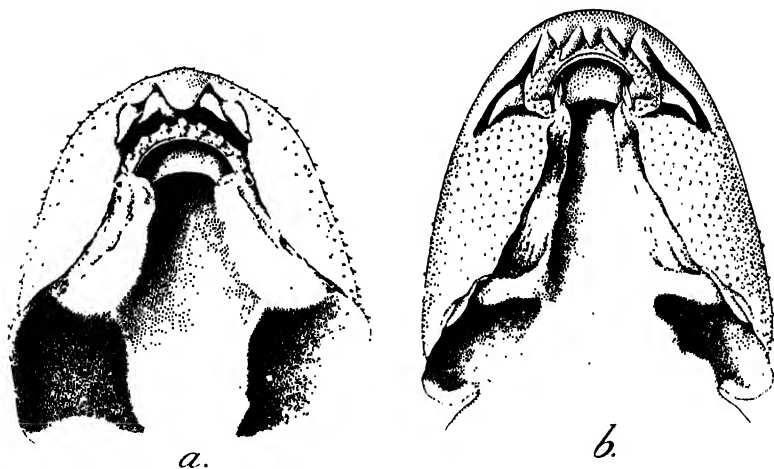
'Carmine powder placed under the anterior end of the fish is taken in and exhaled with the two tiny continuous streams which emerge from the small gill-openings. The respiratory movement is very fast, and its rate was not counted. When any large mass of foreign matter enters the mouth, it is spouted out with force. The movement of the posterior portions of the paired fins does not seem to have any relation to respiration for, when the fish is transferred to still water, this movement is stopped after a short time. Any slight disturbance in the water induces the resumption of the movement. In nature, whether the current is slow or fast, the posterior portions of the pectoral fins are always kept in motion. With the help of the paired fins, the fish gently crawls or glides forwards on the rocks. While breathing, the anterior lip is held just above the substratum, the four rostral barbels are directed towards the mouth, and the two maxillary barbels are directed outwards.

The fish does not suspend its respiratory movements either under water or outside of it. Though quite motionless otherwise, the fish, when lifted out of water by the tail, gasps for breath. When kept out of water, every drop of the liquid inside the gill-chambers is passed out first and afterwards air is taken in through the mouth and exhaled through the gill-openings. Fish taken out of water and held suspended by the tail is capable of living for 10-15 minutes, while if its mouth opening alone is under water the respiratory movements are not interrupted and the expiratory current continues to flow through the exposed gill-openings as two continuous streams. One of the fish was kept in this condition for 45 minutes and, though its surface dried up to some extent, it seemed to be quite healthy when returned to water.'

To comprehend fully the respiratory adaptations of the Homalopterid fishes, it is necessary to remember that these are greatly flattened forms in which the ventral surface and the paired fins, by which they adhere to rocks, are horizontal. The mouth is usually small and situated on the ventral surface considerably behind the tip of the snout. In swift currents there is a tendency among flattened organisms to obviate any flow of water underneath them, and this result has been accomplished in different ways. Among fishes, there are at least two genera, *Gyrinocheilus* Vaillant, a mountain carp known from Borneo and Siam, and *Arges* Cuv. & Val., a catfish of the Andes in South America, in which the mouth no longer serves as a passage for the inspiratory current. Here 'each gill-opening is divided into an upper slit-like portion, which serves as an inhalent opening and

¹ Hora, S. L., *Phil. Trans. Roy. Soc. London* (B), CCXVIII, p. 259 (1930).

communicates with the posterior part of the mouth cavity immediately in front of the gills, and a lower much wider portion which serves as an exhalant aperture and is guarded by a large membranous flap¹. In the Homalopterid and other hill-stream fishes investigated by Hora (*loc. cit.*, 1923, pp. 591-596), the gill-openings are divided into an upper and a lower part, but both are meant for the passage of the expiratory current—the upper part is functional while the lower rarely, if ever, comes into play. However, one definite purpose is served even by this simple modification and that is this; the water of the expiratory current is not discharged on the ventral surface of the animal. The object of intermittent respiration seems to be to keep the anterior end closely applied to the substratum during the periods when the respiratory movements are suspended. The lower part of the gill-opening being useless becomes closed up and we get the evolution of the genera like *Bhavana*, *Gastromyzon*, etc.



Text-fig. 2.—Dissections from the ventral surface of the buccal cavity and gill-chambers of *Balitora* Gray and *Travancoria* Hora. $\times 3\frac{1}{2}$.

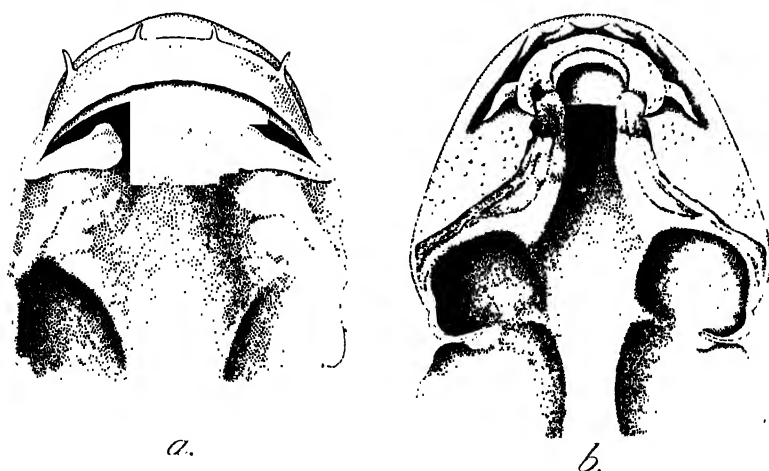
a. *Balitora brucei* Gray; b. *Travancoria jonesi* Hora.

The shaded parts represent the receptacles for the storage of water for respiration. Attention is also invited to the structure of the lips, rostral groove and rostral fold in the two forms.

With the reduction of the gill-openings and the small size of the mouth, it is obvious that the volume of the respiratory current is considerably reduced. One is led to the conclusion, therefore, that these fishes must possess some sort of receptacles

¹ Hora, S. L., *Journ. Bombay Nat. Hist. Soc.*, XXXVI, pp. 548-550 (1933).

for the storage of water, and on dissection it has been found that the pharynx and the gill-cavities have undergone certain modifications which enable them to store water. In *Balitora* and *Travancoria*, where the gill-openings are comparatively extensive, only shallow pouches are formed both along the roof of the mouth and in the gill-chambers, but in *Bhavanian*, where the gill-openings are greatly reduced, the receptacles for water are well



Text-fig. 3.—Dissections from the ventral surface of the buccal cavity and gill-chambers of *Gastromyzon* Günther and *Bhavanian* Hora.

a. *Gastromyzon borneensis* Günther. $\times 3\frac{1}{2}$; b. *Bhavanian australis* (Jerdon). $\times 2\frac{1}{2}$.

The shaded parts of the buccal cavity and gill-chambers represent the receptacles for the storage of water for respiration. Attention is also invited to the structure of the mouth parts of these fishes.

developed. So the reduction of the gill-openings and the development of the large pharyngeal and gill spaces for the storage of water seem to go hand in hand. In *Gastromyzon* the head is so depressed and flattened that separate storage pouches are not formed but the whole of the buccal cavity and the opercular chambers form one large continuous reservoir. In the evolution of storage cavities, these torrential fishes show a parallel development to the air-breathing fishes of India,¹ such as *Periophthalmus* Bloch and Schneider, *Periophthalmodon* Bleeker, *Toenioides* Lacépède, *Apocryptes* (Osbeck) Cuv. & Val., *Pseudapocryptes* Bleeker, *Boleophthalmus* Cuv. & Val., *Pisodonophis* Kaup and a host of other estuarine fishes, in which the pharyngeal lining and the gill-chambers serve

¹ Hora, S. L., *Trans. Nat. Inst. Sci. India*, I, pp. 1-16 (1935); *Proc. Nat. Inst. Sci. India*, V, pp. 281-287 (1937).

as the main respiratory organs. After taking in a gulp of fresh air, the type of air-breathing fishes enumerated above suspend their respiratory movements for fairly long periods. In this connection reference may be made to Hora's contention that the present-day diverse structures associated with aerial respiration in fishes seem to have developed originally to increase the area for aquatic respiration and only 'under adverse conditions of stagnation and drought, took up the function of aerial respiration. The accessory respiratory organs, however, can be used for both aerial and aquatic respiration under suitable conditions' (Hora, *loc. cit.*, 1935, p. 14). The above view has recently been confirmed by Wu and Liu¹ in their elaborate experimental studies on *Monopterus javanensis* (*Fluta alba*); they have also found that the bucco-pharyngeal epithelium, though habitually employed as the organ of air-breathing, proves effective for aquatic respiration also. Conversely, it should also be possible to keep torrential fishes alive in air provided their bucco-pharyngeal epithelium can be kept moist. Mr. Jones's experiments on *Bhavana* reported above clearly show that under adverse conditions the pharyngeal and gill pouches of the highly specialized Homalopterid fishes can subserve aerial respiration for short period or probably as long as their gills remain moist.

These results are of special value in elucidating the origin and function of the accessory respiratory organs in fishes.

It may here be noted that though normally all torrential fishes are water-breathers, during periods of drought when the streams are liable to break up into a series of pools and puddles, certain types,² such as *Amblyceps*, *Otyra*, *Lepidocephalus*, *Acanthophtalmus*, etc., with normal gill-openings, resort to aerial respiration. As pointed out by Hora,³ under these conditions the epithelial lining of the buccal cavity and of the enlarged gill-chambers, though normally used for aquatic respiration, subserve aerial respiration.

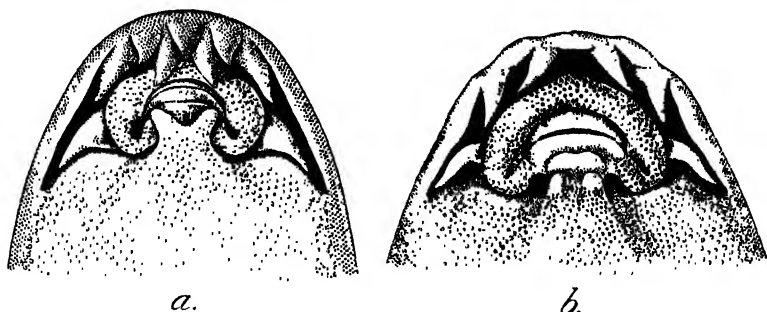
We have already pointed out that in the Homalopterid fishes the respiratory current enters through the mouth and for this reason the anterior end is slightly raised to allow the passage of water to the mouth. In a majority of the forms, there is a rostral groove in front of the mouth which is continued round the corners of the mouth into labial grooves and the radiating side channels diverging from them posteriorly. These grooves are no doubt developed to regulate the flow of water along definite channels and to prevent its spreading under the whole surface. In the rostral and labial grooves and on the lips surrounding the mouth barbels or other tentacular processes are developed for

¹ Wu, H. W. and Liu, C. K., *Sinensia*, XI, pp. 231-238 (1940). Also see review of it by Hora, S. L., *Curr. Sci.*, X, pp. 379, 380 (1941).

² Hora, S. L., *Trans. Nat. Inst. Sci. India*, I, pp. 11, 12 (1935).

³ Hora, S. L., *Rec. Ind. Mus.*, XXXV, pp. 612-616 (1933).

testing the purity of the water that is used for respiratory purposes. In *Balitora brucei* the lips are continuous and strongly fringed all over, while in *Bhavana* and *Travancoria* the lips are so adapted that the water can only pass into the mouth, when it is applied to the substratum, from the sides of the middle part of the lower lip where gaps exist between it and the lateral parts of the lip. The middle part of the lower lip is



Text-fig. 4.—Ventral surface of the anterior part of head in *Travancoria* Hora and *Bhavana* Hora to show the nature of the mouth and the structure of the associated parts. \times ca. 5.

a. *Travancoria jonesi* Hora; b. *Bhavana australis* (Jerdon).

The central portion of the posterior lip in these two forms is modified into two papilla-like structures which guard the entrances of the inspiratory current to the mouth. In figure a they are shown as plugging the inspiratory channels, while in figure b they are shown pulled backwards to permit the inspiratory current to enter the mouth.

provided with two well-developed papillae, which when thrust forwards, are capable of closing up the gaps, and when pulled backwards leave passages for the flow of the water into the mouth. The papillae are sensory and are capable of testing the water as it flows through the passages. The rostral barbels, 4 in *Bhavana* and 7 or more in two rows in *Travancoria*, also serve for testing the respiratory current. The lips are thick and papillated and would help to seal the mouth when the respiratory movements are suspended. The modifications of the mouth and associated structure are very diverse in the Homalopteridae, and serve as valuable diagnostic characters for distinguishing genera and species.

SUMMARY.

The respiratory movements of *Balitora*, *Hemimyzon* and *Bhavana* are discussed and correlated with the habitat and form of the fishes. It is shown that the movements of the inner rays of the pectoral fins are not associated with respiration. The probable causes which may have led to the reduction of gill-openings and the formation of receptacles for storage of water are explained. Attention is directed to the close parallelism

between the accessory respiratory chambers of the Homalopteridae and the bucco-pharyngeal chambers of certain air-breathing fishes of India. An account of the lips and associated structures of the Homalopteridae of South India is given and the probable functions of the various structures explained.

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LETTERS

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1942

The Rājāvāḍī (Bhāwāl) Plate of Lakṣmaṇa Sena Deva.

By N. K. BHATTASALI.

This copper-plate grant of King Lakṣmaṇa Sena Deva of Bengal has had an unusually chequered history. The salient points of that history are briefly noted below.

HISTORY OF THE FIND.

This single sheet of copper was dug up about 1790 A.D. by a Koñch cultivator from the vicinity of an old tank and the *math* on its bank, called respectively Maggi's *Dighi* and Maggi's *math*, situated on the District Board road running from Kāpāsīā to Rājendrapur Ry. Station,—about 3½ miles west of Kāpāsīā, and 9½ miles north-east of the Jayadevpur Railway Station on the Dacca-Mymensing Railway line, Dt. Dacca, in the village of Rājāvāḍī.¹ The finder took the plate to Rājā Loknārāyaṇ Roy,² the then zamindar of Bhāwāl. His son, Rājā Goloknārāyaṇ Roy showed the plate in about 1829 to Mr. Walters, the then District Magistrate of Dacca. The keensighted Magistrate immediately realized the importance of the copper-tablet inscribed with ancient writing and obtained it from Rājā Goloknārāyaṇ. He then asked Paṇḍit Bhairab Tarkālaṅkāṛ, the Court-Paṇḍit of the period at Dacca, to decipher the plate. The Paṇḍit fared very ill with the unfamiliar work entrusted to him and supplied the Magistrate with a reading, which was almost totally fictitious. Mr. Walters presented the plate to the Asiatic Society of Bengal along with the Tarkālaṅkāṛ's reading. Dr. H. H. Wilson, who was then the Secretary of the Society, immediately gauged Tarkālaṅkāṛ's reading at its proper value, pronounced it as 'exceedingly and unnecessarily defective' and employed three Paṇḍits to prepare a fresh reading. They took great pains and prepared an improved reading, but Dr. Wilson entertained 'strong doubts' about the correctness of even this reading and was not prepared to depend upon the results achieved. But he ascertained by comparison of portions, that it was a much more faithful copy than the one sent by Mr. Walters.

With the help of the version prepared by the Paṇḍits of the Society, Dr. Wilson read a notice of the plate in a monthly meeting

¹ The location of the tank can be seen on Fig. D, on p. 16, in the north-east corner of the village of Rājāvāḍī, just on the border of the village, south of the District Board road.

² Mr. Walters writes: 'Luckhenarian', from which I originally gave the name as Lakṣminārāyaṇ. The famous Sannyāsi Kṛṣṇa Rāmendra Nārāyaṇ one day, in the course of a conversation, corrected my mistake.

of the Society held on the 6th May, 1829, giving all the details of the find and of the attempts at decipherment. Unfortunately, there was no official Journal or Periodical of the Society during this period and thus the Proceedings of this meeting failed to get recorded in any publication of the Society. Dr. Wilson went away to England after 1833 and took over the duties of the Librarian of the India House in London. Presumably, he took away the plate with him for better decipherment and left it at the India House Library. Thus all trace of the plate was lost from the Society, and the notice read by Dr. Wilson in Society's meeting of the 6th May, 1829, was left pigeon-holed to decay in the archives of the Society, undisturbed by any subsequent investigator. The fact of the find of such a plate was thus completely forgotten. Dr. Rajendralal Mitra, General Cunningham, and others who subsequently wrote about the Sena Kings of Bengal, had no knowledge of the find of such a plate, relating to the Sena Kings.

One, Babu Nabin Chandra Bhadra wrote a history of the *Parganā* of Bhāwāl in Bengali (*Bhāoāler Itihāsa*), probably about sixty years ago. In this pioneering attempt at writing local history, the find of a copper-plate at Rājāvādī in the *parganā* of Bhāwāl is noticed on page 26. It is also recorded there that the plate was sent to the Asiatic Society for decipherment and thence to England.

The present writer long searched for any other notice of this mysterious plate in all possible quarters. In 1920, Mr. J. T. Rankin, I.C.S., the then Commissioner of the Dacca Division and Chairman of the Dacca Museum Committee, handed over to him a volume of a Journal published from London, called the Asiatic Journal and Monthly Register, Vol. XXVIII, July to December, 1829, and pointed to a passage in it, containing a notice of the long-sought for Bhāwāl plate. The passage occurred on page 709, under the head 'Varieties'. It was a quotation from the Calcutta Government Gazette of the first week of May, 1829, and contained a report of the Proceedings of the meeting of the Asiatic Society of the 6th May, 1829. On the basis of this report, the present writer wrote an article entitled— 'The lost Bhāwāl Copper-plate of Lakṣmaṇa Sena Deva of Bengal'— in the Indian Historical Quarterly for 1927, pp. 89ff. In this article, the report, as published in the Asiatic Journal and Monthly Register, was quoted in full and the following points were sought to be established:—

- (i) The grant was of Lakṣmaṇa Sena Deva of Bengal.
- (ii) It was granted late in his reign and the draft was the same as found in the Mādhānagar grant of the same King.
- (iii) The grant was probably issued in the 27th regnal year of the King.

The article was published in 1927 and it is rather curious that, no notice of the grant is taken all the same in the Inscriptions of Bengal, Vol. III, edited by the late Mr. N. G. Majumdar and published in 1929, though this commendable publication is otherwise an exhaustive survey of the Chandra, Varma and Sena inscriptions.

In the Indian Historical Quarterly for 1939, pp. 300ff., Dr. H. N. Randle of the India Office Library, wrote again on the Lost Bhāwāl copper-plate of Lakṣmaṇa Sena. Directly after he joined the services of the India Office Library, he found in a safe 24 copper-plate inscriptions, one of which was of Lakṣmaṇa Sena Deva. In his article, Dr. Randle gave a description of the contents of this plate, which served to identify it as the Bhāwāl plate of Lakṣmaṇa Sena Deva, lost from the archives of the Royal Asiatic Society of Bengal. The present writer, thereupon, drew the attention of the authorities of the Society to the fact that the plate belonged to the Society and a claim should be set up for it on behalf of the Royal Asiatic Society of Bengal. The claim was accordingly set up and admitted by the India Office. When difficulty was felt, due to war-conditions, in sending the plate from London to Calcutta, Sir John Herbert, our present Governor, volunteered to bring the plate to Calcutta in his personal care. The plate was thus safely brought to Calcutta and handed back to the Society, after an absence of more than a century, and His Excellency Sir John Herbert has earned the grateful thanks of all the members of the Society and all lovers of antiquities for his graceful act.

The authorities of the Society honoured the present writer by entrusting him with the preparation of an edition of the plate for their Journal. Excellent photographs prepared by the Zoological Survey of India and estampages prepared by Mr. T. N. Ramachandran, M.A., Superintendent, Archaeological Section, Indian Museum, were supplied for the prospective edition; but the authorities, in the face of the bitter memories of the past, were unable to issue the plate to the prospective editor, living at a considerable distance from Calcutta.

In deciphering the plate, I have thus been compelled to rely on the estampages and photographs supplied, which, though excellent in their way, could not be of much help in deciphering the rubbed-off portions. As the funds of the Society were rather low and the authorities were not willing to bear my travelling expenses, I took advantage of a short visit to Calcutta in May, 1940, to check my readings with the help of the original plate and to fill up the lacunae. But the brief visit was too short for clearing up all difficulties, and I have therefore to regret and apologize for the unsatisfactory nature of the reading in at least one *śloka* and in portions of a few lines.

DESCRIPTION OF THE PLATE.

The grant is a single plate of copper, measuring $12'' \times 13\frac{1}{4}''$. A miniature figure of god **Sadāśiva**, the royal *lāñchhana* of the Senas, is affixed to an elliptical projection in the middle of the top-side. The figure of the god is inside a dotted



FIG. A. The seal of the Bhāwāl plate.

circle, and is $2\frac{1}{2}''$ in length. It is a ten-armed deity and has all the usual attributes of **Sadāśiva** in the ten arms. The figure has lost its sharpness through corrosion and some of the attributes are hardly recognizable.

The inscription has suffered badly in places by corrosion, the effect of which is particularly noticeable on the proper right side of the reverse, where, towards the middle, about a fourth of the lines is practically undecipherable.

The plate contains thirty lines of *Writing* on the obverse and twenty-nine lines on the reverse. The letters are generally about ½th inch long, and would have been easy of decipherment, but for the corrosion in places. They belong to the proto-Bengali class of writing, to be met with on all the plates and inscriptions of the Senas.

As regards *Orthography*, the doubling of the consonants after a superscript *r* is the most remarkable feature.

The *Contents* of the plate are summarized below.

The plate begins with the spiral *Svastika* sign, explained in my article,—‘Some Image inscriptions from Eastern Beugal’ (*Epigraphia Indica*, Vol. XVII, pp. 352) as representing the symbol called *Āñḍi* and standing for **सिद्धिरस्तु** = May success attend. A salutation to the god Nārāyaṇa in prose follows. This is followed by thirteen verses.

Verse 1 invokes the god Siva in his **Umāliṅgana** and **Harihara** forms.

Verse 2 is in praise of the moon-god, from whom the Senas claimed descent.

Verse 3 says that in the lineage of the Moon, were born kings who were great conquerors, as well as performers of sacrifices.

Verse 4 says that in that line and descended from Virasena famed in the Purāṇas, **Sāmanta Sena**, a Kṣatriya from **Karṇ-nāṭa**, was born, who after conquering all his foes, washed his sword in the waters of the Ganges.

Verse 5 says that Sāmanta’s son was **Hemanta**, a hero worshipped by other heroes.

Verse 6 says that from Hemanta was born **Vijaya Sena**, who allowed the epithet ‘King’ to cling only to the Moon, because he was the progenitor of the family.

Verse 7 says that the fame of Vijaya Sena spread over the three worlds.

Verse 8 says that from Vijaya was born **Ballāla Sena**, who was a king of kings as well as a master-scholar among scholars.

Verse 9 says that he married a Chālukya princess, **Rāma Devī** by name.

Verse 10 says that from them was born **Lakṣmaṇa Sena**, as Nārāyaṇa (Kṛṣṇa) was born from Vasudeva and Devakī.

Verse 11 says of Lakṣmaṇa Sena, that forcible seizure of the fortunes of the **Lord of Gauḍa** was the play of his boyhood; in youth, he was made to imbibe a veritable abhorrence for women by the **King of Kaliṅga** (Orissa); (subsequently) he defeated the **King of Benares** in battle and the king of **Prāḡjyotiṣa** (Assam) made him abject submission.

Verse 12 says that even the Lords of the Quarters had submitted to Lakṣmaṇa Sena.

Verse 13 describes the **Capital**, where the mosses played in the shade of the trees of pleasure gardens, and the rice plants shivered among them; where princes gave up their lives but not their honour and round which the king granted villages to Brahmins in thousands.

Lines 25-28. From this capital called **Dhāryya-grāma**, the victorious King **Lakṣmaṇa Sena**, meditating on the feet of his father **Ballāla Sena**, thus addresses his royal officers.

Lakṣmaṇa Sena is given the following epithets:—

- (i) He had obtained the fortunes of **Gauḍa** by furiously churning with his arms the boundless sea of war.
- (ii) He was the sun which made the lotuses, viz. the heroes to bloom forth.
- (iii) He was a devotee of **Viṣṇu** in his **Man-lion** incarnation.

Lines 28-30 of obverse and lines 1-3 of reverse, contain the names of the officials addressed.

Lines 4-14 of reverse contain a description of the land granted. It was within the Division of **Paunḍravardhana**, the Circle of **Bāṇḍana**, and the Quadrangle of **Vasu-Śrī** and consisted of parts of two villages called **Mādisāharṇsa** and **Vasumaṇḍana** with four detached plots, south of the river **Bānahāra**, modern **Bānār**, probably not far from the find-place of the copper-plate. The area of the land, when measured with the *Nala* (reed) measuring 22 cubits in length, was six *Pātakas*, one *Droṇa* and twenty-eight *Kākinis*. Its annual produce was four hundred *Purāṇas* (the money unit of those days, equivalent of the modern rupee) to be counted out in cowries.

Lines 15-20 give the name of the donee Brahmin and the motive for the donation. The donee was **Padmanābha**, son of **Mahādeva**, grandson of **Jayadeva** and great-grandson of **Kṛṣṇa Deva**. He belonged to the **Modgallya** clan of the five *pravaras* called **Aurvva**, **Chyāvana**, **Bhārggava**, **Jāmadagna**, and **Apnuvān**. He was an adept in the **Kauthuma** branch of the **Sāma-Veda**, and was a Reader of Holy Texts by profession.

The motive of the grant was to please the god **Nārāyaṇa** and to secure the spiritual and temporal welfare of the two major queens **Sṛyā Devī** and **Kalyāṇa Devī**.

Lines 20-27 contain injunctions to future kings to respect the grant and some imprecatory verses for those who would nullify it.

Line 28 gives the name of **Śaṅkaradhara**, the **Minister for Peace and War**, who was the mediator in the matter of this grant.

Line 29 contains the usual endorsements in initials, and the date in the 27th regnal year, on the 6th day of **Kārttika**.

TOPOGRAPHY OF THE LAND GRANTED AND OF THE CAPITAL.

Though the description of the land granted contains a number of village-names, it would have been difficult to locate its place on the map, but for the fortunate occurrence of the name of the river Bānahāra in the northern boundary of one of the plots granted. We have no difficulty in recognizing in the name the river Bānār which lies about $3\frac{1}{2}$ miles to the east of the find-place of the copper-plate.

The entire locality is of supreme antiquarian and archaeological interest, though at present it is so sparsely populated and contains miles and miles of *śāl* (Gajāri) plantations. The area is known to geologists as the Madhupur jungles, though the actual Madhupur jungles lie in the district of Mymensing. The river Bānār, which possesses such a significant name, viz. Bānahāra, i.e., one which steals or drains off a flood (in other words, carries off the spill-water of the mighty Brahmaputra in flood), was surely given this name in hoary antiquity by some keen-sighted observer, because it actually serves this purpose. Starting from the Brahmaputra about five miles below Jamalpur,¹ it runs direct south and skirts the western side of the red laterite formation in the Mymensing district, called the Madhupur jungles. It then turns east and forms for a considerable distance the boundary between the Dacca and the Mymensing districts and then it flows in a south-easterly course to join the old Brahmaputra at Lakhpur and to become practically the upper course of the Śital-Lakṣyā river. It will thus be seen that there is a considerable stretch of low alluvial land between the Madhupur jungles,—the patch of laterite formation in the Mymensing district, and the Bhāwāl jungles, the laterite patch in the Dacca district. The river Bānār flows east-west over this alluvial divide up to Trimohini, when it turns south, and flows to Lakhpur to reach the old Brahmaputra. The Trimohini-Lakhpur portion of the Bānār forces its way through the Bhāwāl laterite patch and divides it into two almost equal divisions. Both the portions are densely wooded in places and consist of undulating red laterite formations, sometimes rising into picturesque cliffs or *tillāhs*. This section of the Bānār flows through scenery which is mostly hilly in character, the steep red banks sometimes rising to 70 feet above the level of the water in the dry season, while the river itself attains a depth of 40 feet in places.

The two divisions of Bhāwāl separated by the Bānār both contain ancient river-beds, now mostly dried up. Through the eastern division flows the oldest course of the Brahmaputra. Though the main course of the Brahmaputra long ago went off

¹ This most interesting river has not even been mentioned in the Mymensing Gazetteer. Its offtake can be traced to the Brahmaputra through the Police Stations of Muktagāchhā and Jāmālpur up to the village of Dengārgar, about a mile from the bank of the great river.

eastwards to meet the Meghnā at Bhairabbāzār, hardly any sanctity is ascribed to this new course. All sanctity still clings to the dried up course, which starts from Ārālīā on the main course, sends off the Lakṣyā at Lākhpur and again deflects eastwards to flow through the *Parganas* of Bhāwāl, Maheśvardī, Sonārgāon, and Vikrampur. The ancient town of Sonārgāon used to stand on this course, and the great annual bathing festival on the *Aśokāṣṭamī* day is still celebrated on its banks, opposite the site of the town of Sonārgāon. The portion of the old Brahmaputra from Ārālīā to Lākhpur was erroneously marked as the old course of the Lakṣyā, probably on some early map of the locality. Major Rennel marks this course as a fairly strong river, but he does not give any name to the Ārālīā-Lākhpur portion. I find that this portion is called the old course of the Lakṣyā in the Main Circuit Map of 1857-58. Probably the mistake originated even earlier. A succession of scholars and investigators has pointed out this mistake again and again; but the Survey Department has, with characteristic apathy to rightful criticism, persisted in this mistake up to the present date.¹ The present writer pointed out this mistake in 1916 to Mr. Ascoli, then Settlement Officer of the Dacca district. Mr. Ascoli admitted the mistake, but was unable to correct it owing to the huge expenditure involved.

Two other streams in this region deserve mention. The stream to the east of the old Brahmaputra is called the Pāhāḍiyā river and further east is the Ārial Khān river.

There are a number of proofs to show that this stable laterite region was inhabited from very ancient times. The first proof lies in the nomenclature of the rivers and the villages on their either bank. Village names ending in Śrī are fairly common in this region. One of them Vasu-Śrī, occurs on the present plate. To the east of Trimohini lies the well-known village of Simha-Śrī, where a rather large hoard of silver coins of the Sultans of Bengal was found some years ago. The richness of this hoard may be gauged from the fact that the finder supplied no less than fifteen coins of Danujamarddana and Mahendra (Rājā Ganeś and his son Yadu) to Mr. Stapleton in 1915-16,—coins which are extremely rare and are unrepresented in the otherwise rich Indian Museum Cabinet. Names like Bānahāra (stealer of flood) and Sītālakṣyā (soother of the eyes) must have been given by literate people with poetic imagination.

The second proof lies in the frequent find of Treasure-troves from the region. The Trove from Simha-Śrī has already been referred to. Some years ago, a rather large Trove was found at Marjāl on the bank of the Ārial Khān, consisting entirely

¹ As an example of correction in works published by the Government of Bengal, see *Mymerising Gazetteer*, edited by Mr. Sachse. Ed. 1917-P.-7.

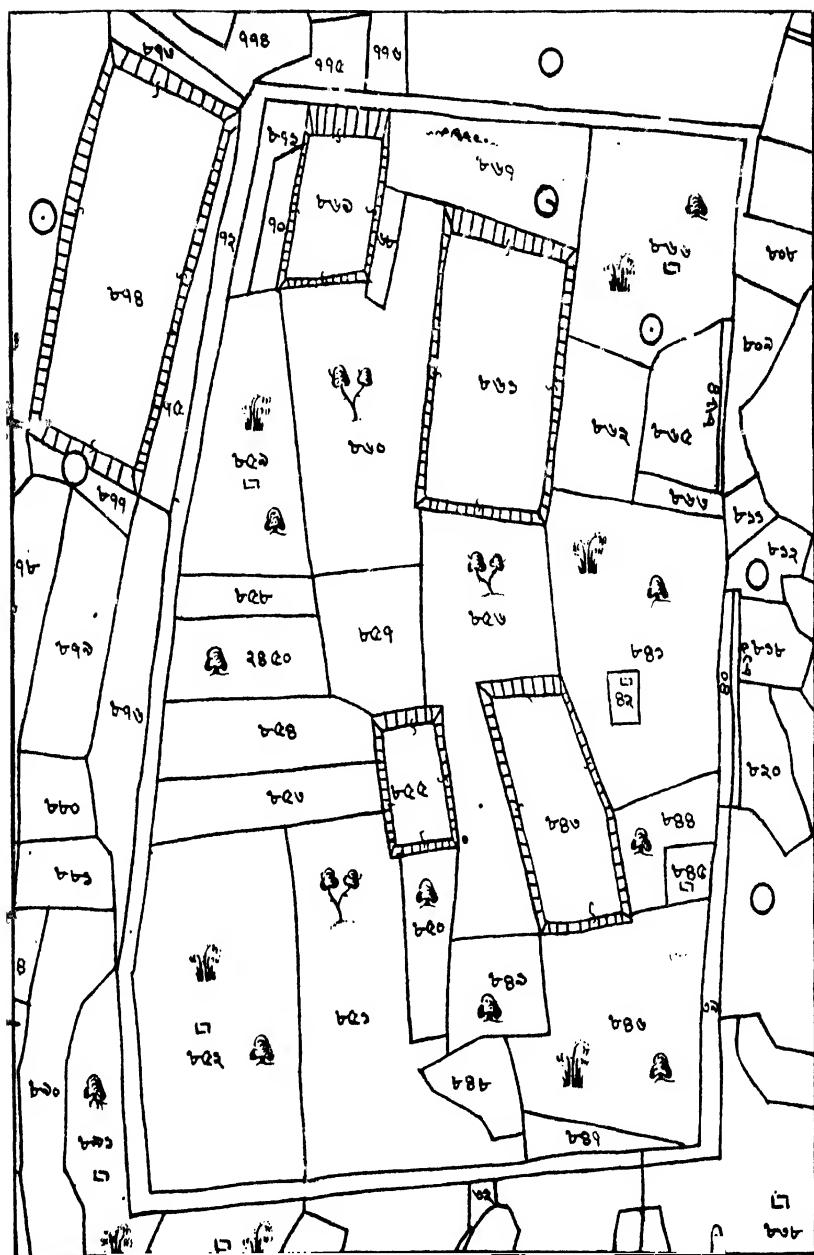


FIG. B. Map of the palace-site at Rājāvāḍī. Scale 16" = 1 m.

of Mauryya and pre-Mauryya punch-marked silver coins. I succeeded in obtaining about 90 of them for the Dacca Museum through the kind offices of Saiyyid A. S. M. Taifoor, then Sub-registrar of Nārāyanganj. Captain Martin of the Royal Engineers, prepared an exhaustive catalogue of the collection, while posted at Dacca, and I hope to publish the catalogue soon. The discovery of these coins of the 3rd-4th century B.C. from the bank of the Arial Khān shows the early nature of the settlement on the banks of these rivers. It may be recalled in this connection, that the village of Ashrafpur from which the two copper-plates of Devakhaḍga were found, lies only about six miles east of Lākhpur, between the old Brahmaputra and the Pahādiyā rivers. The ruins of the Buddhist establishments referred to in these two copper-plates can still be traced at Ashrafpur.

As the third proof, I should refer to the places of antiquarian interest on either bank of the Bānār.

In the mauza of Rājāvāḍī itself, about a mile south-west of the find-place of the present copper-plate, there are remains of a Raja's house, which has given the village its name. The accompanying copy of the mauza map of the village prepared from the survey of 1911-14 on the scale 16"=1 mile will give a good idea of the royal residence. The place is rectangular in area and is surrounded by a moat 704 yds. \times 440 yds. in extent. There are four tanks inside the enclosure, measuring 182 \times 100 yds., 156 \times 66 yds., 100 \times 66 yds., and 88 \times 50 yds. respectively. Outside the moat, along the northern end of its western side, there is another tank which is the biggest in the area, measuring 242 \times 110 yds. The tank of Maggee, near the bank of which the present copper-plate was found is even bigger in area. It measures 340 \times 100 yds. This royal residence is associated in tradition with two brothers Pratap and Prasanna, who were Chaṇḍāla by caste and who are reported to have ruled the region as joint rulers. Maggee was their sister. I personally visited Maggee's tank and the mouldering *math* on its western bank in 1920 in the company of Mr. J. T. Rankin, the late Commissioner of the Dacca Division. The *math* had then almost fallen to pieces, but was even then being held together by the roots of the huge *Aśvatthva* trees that had grown on the temple, and held it as if in a vice. The temple was of the style of the Hindu temples of the Muslim period, square at the base, with hanging eaves all round, surmounted by a single spire. If Pratap and Prasanna and their sister Maggee had any real existence, they appear to have flourished in the pre-Mughal age. Probably they went down when the Ghazi family occupied the Bhāwāl region and established their seat at Chaurā, twelve miles south of Rājāvāḍī.

But the discovery of the plate of Lakṣmaṇa Sena from the vicinity of Maggee's *math* and the fact that land was granted by it on the bank of the Bānār river, three miles and a quarter

to the east, together with the statement contained in the plate under discussion (verse 13) that countless such villages were quickly given away by the Kings to Brahmins in the vicinity of the capital, complicates matters. The presumption arises that these regions were well-inhabited during the period of the Senas and after all, the site of the Rajah's palace at Rājāvādī may be older than Pratap and Prasanna of the pre-Mughal period by a few centuries, and may have actually belonged to the Senas. The metropolis of the Senas was at Vikrampur at the junction of the Ichhāmātī and the old Brahmaputra, and all the earlier plates of Lakṣmaṇa Sena, up to the sixth year of his reign are issued from that capital. It is undoubtedly a remarkable fact that the last two plates, viz. the Mādhāinagar plate and the Bhāwāl plate are found issued from a new capital called Dhāryya-grāma. In 1202, Lakṣmaṇa Sena was surprised at Nadia by Ikhtiyāruddīn Muḥammad bin Bakhtiyār, and had to retire to Eastern Bengal, leaving the western part of Varendrī and the northern part of Rāḍhā in Muslim hands. Even before this catastrophe, we find a *mahasāmantā* of his, Dommana-pāla, independently granting land in the southern part of the 24 Parganās, by a copper-plate in 1196 A.D. (I.H.Q., X, pp. 321),—an encroachment upon the royal privilege, which would have been hardly tolerated in the palmy days of Sena rule in Bengal. When the Sena power thus declined and became shaky in Bengal, the old capital might have been considered insecure and too open to a sudden attack like the one on Nadia and a new royal seat might have been established in a more secure and well-protected place. The site at Rājāvādī, in a thickly wooded area, with a not-too-powerful river in the vicinity affording an easy access to Assam, the only province in Northern India still then under Hindu sway, was admirably suited for such an emergent capital.

If the traditions recorded in the Ballāla-charita are to be believed, the free-lance Ikhtiyāruddīn had a predecessor, named Bābā Ādam, or Ādam Shahīd, who made a sudden onset upon the capital Vikrampur in the reign of Ballāla Sena; and Ikhtiyāruddīn only emulated his example by falling upon Nadia some years later and carrying it by assault. Ikhtiyāruddīn succeeded, but Ādam could not succeed, and his attempt has thus been lost to history. But the mosque built to his sacred memory in 888 H.=1483 A.D. during the reign of Bārbak Shāh just outside the mote of the Ballāl-vādī at Rāmpāl, the site of the capital, is still standing. And the funeral pyre (Agni-Kuṇḍa) in which the ladies of the royal household, as well as King Ballāla himself, burnt themselves to death, is still shown inside the palace area, on the bank of a small tank. Thus the tradition with regard to this event may have some basis in history. This tradition is remarkably supported again by verse 13 of the present plate, where there is a reference to princes giving up

their lives but not their honour, though the applicability of the event to the new capital is not apparent. This event would have been sufficient to make the old capital unlucky and its vulnerability to attack from an enemy was another point against it. The capital thus may have been shifted to the secluded and wooded Bhāwāl region, which had all the advantages detailed above.

This region, in addition was defended by a strong fort. The fort is still known as *Shāh Vidyā's* fort and is situated on the eastern bank of the Bānār, exactly six miles above Kāpāsīā. I visited the site in the company of Mr. Rankin in 1920, and a cultivator told us that an inscribed plate of copper had been dug up within the fort by a man some years ago, but it was thrown into the Bānār through superstitious fear. The discovery of a copper-plate from the ruins would show that the fort dates from the pre-Muhammadan period. But even by themselves, the ruins look very old,—and the outlines have almost been obliterated. The inquisitive reader will find a description of this fort in the well-known work, Taylor's *Topography of Dacca*, pp. 112-113. In those days, there was constant rivalry between Kings of Kāmarūpa and Kings of Bengal and the necessity for guarding the water-routes leading from the Brahmaputra to lower Bengal will thus be easily understood. It appears clear that *Shāhvidyā's* fort (whoever he might have been) was erected on the bank of the Bānār in pre-Muhammadan days to serve this very purpose. The village on the opposite bank is called *Gośīngā*—(cow's horn), and the river bends here beautifully like the two horns of a cow,—a feature of the landscape which is undoubtedly responsible for this peculiar name of the village. At *Gośīngā*, the ruins of a town are still traceable, remarkable among the works of old being some old mosques and ruins, and two tanks, the bigger of which is $\frac{1}{4} \times \frac{1}{5}$ mile in area. Dr. Taylor in his *Topography of Dacca* thus observes about these two tanks :—'About two miles inland, there are two magnificent tanks, which are said to have been dug by the Booneah Rajas: they are of great depth and in all probability are supplied by springs' (p. 114).

Two more antiquities of this region deserve notice. One is the huge fort at *Egāra-sindhu* (sometimes also called *Bara-sindhu*). It is situated exactly opposite the Brahmaputra off-take of the Bānār river, on the eastern bank of the Brahmaputra, just at the point where it bends eastwards, deflected by the stable laterite soil of Eastern Bhāwāl. The peculiar name of the place is due to eleven streams (*Sindhua*) meeting the Brahmaputra in the locality. The use of the word *Sindhu* in the sense of a river is almost Vedic in date, and shows that the name must have been given to the place during the period when people on the Ārial Khān river, twenty miles south-east, were using punch-marked coins as their silver currency in daily

transactions. The fort at Egāra-sindhu is said to have been made by Isa-Khan, Masnad-i-Ali, who ruled all land east of the Brahmaputra and the Bānār like an independent sovereign during the reign of Akbar. I visited the site in 1916, and I found its outlines in as obliterated a condition as those of the fort opposite Gośīngā. These forts appear to be pre-Muhammadan in date, and were in all probability set up by the pre-Muhammadan sovereigns of Bengal as defensive works against invasions from the north, though the Muslim sovereign may have subsequently made use of what was left of them. The fort of Egāra-sindhu occupies a rather extensive area, very unlike the small forts on the Burigaṅgā, Śitai-Lakṣya and Dhaleśvarī which Mir Jumla constructed as defensive outposts against Arracanese incursions, in the early years of the reign of Aurangzib. Three of these Muslim forts still stand almost entire, while the forts at Doordoorea (opposite Gośīngā) and Egāra-sindhu can be traced only in their faint outlines.

The last antiquity that I propose to notice here are the ruins at Kapāleśvar,—popularly pronounced as Kapālsahar.¹ These ruins are the remnants of some temples of considerable size, erected in picturesque surroundings in the heart of the red laterite *tillās* or hillocks, some five miles south of Egāra-sindhu, on the southern side of the Brahmaputra river. They are situated about four miles south of Ulsarā or Toknagar, both of them well-known villages on the southern bank of the Brahmaputra. I visited the site in 1916, and a note on it was published in my article—'Notes on Antiquarian Remains on the Lakṣyā and the Brahmaputra'. Dacca Review, Vol. VII, 1917-18, pp. 12ff. The following extracts are quoted from that article:—

'Kapaleswar . . . is some four miles directly south of Ulsarā, west of Toke.

'Kapaleswar, as the name implies, must be the ruins of a Saiva temple, and belongs to the pre-Muhammadan period. Four fine tanks, two of which are still deep and retain water, were dug in a line and temples founded on their banks. The northernmost one is the most interesting. Its banks are as high as the ramparts of a fort and on its west bank are the foundations of a big temple, the position of the walls of which are still marked by thick layers of mouldering bricks in a continuous line. Big slabs of stone lie scattered in the compound, as well as on the slope of the banks and the local people affirmed that they had seen several others in their childhood, which have been covered up by silt by this time. The most striking feature of the ruins is the great number of loose bricks. They lie scattered for a considerable distance like a thick layer of big hailstones after

¹ The ruins at Padumsahar (Pradyumneśvara) in Rajshahi District may be remembered in this connection.

a hailstorm. Nowhere in Bengal have I seen such a wild profusion, except in the ruins of Devkoṭ in Dinajpur. The people of the locality are mostly settlers, and they know nothing about the builder of these temples. Only an octogenarian Hajo told me that they had heard from the elders that Ballala Sena was the author of all these works.'

Thus we see that the Sena association with this area, over which passed the short-cut water-route to Kāmrūp, evidenced by the Rājāvādī plate of Lakṣmaṇa Sena Deva, is further corroborated by the tradition clinging to the remarkable ruins at Kapāleśvar. We may therefore seriously consider, whether the royal seat at Rājāvādī, is Dhāryyagrāma, the hitherto unidentified Jayaskandhāvāra of Lakṣmaṇa Sena, from which he issued at least two copper-plates late in his reign. As already pointed out, verse 13 of the present plate speaks of the King having quickly granted numerous villages to Brahmins near the capital, and the land granted by the Rājāvādī plate on the bank of the Bānār river, is only three miles east of Rājāvādī.

Identification of the villages granted by a copper-plate is always a difficult task and few copper-plates have turned out to be as helpful in this respect as the Kātwā plate of Ballāla Sena, or the Govindapur plate of Lakṣmaṇa Sena, the villages mentioned in which exist up to the present time almost with unaltered names. The present plate also, as already pointed out, gives us an important clue as regards the locality of the land granted. The river Bānahāra, modern Bānār, flowing three miles east of the find-place of the plate, is spoken of as forming the northern boundary of one of the villages granted. As the river Bānār flows in a south-easterly direction, more south than east, it is difficult to get the river to form the northern boundary of a village, except when it forms a loop and turns directly eastwards. As will be seen from the map of the locality reproduced, exactly this is what happens at Kāpāsīā, directly east of the find-place of the plate. At the apex of the land enclosed by the loop, we find a village called Sāfāi-Śrī. With the rise of the city of Sonārgāon as a Muslim capital by about 1340 A.D., Buddhist and Brahmanical antiquities of this region suffered greatly and names of many villages were changed or Muslimized. The name of the village Sāfāi-Śrī is very curious. The first part of the name is without doubt non-Sanskritic and derived from Arabic *Shāfāi*, while the second part is without doubt Sanskritic in origin. Is this the changed form of the name Vasu-Śrī, which gave the name to the *Chaturaka* or Quadrangle in which the land granted was situated? For, it is only here that we can get a village, with the river Bānār directly to its north.

The villages granted were in the *Chaturaka* of Vasu-Śrī and in the *Avṛtti* (circle) of Bāṇḍana. *Avṛtti* and *Chaturaka* are well-known units of land-division of the Sena period, and

they first make their appearance in the land-grants made by Lakṣmaṇa Sena. It is difficult to be sure about the area of these units, but from the order of mention, viz. Bhukti, Āvṛtti and Chaturaka, the last naturally becomes the smallest unit.

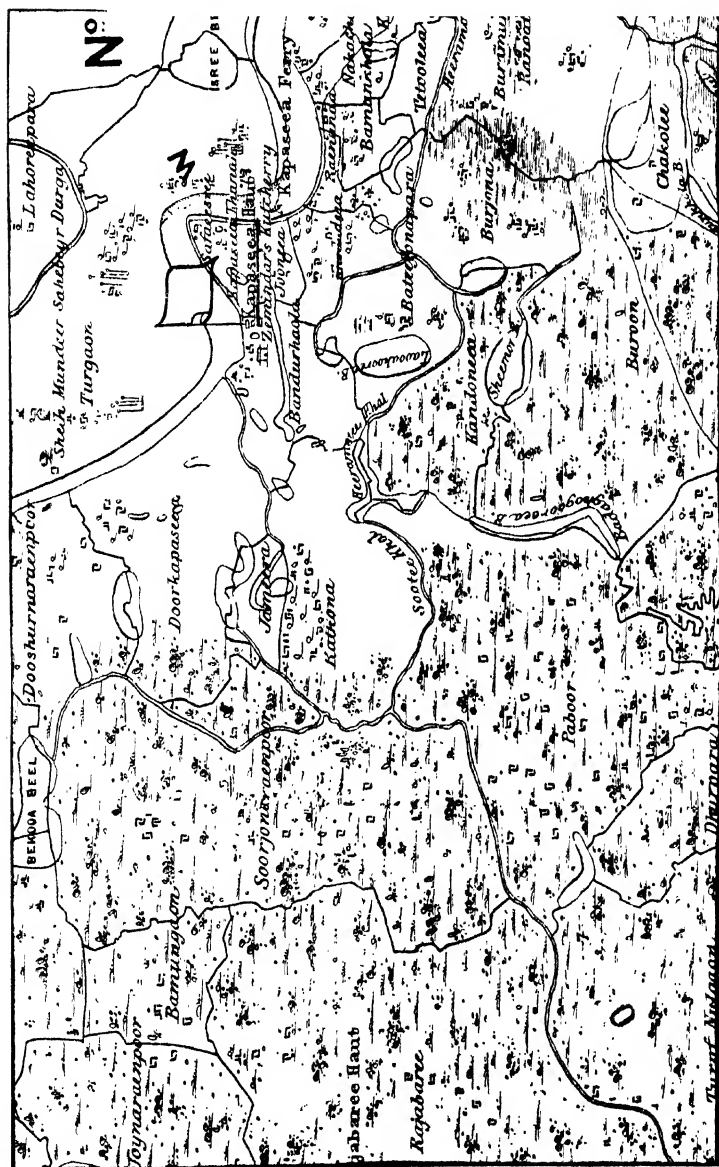


Fig. C. The site of the find and the donated land. Scale 1" = 1 m.
From the Main Circuit Map of 1857-58.

A Circle Officer or Sub-Deputy Magistrate has jurisdiction over a few Police Stations; while the Superintendent of the Archaeological Survey, Eastern Circle, has jurisdiction over two provinces, viz. Bengal and Assam. Previous to the reign of Lakṣmaṇa Sena, the units of Land Division were Bhukti, Maṇḍala, Viṣaya and sometimes also Khaṇḍala. We meet with these terms in the land-grants of the Pālas as well as in those of the Chāndras, Varmmans and the early two Sena Kings. When in the land-grants of Lakṣmaṇa Sena, we find them replaced by the terms Āvṛtti and Chaturaka,—it is only reasonable to conclude that Āvṛtti stands for Maṇḍala, and the two terms have the same meaning. *Chaturaka* would thus be a synonym for Viṣaya or Khaṇḍala. It should be made clear here that the use of the term Viṣaya in the sense of a very much larger-area equivalent to a modern district, is also familiar. Viṣaya in the sense of a much smaller unit and its equivalent Chaturaka would appear to be represented in the modern Revenue unit called *Tāluk*.

In the case of the present grant, if Sāfāi-Śrī is the modern representative of Vasu-Śrī, the big village of Bārun, about four miles south of Sāfāi-Śrī may stand for Bāṇḍana, after which the Āvṛtti was named.

Two villages called Vāsumandana and Mādisā-haṁsa were granted by the present plate, along with some detached plots from contiguous villages. In the absence of complete and convincing agreement in names, speculation regarding the modern representatives of these villages is of little use. I would all the same refer the reader to the two maps of the locality reproduced and would point out, that the village Bānār-Hāolā would answer to the likely position of Vāsumandana and Māndā (Roy Manda) to the likely position of Mādisā-haṁsa. The large village of Khodādia would answer to the position of the village of Jaladāṇḍi, which is named as the boundary of both the villages granted.

HISTORICAL IMPORTANCE OF THE PLATES.

(1) *The contributions from the Mādhāinagar Plate.*

As made out in the first section, the present plate is almost a replica of the Mādhāinagar plate of Lakṣmaṇa Sena discovered at Mādhāinagar in the Pabna district. No attempt has yet been made to glean all facts of historical importance from the plate, and such an attempt is made below. Unfortunately, that plate is also very much corroded. Sj. Prasanna Nārāyaṇ Choudhury's reading of the plate published in 1899 in Vol. I, pp. 92-94, of the now defunct Bengali Journal *Āitihāsik Chitra*, was the first serious attempt at a correct decipherment. Mr. R. D. Banerji's reading published in the J.A.S.B., 1909, pp. 467ff., contained little improvement. Mr. N. G. Majumdar, in his edition of

the plate in his 'Inscriptions of Bengal, Vol. III', pp. 106ff., made a few improvements, but still obvious mistakes were left uncorrected. At my request, Mr. T. N. Rāmachandran, M.A., Superintendent, Archæological Section, Indian Museum, lately sent me three excellent sets of estampages of the plate. In checking the reading of the plate with their help, I have succeeded in finding a few important facts, which baffled the previous editors. This important plate has never been properly illustrated; the illustrations published with Mr. Banerji's article are reproductions of photographs and are thus too blurred to be of any practical use. I am sure that a fresh edition of the plate, accompanied by proper illustrations, would be welcome to all scholars.

In the earliest dependable edition, Mr. Choudhury correctly stated that the reverse contained 30 lines. Mr. Banerji first made the mistake of stating that both the faces contained 29 lines of writing and Mr. Majumdar repeated the mistake. In fact, the obverse does contain 29 lines, but the reverse has 30 lines inscribed on it. This erroneous dropping out of the last line of the reverse has been very unfortunate indeed, because the date of the plate is usually contained in the last letters of the last line. From the estampages so kindly supplied by Mr. Ramachandran, I was easily able to ascertain the existence of this 30th line, and I believe I have succeeded in reading the date also.

The 30th line, like the three previous lines, is very much corroded. But on the analogy of the present plate, the date can be made out with more or less certainty as '*Sam* 25 *Bhādra* Di—'. The last two letters are broken away and lost, taking away *ne* and the figure or figures for the day. In the regnal year, the figure for 2 is sure. The second figure, though made very hazy through corrosion, can be read as nothing else than 5.

We thus realize that the Mādhānagar plate has not really lost its date, but is a dated document. It was issued in the 25th year of Lakṣmaṇa Sena. The year of accession of Lakṣmaṇa Sena is now fairly well-established. Prof. Chintāharan Chakravarty, in a short, but valuable, contribution on the subject, in the Indian Historical Quarterly, Vol. III, pp. 186ff., made out that Lakṣmaṇa Sena came to the throne in 1178 A.D. This was supported by astronomical calculations by Rao Bahadur K. N. Dikshit (*Epigraphia Indica*, XXI, pp. 215-16, Editorial Note. Also Annual Report, Arch. Survey, 1934-35, p. 69). The 25th regnal year thus falls in 1203 A.D. The date of Ikhtiyār-ud-din Muhammad bin Bakhtiyār's invasion of Nadia and consequent Muslim occupation of the north-western part of Bengal was fixed as 1202 A.D. by myself. (Determination of the Epoch of the Parganāti Era. *Indian Antiquary*, 1923.) It thus becomes clear that the Mādhānagar plate was issued in the year following the disaster.

This is strangely confirmed by the contents of the plate itself, the purpose of which has baffled all scholars up to the present time. The plate states that in that year, on the 27th day of *Śrāvana*, certain religious rites were performed by Govinda-devaśarman, the priest in charge of *Sāntyaṅgāra* (House of Propitiation). Mr. Majumdar reads the passage as follows:—

L. 49... सप्तविंश आबण दिवसे...पूर्वकमूलाभिकः

L. 50.....ऐन्द्री महाशान्ति...तगति...गिकादि...

उत्सृज्याचन्द्रार्कनिति

L. 51. समकालं.....

With the help of the estampages supplied by Mr. Ramachandran, I can improve the reading thus:—

सप्तविंश आबण दिवसे अष्टतपूरकमूलाभिकः.....

It would appear thus that the rites were meant to correct some defects in the original coronation ceremony and for the performance of the Grand Propitiatory Rite called *Aindrī*. What this rite was, no one has yet attempted to understand. Mr. Majumdar laconically remarks (p. 108)—‘*Aindrī Mahāśānti* cannot be explained’. He probably did not realize that by failing to explain the term, he missed the whole purpose and historical importance of the plate.

It is only common sense to hold that the purpose of the Great Propitiatory Rites named after Indra must be to avert some misfortune or recurrence of some misfortune already suffered. As such, I thought, they are likely to be named and described in the great compilation by Ballāla Sena Deva, called *Adbhutasāgara* (i.e. an ocean-like compendium of strange happenings), which deals with all peculiar happenings and portents, and their remedies. A good edition of the work was published by the Prabhakari and Co. of Benares Cantonment in 1905 under the editorship of Pandita Muralidhar Jhā, Jyauṭiṣāchāryya and my friend Mr. Pratap Chandra Barat, Teacher, Bulandshahar Govt. High School, had very kindly presented me with a copy. It is an extremely interesting work and in the preliminary discourse, it is stated that the work was begun by Ballāla Sena in Saka 1089 and was left incomplete at death. His son Lakṣmaṇa completed and published the work. In the last part of the work, presumably compiled and added by Lakṣmaṇa Sena himself, a passage on strange happenings and propitiatory rites for them is quoted from the *Matsya-Purāṇa*. The passage is found in the Vaṅgavāsī edition of the *Matsya-Purāṇa* also, Ch. 228, pp. 814; but unfortunately, there is some confusion in the reading. In the *Adbhutasāgara* also, as edited

by Sj. Muralidhar Jhā, the passage has suffered some confusion. But the lines about the *Aindrī Mahāsānti* can easily be reset correctly. The passage occurs on p. 733 of this edition of the *Adbhutasāgara*. After dealing with various misfortunes and their remedies, it has the following two lines:—

भविष्यत्यभिषेके च परचक्रभयेषु च ।

खराद्रभेदेऽरिबधे ऐन्द्री शान्तिस्तयेष्यते ॥

Translation: In coronation ceremonies, when invasion from an enemy state is apprehended, when one's own kingdom is divided or torn asunder, and for killing one's enemies, the Propitiatory Rite called *Aindrī* is prescribed and desired for.

The performance of the *Aindrī Mahāsānti*, for the *Dakṣiṇā* of which villages were granted by the Mādhāinagar plate, is a clear indication of the fact that the kingdom of Lakṣmaṇa Sena had suffered lately from a disastrous invasion by an enemy, who had probably wrested a large portion of it. This can only refer to the invasion of Bengal in the year 1202 A.D. by Ikhtiyāruddin Muhammad, and the loss of the north-western corner of the kingdom to the enemy.

The course of events can now be clearly traced. It was shown in my article on the Parganāti Era (*Indian Antiquary*, 1923) that the years of the Era were *Kārttikādi* ones and it began in 1202. Thus presumably the invasion took place after the cessation of rains in the month of *Kārttika* of 1202. Lakṣmaṇa Sena, then probably in the 80th year of his age, retired to Eastern Bengal with his Court and shifted his capital to Dhāryya-grāma on the Lakṣyā, on the road to further retirement to Kāmarūpa, if necessary. On the 27th of *Śrāvaṇa* next, the propitiatory rites were performed in 1203 A.D., the 25th regnal year. In *Bhādra* the copper-plate was issued. In defiance of the invaders, and also probably with a grim humour, as if to test the efficacy of the rites performed, the villages were granted almost on the border of the limit of Muslim occupation.

The geographical position of Mādhāinagar, the find-place of the plate, should be clearly comprehended. Sara-Sirajganj Railway is well-known. Chāṭmohar is a well-known place on the line, though the railway station that goes by the name is about 3 miles south of real Chāṭmohar. About 16 miles direct north of Chāṭmohar is Tārāsh inside the eastern slope of the famous depression known as the *Chalan Bil*. Tārāsh is well-known for its munificent zamindar family, and the road from Chāṭmohar to Tārāsh forms practically the eastern bank of the *Chalan Bil*. Mādhāinagar is five miles north-east of Tārāsh. It is about 24 miles direct west of Sirajganj. Looking from the Rajshahi side, it can be said that *Chalan Bil* is reached by travelling 16 miles direct east of Nāṭore, and across the *Chalan Bil*, Tārāsh is exactly 24 miles direct east of Nāṭore.

The Mādhānagar plate grants the village of Dāpaniya in the circle of Kāntāpura, within the region of the lake Rāvaṇa, in Varendrī, in the Bhukti of Paṇḍravardhana. Kāntāpura is probably to be identified with the well-known village of Kāntābāri, inside the *Chalan Bil* area on the western limit of the Tārāsh P.S. and on the border of the Rajshahi district. Curiously, the *pargana* round Kāntābāri is still known as Kāntār-mahal, and this would suggest that it is probably identical with the old *Ārytti* of Kāntāpura. The find of a village called Dāpaniyā in the locality would have confirmed the identification, but though the name appears to be rather common in Pabna district,¹ I find no Dāpaniyā near Kāntābāri. Small villages often get merged into big *mauzas* and are thus left unnamed on the Settlement maps.

The mention of a lake in the locality to which the name Rāvaṇa is given is interesting. It would appear to be the name by which the fast silting up lake *Chalan Bil* was known in those days.

About two miles north of Mādhānagar lie the remarkable ruins of a considerable town at Nimgāchhī. At this place and at Gotithā and Khīrtalā close on the north, there are dozens and dozens of big tanks in close groups, some of them about half-a-mile long, a sure indication of the existence of an old town round them. Numerous sculptures and mounds lie scattered about and await exploration. The place very much deserves detailed inspection by the Archaeological Survey. Tradition connects the ruins with one Achyuta Sena of the Sena dynasty. It is quite possible that the place was made in those days a strong outpost against Muslim aggression and expansion.

(2) *Facts from the Bhāwāl plate.*

(a) The queens of Lakṣmaṇa Sena.

The present plate mentions two queens of Lakṣmaṇa Sena by name, viz., Sryā Devī and Kalyāṇa Devī.

The Mādhānagar plate appears to mention another queen. On line 49 of the reverse, in Mr. N. G. Majumdar's edition, the reading accepted is:

मातापित्रोरात्मनश्च पुण्ययशोऽभिरुद्धये.....

But the correct reading would appear to be

सुगौदेव्यारात्मनश्च.....

¹ I have succeeded in seeking out three Dāpaniyās in the district. One is a well-known village on the road from Pabna to Sara bridge, about 7 miles west of Pabna. Another is 11 miles north-east of Pabna, in the Thana of Atghariā. The third is 5 miles north-east of Faridpur (Banwāri-nagar) and 5 miles north of Demrā, a well-known place, P.S. Faridpur, Dt. Pabna.

The first four letters may be महादेया also, but as far as I can make out through bad corrosion, these appear to be सुश्री देया. I am inclined to think that we get the name of a queen of Lakṣmaṇa Sena in सुश्री देवी.

Three plates of the sons of Lakṣmaṇa Sena have hitherto been discovered, viz., the Idilpur plate of Keśava Sena, the Madanpād plate of Viśvarūpa Sena and the Sāhitya Pariśat (Vikrampur-Madhyapādā) plate of Viśvarūpa Sena. In the first, Keśava's mother is named ताड़ा देवी. In the second, Viśvarūpa's mother is also ताड़ा देवी; but in the third, Viśvarūpa's mother is अरुणा देवी (E.I., XXVI, p. 9, Dr. Chakravarti's note on f.n. 4). It is only common sense to hold that a man cannot have two mothers, but this is hardly the place to solve the mystery. It will suffice for our present purpose, if we hold that we get the names of two queens of Lakṣmaṇa Sena, viz., ताड़ा and अरुणा from these records. So, we learn the names of at least five queens of Lakṣmaṇa Sena, viz., सुश्री (?), श्रुया, कल्याण, ताड़ा, अरुणा.

(b) The Sāndhivigrahika.

The name for the minister for peace and war is given as Saṅkaradhara. From resemblance in name, he would appear to be a brother of Umāpatidhara, the famous poet and courtier of Lakṣmaṇa Sena.

(c) Date of the plate. •

It is now clear that Lakṣmaṇa Sena survived the invasion of Ikṣṭiyāruddin and the consequent loss of the north-western portion of his kingdom by at least three years. The *Kārttika* of the 27th regnal year would be equivalent to October-November of 1204 A.D. The fact that Śrīdhara Das's *Saduktikarṇā-mṛita* was compiled in 1127 Śaka in the 27th regnal year of Lakṣmaṇa Sena, is now confirmed by the Bhāwāl plate. How long the king survived (he was probably about 83 in his 27th regnal year) it is impossible to know. But the extraordinary number of endorsements on the plate would suggest that the donee did not feel secure of his grant without them, as the king was very near his end. The first endorsement is *Śrī-ni*. This probably refers to the deity, who is a witness of all transactions. The next is *Mahāsām-ni*, evidently the endorsement of the *Mahāsāndhivigrahika*. The next is *Srimadrāja-ni*, an extraordinary endorsement from the king himself, absent in any other previous record. But it is difficult to understand what

the next endorsement—‘*Śrī-Madana-Saṁkara-ni*’ is, as Madana-Saṁkara is the *virūda* or title of the king himself. The final endorser *Sāhasamalla* is probably none else than the crown prince himself.

(d) Historical events referred to in the plate.

The following historical facts are referred to in the Bhawāl plate:

1. The play of his youthful days was the forcible seizure of the fortunes of the Lord of Gauḍa. By कौमारकेलि, it is reasonable to hold that we should count the feats of Lakṣmaṇa Sena, between his 15th and 20th years. In the Deopādā inscription, Vijaya Sena, grandfather of Lakṣmaṇa Sena, claims to have put the Lord of Gauḍa to flight. Vijaya Sena reigned approximately from 1095–1160 A.D. His son Ballāla reigned from 1160–1178 A.D. Ballāla is described in the *Adbhuta-sāgara* as the king whose powerful arms were like posts to which the Elephant, namely the lord of Gauḍa, was tethered. There are proofs to hold that Govinda Pāla, the last king of the Pāla line, was finally defeated by Ballāla Sena, and his kingdom occupied in 1161 A.D. Vijaya Sena also must have wrested a considerable portion of Varendrī from the Pālas, as the site of his famous temple of Pradyumneśvara, about 7 miles west of the present town of Rajshahi shows. As a *Kumāra* or young prince of 20, Lakṣmaṇa Sena appears to have fought in this campaign against the Lord of Gauḍa. This campaign may be dated in about 1140 A.D.¹

2. The next claim on behalf of Lakṣmaṇa Sena is his propitiation by the king of Kalinga, when he was a full-grown youth, i.e. when he was about 25. Vijaya claims to have driven away the king of Kāmarūpa and quickly conquered the king of Kalinga. Here again I am inclined to take these occurrences in Kalinga to have taken place during the Kalinga campaign in the reign of Vijaya Sena, about 1145 A.D.

3. Next, Lakṣmaṇa Sena is claimed to have defeated the king of Kāśī in battle. This must be a clear reference to the conflict of the Senas with the Gahadwārs of Kanauj. After Ballāla's final conquest of the remnant of Varendrī and of Bihar from Govindapāla, the last of the Pāla line, in 1161 A.D., the Gahadwār and Sena power came into violent conflict. The Gahadwār king Vijaya Chandra, son of the famous Govinda Chandra, came to the throne in 1154 A.D. and reigned up to

¹ In *J.H.Q.*, XVII, pp. 207ff., I have shown that this encounter between the Pālas and the Senas took place in 1140 A.D. at Nindighi, 26 miles direct north of Pradyumneśvara, and in this battle Gopala III lost his life.

1170 A.D. The reign of his son Jayaccandra extended from 1170 to 1193 A.D., when he fell in battle with the Muslims. It is impossible to say with whom Lakṣmaṇa Sena came into conflict but it is fairly clear that the results, in spite of the claims of Lakṣmaṇa Sena and the boast of his sons, were not altogether favourable to the Senas. The Sena hold over Bihar was not strong and the conflict turned it into almost a no-man's-land, which made it such an easy prey to the invasion of Ikṣṭiyāruddin.

4. The next feat of Lakṣmaṇa Sena claimed is the abject submission of the king of Prāgjyotiṣa or Assam. The Mādhāinagar plate further confirms it by adding an epithet—**विक्रम-वशीकृतकामरूप**,—one who had subdued Kāmarūpa (Assam) by his valour. It is possible that this also refers to the conflict with Kāmarūpa in the reign of Vijaya Sena, of which we have references in the Deopādā inscription of Vijaya Sena, as well as in the Kamauli grant of Vaidyadeva, with claims of victory from both the sides. If it relates to any subsequent campaign, we possess no other reference to it.

5. A most significant epithet in the Bhāwāl plate applied to Lakṣmaṇa Sena is the one which says that he obtained (recovered?) the royal fortunes of Gauḍa by furiously churning with the Mandara of his own arms the endless sea of war. This sounds like an intimate personal experience and is not probably a reference to his **कौमारकेलि** in the reign of his grandfather. This, occurring in the plate of a king who is definitely known to have been ousted from Bihar, western part of North Bengal and northern part of West Bengal by Ikṣṭiyāruddin, would suggest that he did put up a fight for his kingdom and finally retained what portion of it he could. It would appear from this that the accounts of Ikṣṭiyāruddin's invasion of Bengal, as recorded in the *Tabaqāt-i-Nāsiri*, have to be supplemented in the light of this epithet. The challenging grant of land by the Mādhāinagar plate in Varendrī, only ten months after the deplorable sack of Nadia, almost on the fringe of the limit of Muslim conquest; the ruins in its vicinity traditionally connected with the name of one Achyuta Sena; the undeniable arrest of any further progress of Muslim conquest in Bengal; the crushing disaster to Muslim arms in Kāmarūpa on the 7th March, 1206,¹ involving the fortunes of Ikṣṭiyāruddin in utter ruin;—all these would signify, that the Senas of Bengal did make a stand against Muslim aggression which had overwhelmed the rest of Northern India, and that successful stand did stem the tide for about a century.

¹ 'Muhammad-i-Bakhtiyar's invasion of Tibet' by myself, *I.H.Q.*, Vol. X, pp. 49ff.

I edit the plate from the photographs and estampages supplied by the authorities of the Royal Asiatic Society of Bengal.¹

TEXT

OBSERVE

L. 1. ॐ नमो नारायणाय ॥

यस्याङ्गे¹ शरदम्बदोरमि तडिल्लेखेव गौरी प्रिया
देहार्द्धेन हरिं समाश्रितमभूद्यस्याति-

L. 2. चित्रं वपुः ।

दीप्तार्कद्युतिलोचनत्रयरुचा घोरं दधानो मुखं
देवत्रांस² निरस्तदानवगजः पुष्पातु पद्माननः ॥ [1]

Notes :—(1) Metre—*Śārddūlavikrīḍita*

(2) M reads त्रांस, but the reading adopted is clear on the present plate. Dr. Randle (*E.I.*, XXVI. p. 5) adopts the reading देवत्वांस But in benedictory addresses, it is customary to refer to the addressee in the plural as वः or युष्मान् । The verb त्रांस means 'to shine'.

Translation.

May success attend. (Expressed by a symbol.) Om
Obeisance to Nārāyaṇa.

May the five-faced god (Śiva) advance (our affairs), on whose lap is his beloved Gaurī like a streak of lightning on the bosom of the autumn clouds; whose person assumed variegated appearance by holding (the god) Harī by a half of his body; who holds faces which are awesome with the brilliance of three eyes resplendent like suns; and who makes the gods shine and is a subduer of the demon Gaja. [1]

खर्ग-

L. 3. ज्ञा¹ जलपुण्डरीकममृतप्रापाम² धारा मृहम्

ष्टङ्कारद्रुमपुष्पमीश्वरशिखालङ्कारमुक्तामणिः ।

क्षीराम्भोनिधिजी-

¹ After my article had been submitted to the R.A.S.B. for printing, Dr. Randle's edition of the plate came out in the *Epigraphia Indica*, Vol. XXVI, pp. 1ff. In addition to checking with the help of the estampage of the Mādhānagar plate so kindly supplied by Mr. Ramachandran, my edition has therefore the advantage of a comparison with Dr. Randle's reading. Differences are noted in the footnotes. I am glad to find that Dr. N. Chakravarti, editor of the *E.I.*, suggested many improvements which tally with my readings. Dr. Chakravarti's valuable suggestions have enabled me to improve my readings in some important passages.

L. 4.

वितं कुमुदिनीवृन्दैकवैहासिको ³जीयान्मन्मथराज्य ⁴ पौष्टिकमहाशान्तिदिजश्चन्द्रमाः ॥ [2]*Notes* :—(1) Metre—*Śārddūlavikrīḍita*.

(2) M reads प्रादार । But the reading here is clearly प्रापार । R reads प्रावार but the 2nd letter cannot be read anything else than प or य । अमृतप्राप gives good sense. I find from the estampage of the Mādhāinagar plate that the reading there also is प्रापार ।

(3) M reads वैहासको, but the reading वैहासिको is clear on the estampage.

(4) M reads राजं, but राज्य, is clear on the estampage.

Translation :

May that moon-god prosper, who is a lotus in the waters of the Heavenly River; who is the reservoir of (i.e. from which flow) the streams that scatter nectar; who is the flower of the tree of love; who is the jewel on the crest-ornament of the lord Śiva; who took his birth from the Kṣiroda Sea; who is the only cheerer of the whole lot of water-lilies and who is the priest performing the great propitiatory rites for increasing the bounds of the kingdom of Love. [2]

त्रिभुवन ¹ जयसम्भू-

L. 5.

तानु ² क्लृप्तैःक्रतुभिश्चारित ³ सत्त्विनोऽमराणाम् ।

अजनिषत तदन्वये धरित्री-

वलयविष्टङ्गलकीर्त्तयो नरेन्द्राः ॥ [3]

Notes :—(1) Metre—*Puṣpitaṅgrā*.

(2) M reads अव and the reading there is without doubt अव । But it is clearly अनु here. R reads अर्थ—which is not warranted by the estampages.

(3) M reads अवारित, but the reading there, as here, is without doubt अवारित, as noted by the editor, E.I.

Translation :

In his (moon's) lineage were born kings whose fame had run riot over the orb of the earth; kings, who had made the residence of the gods open to them by the performance of sacrifices which were caused by, and followed, their conquest of the three worlds. [3]

L. 6. पौराणीभिः¹ ऋथाभिः प्रथितगुणगणे वीरसेनस्य वंशे
कर्णोटक्षत्रियाणामजनि कुलशिरोदाम

L. 7. सामन्तसेनः ;
कृत्वा निर्व्वीरमुर्व्वीतलमपि न तरां² दृष्यत्पानाकनद्यां
निर्णिर्गतो येन युध्यद्रिपुरुधिरकरका-

L. 8. कौर्याधारः कृपाणः ॥ [4]

Notes :—(1) Metre—*Sragdharā*.

(2) M and R—अधिकतरां । Dr. Chakravartī, Editor, *E.I* is right in correcting it to अपि न तरां.

Translation :

In the lineage of Vīra-Sena, whose virtues are recounted in the Pauranic stories, was born Sāmanta-Sena,—a garland bedecking the crest of the family of the Kṣatriyas of Karmāta; who, not satisfied even after having made the face of the globe bereft of heroes, proceeded to wash in the divine river (Ganges) the edge of his sword besmeared with the particles of blood of the enemies who engaged him in battle. [4]

वीराणामधिदैवतं¹ रिपुचमूमाराङ्गमल्लव्रत-
स्तस्माद्विस्मयनीयशौर्यमहिमा

L. 9. हेमन्तसेनोऽभवत् ।

क्षीरोदाधरवाससो वसुमतीदेव्या यदीयं यशो
रत्नस्येव सुमेरुगौलिमि-

L. 10. लितं क्षौमत्रियं पुष्यति ॥ [5]

Note :—(1) Metre—*Śārdḍūlavikrīḍita*.

Translation :

From him was born Hemanta-Sena, who was an object of worship (like a god) to the heroes; whose mission in life was the destruction of the forces of his enemies; who was endowed with astonishing prowess and majesty; and whose fame shines like a jewel and thus appears like the silken scarf on the Sumeru-crest of goddess Earth, whose lower garment is made up of the Kṣīroda Sea. [5]

अजनि¹ विजयसेनस्तेजसां राशिरस्मात्
समरविन्दमराणां भूभतामे-

L. 11.

कशेषः ।

इहं² जगति विषहे येन वंशस्य पूर्वः

पुरुष इति सुधांशौ केवलं राजशब्दः ॥ [6]

Notes :—(1) Metre—*Mālinī*.

(2) Read इह ।

Translation :

From him was born the mass of energy (which was) **Vijaya Sena**, the last among the princes whose custom it was to go out on military expeditions. He tolerated the epithet king to cling to the Moon alone, because he happened to be the progenitor of his family. [6]

भूचक्रं¹

L. 12.

कियदेतदावृतमभूद्यदामनस्यांघ्रिणा

नागानां कियदास्पदं यदुरसा² लङ्घन्ति गूढाङ्गुयः ।एकाह-³

L. 13.

यदनूरश्चति कियन्मात्रं तदप्यम्बरं

यस्यातीव यशो क्रिया त्रिभुवनं व्याप्यापि नो⁴ दृष्यति⁵ ॥ [7]Notes :—(1) Metre—*Śārddūlavikrīḍita*.

(2) M reads आभ्युदयसुरसा, which is well-corrected by the present reading of R, which is the reading on both the plates.

(3) R. D. Banerji (*J.A.S.B.*, 1909, pp. 467ff.) correctly read एकाहात् which M needlessly corrected to एकाहोत् ।

(4) M व्याप्यापि. R व्याप्यापि, which is the correct reading to be found on both the plates.

(5) The translation of the *Śloka* offered by R is far from happy. The intended sense is the smallness of the three worlds and consequent shame and dissatisfaction on covering such small areas.

Translation :

Very small indeed is the orb of this earth, which became covered (even) by the foot of the Dwarf: very small also must be the abode (nether region) of the snakes, which is covered even by those with hidden legs (i.e. the snakes), crawling on their breasts: and the heavenly sphere, again, must also be very small, which even the Thighless One traverses in the course of a day. (This is why) his profuse fame, even after encompassing the three worlds, does not feel satisfied through shame (of having not done enough.) [7]

तस्मादशेष-¹

L. 14. सवनोत्सवपार्वणेन्दु-²

र्वक्षालसेनजगतोपतिवज्जगाम ।

यः केवलं न खलु सर्व्वनरेन्द्रराणा-

मेकः स-

L. 15. मयविदुषामपि³ चक्रवर्त्ति⁴ ॥ [8]

Notes :—(1) Metre—*Vasantatilakā*.

(2) M reads कारणेन्दु । R also makes out the correct reading पार्वणेन्दु, which is also the reading on the Mādhānagar plate.

(3) M reads विबुधाम्, but the reading on the Mādhānagar plate is also विदुषाम् ।

(4) Read चक्रवर्त्ती. The Mādhānagar plate has the correct reading.

Translation :

From him was born Ballāla Sena, the master of the earth, —a festival-creating moon who was the source of endless rejoicing in the worlds,—who was a lord not only over all the other kings, but over the entire circle of scholars as well. [8]

परापरान्तः¹ पुरमौलिरत्नं²

चालुक्यभूपालकुलेन्दुलेखा ।

तस्य³ प्रियाभू-

L. 16. दृढमानभूमि-

र्त्तन्मौपृथिव्योरपि रामदेवी ॥ [9]

Notes :—(1) Metre—*Upendravarjā*. The correct reading is probably धराधरान्तः—, which the Mādhānagar plates has and which M reads. But the reading here appears to be परापरान्तः—. But प and ध are easily confused on this plate. There is no justification for reading धराधरान्तः—, as Dr. Chakravarti proposes in E.I.

(2) R notes the correct reading रत्नं.

(3) तस्या, as read by M is clearly wrong. Noted also by R.

Translation :

His beloved wife was Rāmadevī, the crest-jewel of the king's seraglio, a streak of moon from the family of the Chālukya

king,—a lady beloved and deeply respected by even (her co-wives) the goddess of Fortune and the Earth. [9]

एताभ्यां¹ वसुदेवदेवकसुता देहान्तराभ्यामिव
श्रीमल्ल-

L. 17. द्वायामेनमूर्तिरजनि द्वापालनारायणः ।

चक्रे यन्मयजन्मनिस्सहमिलमिद्वानुबन्धच्छलात्
ह-

L. 18. छेनाधिपयोधि कञ्चुकमिव व्यक्तं² प्रमृगं वपुः ॥ [10]

Notes.—This *Śloka* was only partly deciphered by B and M. R also has not been able to make much of the last two lines. The suggestions of Dr. C have clarified the meaning to some extent. There is no doubt that the reference is to the birth of the Lord Nārāyaṇa under painful circumstances, and from the analogy drawn with the birth of Lakṣmaṇa Sena, it would appear that his birth also was equally painful. This strangely supports the story recorded by Minhajuddin, author of *Tabaqāt-i-Nāsiri*, that the birth of Lakṣmaṇa Sena was attended with extraordinary happenings and the queen-mother was enveloped in eternal sleep in giving him birth. The meaning of the last two lines, all the same, is rather hazy. I have attempted a translation, but am not quite satisfied with it.

(1) Metre—*Śārdḍūlavikrīḍita*.

(2) The word reads like व्यक्ता; if so, it should be corrected to व्यक्तं.

Translation :

From them, as if from the bodies of Vasudeva and the daughter of Devaka, the figure of Lakṣmaṇa Sena, the Nārāyaṇa, sprang forth. (That Nārāyaṇa) united that (figure) for the purpose of a painful (मय) birth, and when taken away (छष्ट), it left the dazed body under cover of sleep in the manner of the corset (on the breast) of the Sea of pain (fallen off during sleep).

दृष्य¹ द्रौडेश्वरश्रीहठहरणकला यस्य कौमा-

L. 19. रकेलिः²

कालिङ्गेनाङ्गनाभिः प्रतिसदनपदास्त्रकिरे³ यस्य यूनः ।

येनासौ काशिराजः समर-

L. 20. भुवि जितो यस्य निस्त्रिंशधारा-

भीरुः प्राग्ज्योतिषेन्द्र⁴ खरराजर्जसा निर्भमे कार्मणानि ॥

Notes.—This *Śloka* was only partially deciphered by B and M. The attempts of R and C leave the second line unsatisfactory, while great credit is due to R for reading प्रागज्योतिषेन्द्र in the last line, which I failed to read. The *Śloka* as now read above, will, I hope, give complete satisfaction.

(1) M reads आसौद्गोडेश्वर; but the present (as also made out by R) is undoubtedly the correct reading. प्य of दृप्यद्—is very clear even on the Mādhānagar plate.

(2) Metre—*Sragdharā*. M gives the metre as शाईलविक्रीडित, which is wrong.

(3) This is undoubtedly a better reading than those proposed by R and C. प्रतिसदन means 'abhorrence', and the word पद, ordinarily neuter, is also rarely used in the masculine gender, as here.

(4) This excellent and consistent reading was made out by R.

Translation :

His juvenile prank was the forcible seizure of the Fortunes of the haughty Lord of Gauḍa. Feelings of (veritable) abhorrence (for women) were engendered in him in his youth by the (conquered) king of Kaliṅga by (a too profuse supply of) women. That (well-known) king of Kāśī was defeated by him in the field of battle. The king of Prāggyotiṣa, afraid of the edge of his sword, worked magic with the dust of his feet. [11]

आसौ-

L. 21. मारं¹ समरजयिना नुर्व्वतोर्व्वीमवीरा-
मेतेनामौ कथमिव दिशामौसितारो² विमुक्ताः ।

युद्धोद्दीप्ते व-³

L. 22. पुषि कलया तस्य तेष्टौ⁴ प्रविष्टाः

प्रक्षीभूते⁵ प्रभवति नहि क्षत्रियाणां क्षपाणः ॥ [12]

Notes.—This *Śloka* was only partially and defectively deciphered by B and M on the Mādhānagar plate. Of the text deciphered here, the first two lines appear to be sure and correct. The remaining two lines also yield good sense.

(1) Metre—*Mandākrāntā*.

(2) Read ईशितारो. The Mādhānagar plate has the correct spelling.

(3) These five letters at the end of line 21 are very much rubbed off and the reading proposed is only a tentative one.

The fourth letter is either ते or म and not के, as made out by R and C. I first read स्तब्धीभूते but would prefer the present reading युद्धोद्दीप्ते, which yields better meaning.

(4) वपुषि and तेष्टौ are good readings made out by R.

(5) प्रक्षीभूते or प्रक्षीभूते, the first suggested by C, yields excellent meaning.

Translation :

By him, who had been the victor in battles from his boyhood and had exterminated heroes from the face of this earth, why (it may be asked) were those (अमी) Lords of the Quarters allowed to go scotfree? Those Eight (Lords of the Quarters) artfully entered (i.e. took shelter) into his body energized by battle and (it is well known that) the sword of the Kṣatriya does not function against the submissive. [12]

यत्त्रारामद्रुमदलरू-

L. 23. चा¹ शैवलिन्यङ्गगन्ति²
सस्यव्याजाल्जयपदगुणे³ येषु रोमाञ्चिता भूः ।
प्राणान्मुञ्चन्त्यवनिपतयो

L. 24. नो च नर्यावनेन⁴
ग्रामास्ते ते सपदि ददिरे कोटिभः शासनानि ॥ [13]

Notes.—Of this *Sloka*, only two fragments were deciphered by B and M. Engraver's mistakes have added to the difficulties of a correct decipherment.

(1) Metre—*Mandākrāntā*.

(2) शैवलिनौ has to be taken at its simple meaning of 'moss'. No river of that name appears to be intended. Of ऋगन्ति, the first letter is very peculiar. Metre requires a short syllable here. The reading proposed is probably correct and gives good sense. The readings proposed by R and C cannot be accepted or justified. The second letter ग is clear in the impression and C recognises this fact. Probably *rhhr* is the correct reading and not simply *rrh*.

(3) My reading agrees with that of C except जयपद for his जनपद. The letter after ज cannot be न. It is clearly य or प.

(4) C suggested नर्यावनेन, i.e., नर्यौ + अनेन । But the third letter is certainly न. Therefore I agree with R in reading

नर्यागनेन, i.e., नर्यान् + अनेन. नर्यान् is the plural of नर्य in the masculine, meaning manly qualities. The plain meaning is,— kings give up प्राणान् but not नर्यान्.

Translation :

Where the mosses play hide-and-seek by the side of the beauty of the trees of the pleasure resorts; where the thrill of victory (prosperity) of the earth is expressed in the guise of (shivering) corn plants; (where) princes give up their lives, but not their manly qualities; (where) were quickly given diverse villages by crores (i.e. in large numbers) as grants to Brahmins,—[13].

ते खलु¹ धार्य्य² ग्रामपरिसर स-

L. 25. मावासित श्रीमज्जयस्कन्धावारात् परमेश्वर-परमसौर-³

परमभट्टारक-महाराजाधिराज-श्री नल्ला-

L. 26. लसेनदेवपादानुध्यात-निजभुजमन्दर-मन्दरप्रमथिता-
सौमसमरसागरसमासादितगौडलक्ष्मी-वीर-

L. 27. सकल⁴ कुशेशय⁵ विकास⁶ वासरंकर-गौडेश्वर-परमेश्वर-
परमनारसिंह परमभट्टारक-महारा-

L. 28. जाधिराज-श्रीमल्लक्ष्मणसेनदेवपादा विजयिनः ।

Notes:—(1) M reads.... निर्गते खलु. This is a mistake. The last letter नि of the last *Śloka* and the succeeding ॥ (double full-stop) were mistaken for निर्ग. The real reading is as given above.

(2) R throws doubt on the reading धार्य्यग्राम, the name of the capital. But the reading is fairly clear on the Mādhāi-nagar plate, as well as here. The name may be धार्या and not धार्य्य.

(3) R reads वैष्णव. The letters are corroded, but appear to read सौर.

(4) R reads सेनकुलकुशेशय.

(5) Read कुशेशय, meaning lotus.

(6) Read विकास । R fails to read most of line 26 and first half of line 27. C suggests better readings. But the reading offered here will, I hope, be found satisfactory.

Translation :

Verily from the victorious camp pitched across (that) Dhāryyagrāma, the victorious and illustrious lord Lakṣmaṇa-

Sena-Deva, who meditates on the feet of the illustrious Ballāla-Sena-Deva, the great lord, the great worshipper of the sun-god, the great worshipful one and the great paramount sovereign; who acquired the Fortunes of Gauda by churning furiously the boundless sea of war by the Mandara (churning rod) of his own arms; who is the sun which makes all the lotuses viz: heroes, to bloom forth; the lord of Gauda; the great lord; the great worshipper of the Man-lion incarnation of Viṣṇu; the great worshipful one; the great paramount sovereign—

समुपगताशेषराज राजन्यक राज्ञी रागाक रा-

- L. 29. जपुत्र राजामात्य महापुरोहित महाधर्माध्यक्ष महा-
सान्धिविग्रहिक महामेनापति महामुद्राधिक-
L. 30. तान्तरङ्ग बृहदुपरिक महाक्षपटलिक महाप्रतीहार-
महाभोगिक महापौलुपति महागणस्थ दौः

REVERSE.

- L. 1. साधिक चोरोद्धरगिक नौवल्लस्यश्वगोमहिषाजावि-
कादिव्याप्तक गोल्मिक दण्डपाणि-
L. 2. क दण्डनायक विषयपत्यादीन् अन्यांश्च सकलराज-
पादोपजीविनोऽध्यक्षप्रचारोक्तानिहाकीर्ति-
L. 3. तान् चट्टभट्टजातीयान् जनपदान् क्षेत्रकरान्
ब्राह्मणान् ब्राह्मणोत्तरान् यथार्हं मानयन्ति बोध-
L. 4. यन्ति समादिशन्ति च मतमस्तु भवताम्

Translation :

[Thus] suitably persuades, explains to, and commands all the (following) endless (people) who make a living depending on the king's feet (i.e. the royal officers) [viz:]—

राज = Princes (probably dependent princes).

राजन्यक = Assemblage of Warriors.

राज्ञी = Queens.

रागाक = Members of the king's family or kinsmen of the King.

राजपुत्र = Sons of the King.

राजामात्य = Ministers of the King.

महापुरोहित = The High Priest.

महाधर्माध्यक्ष = The Supreme Judge or Chief Justice.

महासान्धिविग्रहिक = The Supreme Minister for Peace and War.

महासेनपति = The Commander-in Chief.

महामुद्राधिकृत = The Lord Privy-Seal.

अन्तरङ्ग = The Private Secretary (?).

बृहदुपरिक = The Rulers over large units like the Divisions of modern days.

महाक्षपटलिक = The Chief Record-Keeper.

महाप्रतौहाग = The Lord Chamberlain.

महाभोगिक = The Chief Lord of Stables.

महापौलुपति = The Chief Lord of Elephant Stables.

महागणस्थ = The Divisional Commander of Forces.

दौः साधिक = One who performs difficult tasks, probably, the Head of the Intelligence Branch of the Police.

चौगोद्वर्गिक = The police officer in charge of investigation into cases of theft. A thief-extirpator. A thief-catcher. (Monier-Williams.)

व्याप्तक = Officers in charge of (the following) :—

नौ = Boats. बल = Forces. हस्ती = Elephants. अश्व = Horses.

गो = Cows. मर्द्दध = Buffaloes. अज = Goats. अविक = Sheep.

गौल्मिक = Superintendent of Outposts.

दण्डपाशिक = Holder of noose to catch offenders. Police Chief. (Monier-Williams.)

दण्डनायक = Rod-applier or Judge. (Monier-Williams.)

विषयपति = District Officers.

—and all other (officers) included in the List of Government Officials, but not mentioned here, (as well as) regular and irregular members of the Police Force and the tillers of the soil, the Brāhmanas and (members of society) other than the Brāhmanas, —let the consent of your honoured selves be (to the following transaction):—

L. 4 (Continued). यथा श्रीपौण्ड्रवर्द्धनभुक्त्यन्तःपाति बाण्डनावृत्त्यन्त-
र्गतवसुश्रीचतु-

L. 5. रके पूर्वे पोञ्चेषादाण्डसीमा दक्षिणे जलदाण्डसीमा
पश्चिमे मजनदीसीमा उत्तरेऽपि तथा

- L. 6. सौमा इत्थं चतुःसौमावच्छिन्नं कविल्की चुच्चली गाण्डोली
देहियाखण्डक्षेत्रसमेत राय
- L. 7. श्वकोटमजगहर्त्तराक पूर्वे गुडहाससम्बन्धिभूसूत्रद्वयं सिंह-
जाविल्की तथा केमतयावाटिपश्चिमका
- L. 8. गिडस्तथा जलदागिडसम्बन्धीयचतुःसूत्रभ्रष्टजलनिर्गमजागः सौमा
दक्षिणे जलदागिडसौमा
- L. 9. पश्चिमायाश्च जलदागिडसौमा उत्तरे वानहार्गदः सौमा ।
इत्थञ्चतुःसौमावच्छिन्नो मा
- L. 10. दिसाहंसग्रामक्रियदेकदेशः इत्थमेतावूपरिलिखिताभूसौमा-
वच्छिन्नो द्वाविंशतिहस्त-
- L. 11. पश्मिमतनलेन तलवर्त्तसमेत काकिन्यष्टाविंशति षष्ठाधिक
पाटेको¹ समेत द्रोगैकान्वित-
- L. 12. समुदयभूपाटकात्मकाः सम्बत्सरेण कपर्दकपुराणशतचतुष्टयोत्-
पत्तिकखण्डक्षेत्रचतुष्टय स²
- L. 13. समेता वासुमण्डण³मादिमाहंसक्रियदेकभूभागौ सभाटविट-
पौ सजलस्थलौ सगर्त्तो-
- L. 14. षण्णै सगुवाकनारिकेलौ मल्लदशापराधौ पश्चित्सर्वपौडा-
वचट्टभट्टप्रवेशावकिञ्चित्प्र-
- L. 15. ग्राह्यौ लग्नपूतिगोचरपर्यन्तौ कृष्णदेवशर्म्मणः प्रपौत्राय जयदेव-
शर्म्मणः पौत्राय महादेव-
- L. 16. देवशर्म्मणः पुत्राय मोदुल्ल⁴सगोत्राय और्वच्यवनभार्गवजामदघ्न
आप्त्रवान् प्रवगाय सामवेदकौथुम-
- L. 17. शाखाचरणावधायिने पाठकश्रीपद्मनाभदेवशर्म्मणे पण्ये अह्नि
विधिवद्दकपूर्वकं भगव-
- L. 18. न्तं श्रीमन्नागयगभट्टारकमुद्दिश्य महादेवी ष्टया⁵ देवी महादेवी
कल्याणदेव्याः भूतिपोष्टिनि-
- L. 19. मित्तं वास्तुगोचरायां सम्बर्धेण शतचतुष्टयोत्पत्तिकां भूमिमुत्सृ-
ज्याचन्द्रार्कक्षतिसमकालं यावत्
- L. 20. भूमिच्छिन्नन्यायेन ताम्रशासनौकृत्वा प्रदत्ता अस्माभिः ।

Notes.—The proper right side of the plate has suffered severely by corrosion, with the result that it is very difficult to decipher about a quarter of all the lines in the beginning. Some geographical names occurring in this obscure quarter

could not, therefore, be satisfactorily deciphered. The doubtful names and portions have been underlined in the text. The name of the **आवृत्ति** I have made out as **वाखन** and that of the **चतुरक** as **वसुश्री**. The latter name can be also read as **वसुश्री**. Names ending in **श्री** and its corruption **शी** are rather common in Bengal. The name of **चन्द्रश्री**, now called **चांदश्री**, a well known village of the Bakarganj district, may be recalled in this connection. Many names ending in **श्री** are also to be found in the region where the plate was found, showing that the names were given to the villages by the early Aryan colonisers who had a keen aesthetic sense and a genius for poetical nomenclature.

R reads some of the proper names differently, as corrosion makes taking of different views possible. But his failure to read the identifying name of the river **वागहार** is regrettable. C has not failed to suggest the correct reading.

(1) Read **पाटक**.

(2) Delete this redundant **स**.

(3) The name of the first village, part of which was granted, is provisionally deciphered as **वासुमखन**. This name probably occurs at the end of line 6 and beginning of line 7, where the letters deciphered give no sense. These letters may, after all, be simply **वासुमखनग्रामकियदेकदेशः**.

(4) The name is spelt **मोदुल्ल** and not **मौदुल्य**.

(5) The name can be read nothing else than **पट्टया**. On this point, the note added by C (*E.I.*, XXVI, p. 9, n. 3) is illuminating.

Translation :

Whereas in the **Bhukti** (Division) of **Paundravardhana**, in the **Āvṛtti** (Circle or Enclosure) of **Bāṇḍana**, in the **Chaturaka** (Quadrangle) of **Vasu-Śrī**, (the village) **Rāpaśvakṛṣṭa**—**Majagaharttarāka**(?) with detached plots of (the villages of) **Kavilkī**, **Chunchali**, **Gāṇḍoli** and **Dehiyā**, bounded as follows:—

To the East, the boundary of **Poñchesādāṇḍi**;

To the South, the boundary of **Jaladāṇḍi**;

To the West, the boundary of the dried up river;

To the North, the same; (and)

a part of the village of **Mādisāhaṁsa**, bounded as follows:—

To the East, the canal (outlet) for the flow of spill-water skirting two sides of the (village of) **Gudāhāsa** and slipping off the four sides of (the villages of) **Simhajāvilkī**, **Kemata-grāvāṭi**, **Pāschinkāṇḍi** and **Jaladāṇḍi**;

To the South, the boundary of **Jaladāṇḍi**;

To the West also the boundary of Jaladāṇḍi;

To the North, the boundary of the river Bānahāra;

These two plots of land, bounded as above, measured by the *Nala* (reed) measuring twenty-two cubits in length, and including the attached low land, (of the total area of) six *Pāṭakas* increased by one *Droṇa* and twenty-eight *Kākinis*,—the entire land annually producing four hundred *Kaparddaka-Purāṇas*,—(viz:) parts of the villages of Vāsumandana and Mādisāhaṃsa with four detached plots of land,—

With all the shrubs and trees, with all dry land and water, with the ditches and fallow land, with the betel-nut and the coconut trees, with the toleration of (i.e. unforfeitable in spite of) the Ten offences, relieved of all taxes, (oppressive impositions), unencroachable by *Chatṭas* and *Bhaṭṭas* (regular and irregular Police Force) free from all (state) demands, even with the grass, wild herbs and pasture,—this land annually producing four hundred *Kaparddaka-Purāṇas* and consisting of habitable land and pasture, etc., has been given by us in dedication, by the promulgation of a copper-plate, in perpetuity to last as long as the Sun, the Moon and the Earth lasted,—duly consecrated with (holy) water and on an auspicious day, for pleasing the illustrious god Lord Nārāyaṇa, and for the welfare and advancement of the major queens Śrīyā Devī and Kalyāṇa Devī.

To the Reader (of holy texts) Śrī Padmanābha Deva-Śarman, son of Mahādeva Deva Śarman, grandson of Jaya Deva-Śarman and great-grandson of Kṛṣṇa Deva-Śarman belonging to the clan of Modgallya and with the (five) *Pravaras* Aurbha, Chyāvana, Bhārgava, Jāmadagna and Āpnuvān, versed in a quarter of the Kauthuma branch of the Sāma-Veda.

L. 20 (Continued). तद्भवद्भिः सर्वैरेवानुमन्तव्याः भावि-

L. 21. भिरपि भूपतिभिरपहृणो नरकपातभयात् पालने धर्म्मगौरवात्
शासनमिदं पालनीयम् । भव-

L. 22. न्ति चात्र धर्म्मानुशंसिनः श्लोकाः । भूमिं यः प्रतिगृह्णाति
यश्च भूमिं प्रयच्छति । उभौ तौ पुण्यकर्म्मगौ नि-

L. 23. यतं स्वर्गगामिनौ ॥ बह्वभिर्वसुधा दत्ता राजभिः सगरादि-
भिः । यस्य यस्य यदा भूमिस्तस्य तस्य तदा

L. 24. फलम् । आप्णोत्यन्ति पितरो वत्सयन्ति पितामहाः । भूमि-
दाता कुले जातः स नस्त्राता भविष्यति ॥ ष-

L. 25. ष्ठिर्ष्वसहस्राणि स्वर्गे मोदति भूमिदः आक्षेप्ता चानुमन्ता
च तान्येव नरके वसेत् । स्वदत्तां परदत्तां वा यो

L. 26. हरेत वसुन्धरां स विष्ठायां कृमिर्भूत्वा पितृभिः सह पच्यते ॥
इति कमलदलाम्बुबिन्दुलोलां श्रियमनुचिन्तयं

- L. 27. मनुष्यजीवितञ्च सकलमिदमुदाहृतञ्च बुद्धा न हि पुन्यैः पर-
कीर्त्तयो विलोप्याः ॥ अगिराजमद-
- L. 28. नशङ्करनरपतिरकरोन्महीशतमुखं शङ्करधरमिह दूतं गौड-
महासान्निविर्यद्विकम् ॥
- L. 29. श्री नि महासां नि । श्रीमद्राज नि । श्रीमदनशङ्कर नि ।
श्रीमत् माहसमल्ल नि । सं २७ । का दिने ई

Translation :

Therefore this (transaction) should be permitted by all of you venerable gentlemen. By the future king also, this grant should be respected, as there is religious merit in respecting this grant and the apprehension of falling into the hell in misappropriating the land of this grant. Here may be cited the following religious distiches:—

One who accepts lands granted and the one who makes the grant of land,—both of these persons of meritorious deed constantly find their way to paradise.

Kings like Sagara and others extensively gave away land. Whenever and whoever (subsequently) became the proprietor of the land, the merit of the gift then accrued to them.

The fathers strike their arms (in challenging pride) and the grandfathers dance in joy by saying, —‘A giver of land has been born in our lineage (and) he will be our Saviour’.

The giver of land revels in paradise for sixty thousand years. One who destroys that grant or permits such destruction lives in hell for an equal number of years.

One who robs land given either by himself or by others, becomes a worm in ordure and putrefies there with his forefathers.

So, considering that good fortune is unsteady like a drop of water on a lotus leaf, and that human life is equally so, and also comprehending all that has been cited (above), a person should not destroy the good deeds of others.

The King who is called Arirāja-madana-śaṅkara appointed plenipotentiary in this transaction Śaṅkaradhara, the exalted among a hundred countries and the chief minister of Gauda for peace and war.

Endorsed by Śrī (Lord Nārāyaṇa?). By the Mahāsām (dhivigrahika). By the illustrious Sovereign (himself). By the illustrious Madana-Śaṅkara. By the illustrious Sāhasamalla. Year 27. The 6th day of Kārttika).¹

¹ The entire annotated text and translation were very kindly revised by Dr. P. C. Lahiri, M.A., Ph.D. (Lond.), Lecturer in Sanskrit, Dacca University, resulting in some important improvements, for which the writer is sincerely grateful to Dr. Lahiri.

'The Gupta Era.

By P. C. SENGUPTA.

(Communicated by Prof. M. N. Saha.)

In the present paper it is proposed to determine the beginning of the era of the Gupta emperors of northern India. Dr. Fleet in his great book *Inscriptionum Indicarum*, Vol. III, has published a collection of the Gupta inscriptions. In order to verify the dates in those inscriptions he had the assistance of the late Mr. S. B. Dikṣita of Poona, and his calculations led Dr. Fleet to conclude that the Gupta era began from 319-321 A.D.¹ This indefinite statement or inference is not satisfactory. Mr. Dikṣita was also not able to prove that the Gupta and Valabhī eras were but one and the same era.² Of recent years some have even ventured to prove that the Gupta era is to be identified with the Saṃvat or Mālava era. Hence it has become necessary to try to arrive at a definite conclusion on this point, viz., as to the true beginning of the Gupta era.

The tradition about this era is recorded by Alberuni, which is equivalent to this:—from the Śaka year deduct 241, the result is the year of the Gupta kings and that the Gupta and the Valabhī eras are one and the same era.³ Now the Śaka era and the Saṃvat or Mālava era are generally taken to begin from the light half of lunar Caitra. As has been stated already, it is extremely controversial to assume if this was so at the times when these eras were started.

From the earliest Vedic times and also from the *Vedāṅga* period, we have the most unmistakable evidences to show that the calendar year, as distinguished from the sacrificial year was started either from the winter solstice day or from the day following it. The so-called *Caitra-śuklādī* reckoning started the year from the vernal equinox day or from the day following it. So far as we can see from a study of the history of Indian astronomy, we are led to conclude that this sort of beginning the year was started by Āryabhaṭa I, from 499 A.D. The great fame of Āryabhaṭa I as an astronomer led all the astronomers and public men of later times to follow him in this respect. We start with

¹ Fleet—*Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum*, Vol. III (Gupta Inscriptions) page 127.

² S. B. Dikṣita, *भारतीय ज्योतिःशास्त्र*, page 375 (1st edn.).

³ Sachau's Alberuni, Vol. II, page 7—'The epoch of the era of the Guptas falls, like that of the Valabha era, 241 years later than the Śakakāla.'

the hypothesis that the Gupta era was originally started from the winter solstice day and that initially the year of the era more correctly corresponded with the Christian year than with the *Caitra-śuklādi Śaka* year.

Now the year 241 of the Śaka era is equivalent to 319-20 A.D. We assume that the Gupta era started from the winter solstice day preceding January 1, 319 A.D. The elapsed years of the Gupta era till 1940 A.D. becomes 1,621 years and $1,621 = 160 \times 10 + 19 + 2$. Hence the starting year of the era was similar to 1938 A.D. Now the mean precession rate from 319 to 1938 A.D. = $50'' \cdot 0847$ per year. Hence the total shifting of the solstices becomes till 1938 A.D. = $22^\circ 31' 27'' \cdot 54$. Thus what was 270° of the longitude of the sun should now become $292^\circ 31'$ nearly—a longitude which the sun now has about the 13th of January. On looking up some of the recent calendars we find that

(a) In the year 1922 there was a full-moon on January 13.

(b) In the year 1937 there was a new-moon on January 12.

We apply the elapsed years 1,619 (sidereal) backward to January 12, 1937 A.D. and arrive at the date:—

December 20, 317 A.D., on which at G.M.N. or Ujjayinī,

mean time, 5-4 P.M.,

Mean Sun = $269^\circ 5' 11'' \cdot 26$

„ Moon = $272^\circ 39' 40'' \cdot 40$

Lunar Perigee = $39^\circ 50' 37'' \cdot 25$

A. Node = $257^\circ 44' 29'' \cdot 88$

Sun's Apogee = $74^\circ 7' 25'' \cdot 16$

„ eccentricity = $0 \cdot 0173808$.

Hence $2e = 119' \cdot 5016$

$\frac{5}{4}e^2 = 1' \cdot 2981$

Appt. Sun = $269^\circ 37'$

„ Moon = $268^\circ 52'$ nearly.

The moon overtook the sun in about $1\frac{1}{2}$ hours and the sun reached the summer solstice in about 9 hours. Hence December 20, 317 A.D., was a new-moon day and also the day of winter solstice according to the ordinary mode of Indian reckoning. As this day was similar to January 12, 1937 A.D., viz lunar *Agrahāyana* ended, it appears that the Gupta era was started from about the 21st December 318 A.D., and this was the 12th day of lunar *Pauṣa*. It must be remembered in this connection that the distinguishing character of the lunar *Agrahāyana* with which the year ended at the end of a correct luni-solar cycle, was that the last quarter of the moon was very nearly conjoined with *Citrā* (*Spica* or α *Virginis*).¹ In our opinion this character of the month was used

¹ Cf. the long. of the moon on January 4, 1937 A.D., at L.Q. with that of α *Virginis*.

for the intercalation of a lunar month at the end of a correct luni-solar cycle. We now proceed to examine the dates given in the Gupta Inscriptions as collected together by Dr. Fleet in his great book on the subject.

(i) शते पञ्चषष्ठ्यधिके (१६५) वर्षाणाम् भूपतौ च बुधगुप्ते आषाढ-
मास-शुक्लद्वादश्यां सुरगुरोर्दिवसे ¹ ।

The inscription says that the 12th *tithi* of the light half of lunar *Āṣāḍha* of the Gupta year 165, fell on a Thursday. We examine this both by the modern and the *Siddhāntic* methods.

(a) By the modern method.

The year 165 of the Gupta Kings is similar to the year 1924 A.D., and the date corresponded with July 13, Sunday, of 1924 A.D. The elapsed years till this date = 1,440 sidereal years = 525,969 days. We increase the number of days by 1 and divide it by 7: the remainder is 4, which shows that the inscription statement of Thursday agrees with the Sunday of July 13, 1924 A.D.

We next apply 525,969 days backward to July 13, 1924, and arrive at the date June 21, 484 A.D., the date of the inscription.

This date was 14.15 Julian centuries and 181.25 days before January 1, 1900 A.D.

Hence on June 21, 484 A.D., at G.M.N.:

Mean Sun	= 91° 12' 50".64	Hence:— 2e = 119°.0564 $\frac{5}{4}e^2$ = 1°.290.
„ Moon	= 235° 7' 53".42	
L. Perigee	= 335° 23' 2".80	
A. Node	= 277° 14' 51".51	
Sun's Apogee	= 76° 14' 32"	
„ Eccentricity	= 0.0173175	

From these we readily find the same mean places at the preceding Ujjayinī mean midnight.

Hence on June 20, 484 A.D. at Ujjayinī mean midnight:

Mean Sun	= 90° 30' 47".38	Appt. Sun = 90° 2'
„ Moon	= 225° 45' 41".78	„ Moon = 219° 47'
Lunar Perigee	= 335° 18' 17".61	nearly.
A. Node	= 277° 17' 7".08	

Thus at the Ujjayinī mean midnight of the day before (Wednesday), the 11th *tithi* was current, and next day, Thursday, had at sunrise the 12th *tithi* of the lunar month of *Āṣāḍha*.

¹ Fleet's Gupta Inscriptions, page 80, Ēran Inscription.

(b) According to the method of the *Khaṇḍakhādyaka* of Brahmagupta, the *Kali ahargana* on this Wednesday at the Ujjayinī mean midnight was = 1309545.

Hence:— Mean Sun	= 91° 3' 4"
„ Moon	= 226° 23' 17"
Lunar Perigee	= 335° 42' 56"
A. Node	= 277° 35' 17"

The above two sets of the mean elements for the same instant are in fair agreement. Hence the date of the inscription is Thursday, June 21, 484 A.D., and the Zero Year of the Gupta era is thus 319 A.D. We are here in agreement with Dikṣita's finding.

(ii) The Second Instance of Gupta-Inscription-date.

श्रीविश्वनाथ प्रतिवद्ध नौजनानां बोधक रसुल महम्मद संवत् ६६२
तथा श्रीवृषभक्रमसंवत् १३२० तथा श्रीमद वलभी संवत् ६४५ आषाढ़
वदि १३ रवौ अद्य इह^१ ।

Here the Hizri year 662 shows that the Vikrama Saṁvat is expressed in elapsed years as 1320; and as it is now reckoned it should be 1321. The Valabhi Saṁvat 945 is the same as the Gupta Saṁvat 945, in which the thirteenth *tithi* of the dark half of *Jyāiṣṭha* fell on a Sunday.

Now the mean *Khaṇḍakhādyaka ahargana* = 218,878
from which we deduct 30

218,848,

which we accept as the correct *ahargana*, and is exactly divisible by 7, and which was true for Saturday of *Āṣāḍha Vadi* 12 of the Gupta era 945. The English date for this Saturday was May 25, 1264 A.D. On the next day (Sunday) the date was May 26, 1264 A.D. the date of the inscription.

From the above apparent *ahargana* for May 25, 1264 A.D., which was a Saturday, at the Ujjayinī mean midnight we have—

Mean Sun	= 1 ^s 27° 42' 48"
„ Moon	= 0 ^s 27° 31' 40"
L. Apogee	= 6 ^s 20° 29' 1" (with Lalla's correction)
A. Node	= 9 ^s 29° 53' 4" („ „ „)

Hence:—Appt. Sun = 1^h 28° 21' 57"
„ Moon = 0^h 28° 8' 44"
Moon—Sun = 10^s 29° 46' 47"
= 27 *tithis* + 5° 46' 47".

¹ Fleet's Gupta Inscriptions, page 84, Veraval Inscription.

Thus at the midnight (U.M.T.) of the Saturday ended, about 11 hrs. of the 13th *tithi* of the dark half of *Jyaiṣṭha* were over and 13 hrs. nearly of it remained. Thus the current *tithi* of the next morning of Sunday was also the 13th of the dark half of *Jyaiṣṭha*, which is called *Āṣāḍha Vadi* 13.

In the present case the Valabhī or Gupta year 927 = 1264 A.D. Hence also the Gupta era began from 319 A.D. and we are in agreement with Dikṣita.

(iii) The Third Instance of Gupta-Inscription-date.

६२७ वर्षे फाल्गुन सुदि २ सोम ।

It is here stated that in the Gupta or Valabhī year 927, the 2nd *tithi* of the light half of *Phālguna*, fell on a Monday. The English date becomes 1246 A.D. February 19. Śaka Year was 1,167 years + 11 months + 2 *tithis*, the Gupta year being taken to have been reckoned from the light half of lunar *Pauṣa*.

The true *Khandakhādya* *ahargana* becomes = 212,179 at Ujjayinī Mean Midnight of Monday, when

Mean Sun = $10^{\circ} 24' 43'' 44''$

„ Moon = $11^{\circ} 24' 26' 37''$

L. Apogee = $6^{\circ} 3' 20' 53''$

A. Node = $2^{\circ} 1' 59' 40''$.

Hence on the same date at 6 A.M. Ujjayinī M.T.:

Mean Sun = $10^{\circ} 23' 59' 23''$

Sun's Apogee = $2^{\circ} 17' 0' 0''$

Mean Moon = $11^{\circ} 14' 33' 41''$

L. Apogee = $6^{\circ} 3' 15' 52''$.

Thus:—

Appt. Sun = $325^{\circ} 59' 2''$

„ Moon = $342^{\circ} 56' 51''$

Moon—Sun = $16^{\circ} 57' 25''$

= 1 *tithi* + $4^{\circ} 57' 25''$.

On this Monday, the *tithi* was the second of the light half of lunar *Phālguna*, while the sun's longitude shows that the Bengali date was the 24th of solar *Phālguna*. We are here in agreement with Dikṣita.

In this case also calculation by the modern methods is unnecessary as the time was later than that of Brahmagupta. It should be noted that the old year-reckoning from the light half of *Pauṣa* has continued in spite of Aryabhata I's rule of reckoning it from the light half of *Caitra*. Here also 927 of the Gupta era = 1246 A.D.

∴ Zero year of the Gupta era = 319 A.D.

(iv) The Fourth Instance of Gupta-Inscription-date.

३३० गुप्तसंवत् दिमार्गशीर्षसु सुदि २ सोम ¹ ।

This states that the Gupta year 330 had at its end the second *Agrahāyana*. Here of the Gupta year 330, up to *Agrahāyana*, the time by the *Caitra-śuklādi Śaka* era would be 570 years +9 months.

According to the *Khandakhādya* of Brahmagupta the total *Kali-solar days* up to 570 of Śaka elapsed +9 months = 1,349,910, in which we get $1,383\frac{1}{6}$ intercalary months, i.e. 1,383 exact intercalary months by the mean rate, which tends to show that there was a second lunar *Agrahāyana* at this time. But this explanation appears unsatisfactory. If we follow the method of the *siddhāntas*, there can be no intercalary month in the solar month of *Agrahāyana*, of which the length as found by Warren is less than that of a lunar month.² We have also examined it carefully and found that in the present case this could not happen. We have then to examine it another way.

On December 20 of the year 317 A.D. there was a new-moon with which the lunar *Agrahāyana* ended and the sun turned north. The character of this lunar *Agrahāyana* was that the last quarter was conjoined with *Citrā* or α *Virginis*. The Gupta era was started one year later than this date, from the 20th December, 318 A.D. The year 330 of the Gupta era was thus the year which ended about December 20 of 648 A.D. and the number of years elapsed was $331 = 160 \times 2 + 11$.

Thus 331 years was a fairly complete luni-solar cycle, and comprised 120,898 days. Again 577,825 days before January 1, 1900 A.D., was the date December 20, 317 A.D. Hence applying 120,898 days forward to this date, we arrive at the date December 21, 648 A.D. But the new-moon happened one day earlier, i.e. on the 20th December 648 A.D. with which the lunar *Agrahāyana* ended this year.

Now on the day of the last quarter of this month or the *aṣṭakā* which fell on the 13th December 648 A.D., the moon was conjoined with *Citrā* or α *Virginis*, in the latter part of the night. On this day at G.M.N. we had—

Mean Sun	= 264° 57' 0".47	Hence :—
„ Moon	= 180° 14' 22".10	Apparent Sun = 265° 8'
L. Perigee	= 188° 32' 34".17	„ Moon = 179° 10'
Sun's Apogee	= 79° 46' 40".79	Long. of α <i>Virginis</i> = 185°
$2e = 118'.7, \frac{5}{4}e^2 = 1'.298$		nearly.

¹ Fleet's Gupta Inscriptions, page 92, The Kaira (22° 45' N, 72° 45' E) Grant.

² Length of solar *Agrahāyana* = 29 da. 30 n. 24 v. 2m 33iv (Burgess *S. Siddhānta*, XIV, 3.)

Length of lunar month = 29 da. 31 n. 50 v. 6m 53iv according to the *Khandakhādya*.

From these calculations it follows that the last lunar month of the year was the second *Agrahāyana* as this month completed the luni-solar cycle of 331 years.

The date of the inscription being the second (third?) day of the second *Agrahāyana*, was Monday, the 24th of November, 648 A.D., with this second *Agrahāyana* which ended on the 20th December 648 A.D. the year 330 of the Gupta era ended. It must be admitted that the inscription as it has been read or as it was executed was slightly defective. In this case also Aryabhata I's *Caitra-śuklādi* reckoning is not followed.

Here 330 of the Gupta era = 649 A.D.

Or Zero year „ „ = 319 A.D.

(v) Morvi Copper Plate Inscription.

पञ्चाशीत्यायुतेऽतीते समानां शतपञ्चके ।

गौते ददावदो नृपः सोपरागेऽर्कमण्डले ॥

संवत् ५८५ फाल्गुन सुदि ५ ।

This inscription says that on the day of the 5th *tithi* of the light half of lunar *Phālguna* of the Gupta year 585, the King of the place, Morvi (22° 49' N and 70° 53' E) made a gift at the time of a solar eclipse, which happened some time before this date, on which the deed of gift, *viz.*, the copper plate in question, was executed.

To find the date of this copper plate had been a pitfall to Dr. Fleet, who mistook that the solar eclipse in question, happened on the 7th May, 905 A.D. Now the year 585 of the Guptas should be 904 A.D. and the date of execution of the plate should be February 20, 904 A.D. We looked for the solar eclipse two lunations 5 days before and 8 lunations 5 days before this date. Although there happened the two solar eclipses at these times, they were not visible in India.

We find, however, that here the Gupta year is reckoned not from the light half of *Pauṣa*, but from the light half of *Caitra* according to Aryabhata I's rule. Here the year 585 of the Gupta era = 826 of the *Caitra-śuklādi* Śaka era = 904-905 A.D., or the zero year of the Gupta era was 319-20 A.D. The date of the inscription corresponds to March 3, 1941 A.D., and the elapsed years till this date = 1,036 years = 12,814 lunations = 378,405 days. The date of the copper plate works out to have been February 12, 905 A.D. The eclipse referred to in the inscription happened on November 10, 904 A.D.,¹ on which at G.M.N. or 4-44 P.M. Morvi time,

¹ For *N.*, accepted by Fleet—Indian Antiquary, Nov. 1891, page 382. S. B. Kṛṣṇa did actually find it.

Mean Sun	= 234° 22' 29".34
Sun's Apogee	= 83° 9' 18".32
Mean Moon	= 231° 7' 21".80
D. Node	= 246° 7' 31".10
L. Perigee	= 162° 10' 10".68

The new-moon happened at mean noon, Morvi time, the magnitude of the eclipse as visible at the place was about .075. The beginning of the eclipse took place at 11-35 A.M. Morvi time. The end came about 12-45 noon, Morvi mean time. Duration was about 1 hr. 10 min.¹

Secondly, if we use the *Khaṇḍakhādya* constants, the *ahargana* becomes for 826 of Śaka era + 8 lunations = 87,528. Hence the mean places with Lalla's corrections thereto, at G.M.N. of the same day become:—

Mean Sun	= 228° 18' 5"
„ Moon	= 224° 27' 36"
D. Node	= 239° 44' 56"
L. Perigee	= 155° 59' 47"

It appears that this eclipse could be predicted by the method of the *Khaṇḍakhādya*. The gift made by this copper plate was probably a reward to the calculator of the eclipse.

(vi) The Sixth Instance of Gupta-Inscription-date.

षट्पञ्चाशोत्तरेऽब्दशते (१५६) गुप्तनृपराज्यमुक्तौ महावैशाख-
संवत्सरे कार्तिकमास-शुक्लपक्षद्वितीयायां ² ।

In the year 156 of the Guptas, which was the Jovial year styled the *Mahāvaiśākha* year, the inscription records the date as the day of the 3rd *tithi* of the light half of *Kārtika*.

Now 156 of the Gupta era = 475 A.D.

Julian days on January 1, 475 A.D. = 1,894,552 and

1900 A.D. = 2,415,021, the difference is 520,469 da. which comprise 14.24 Julian centuries + 353 days or 14.25 Julian centuries — 12.25 days. We increase 520,469 da. by 12.25 da. and arrive at the date December 20, 474 A.D., on which at G.M.T. 6 hrs. or 11.4 A.M. Ujjayinī M.T.,

Mean Jupiter	= 170° 54' 6".57
Mean Sun	= 269° 47' 11".66

¹ The above circumstances of the eclipse have been calculated by my collaborator, Mr. N. C. Lahiri, M.A.

² Fleet's Gupta Inscriptions, page 104, the Khôh Grant I.

Hence we calculate that mean Jupiter and mean sun became nearly equal 289 days later, i.e. on the 5th October, 475 A.D. at 6 A.M. G.M.T.

$$\text{Mean Jupiter} = 194^{\circ} 55' 34''.42$$

$$\text{Mean Sun} = 194^{\circ} 38' 19''.15.$$

It is thus seen that the mean places would become almost equal in 6 hrs more. For the above mean places, however, the equations of apsis for Jupiter and Sun were respectively $-2^{\circ} 6' 4''.08$ and $-1^{\circ} 45' 2''.70$. Hence their apparent places become as follows:—

$$\text{Appt. Jupiter} = 192^{\circ} 49' 30''.34$$

$$,, \text{ Sun} = 192^{\circ} 53' 16''.45.$$

Thus they were very nearly in conjunction at 6 hrs. G.M.T. on the 5th October, 475 A.D.

According to Brahmagupta, Jupiter rises on the east on getting at the anomaly of conjunction of 14° . This takes place in 15.5 days. Hence the date for the heliacal rising of Jupiter becomes the 20th October, 475 A.D. at G.M.T. 18 hrs. when,

$$\text{Appt. Sun} = 208^{\circ} 45'$$

$$\text{and } ,, \text{ Jupiter} = 196^{\circ} 20' \text{ nearly.}$$

Thus Jupiter was heliacally visible about October 20, 475 A.D.

The actual date of the inscription was October 18, 475 A.D.¹

Here on the day of the heliacal visibility, the sun was in the *nakṣatra* *Viśākhā* but Jupiter was $3^{\circ} 40'$ behind the first point of the *nakṣatra*-division, the vernal equinox of the year being taken as the first point of the Hindu sphere. According to the rule of naming Jupiter's years as given in the modern *Sūrya-siddhānta* xiv, 16-17, it was sun's *nakṣatra*, on new-moon prior to October 18, 475 A.D., the date of the inscription, which took place on October 15-16 of the year, gave the name of the year. The sun was in the *nakṣatra* *Viśākhā* and the year begun was consequently the *Mahāvaiśākhā* year of Jupiter.

This inscription also shows that the Gupta era began from 319 A.D.

(vii) The Seventh Instance of Gupta-Inscription-date.

त्रिषष्ट्युत्तरेऽब्दशते (१६३) गुप्तपराज्यसुतो महा-आश्वयुज-
संवत्सरे वैत्रमास-शुक्लपक्ष-द्वितीयायाम्^२ ।

¹ *Kali ahargana* on the day of the 3rd *tithi* of *kārtika* light half in the Gupta-year 156 was 1,306,377, and Julian days = 1,894,843.

² Fleet's Gupta Inscriptions, page 110, the Khôh Grant II.

The inscription records the date as the year 163 of the Gupta kings, the Jovial year called *Mahā-Āsvayuja*, the day of the 2nd *tithi* of the light half of *Caitra*.

The year 163 of the Gupta era or 482 A.D. was similar to the year 1941 A.D. and the date to March 30, 1941. In 1,459 sidereal years ($1,941 - 482 = 1,459$) there are 532,909 days, which are applied backward to the 30th March, 1941 A.D., and we arrive at the tentative date of the inscription as March 8, 482 A.D. On this date at G.M.N., we had—

$$\text{Mean Jupiter} = 29^\circ 58' 8''.24$$

$$,, \text{ Sun} = 347^\circ 12' 47''.11.$$

Here, Jupiter's heliacal setting is yet to come in about 30 days. Hence on April 7, 482 A.D.—

$$\text{Mean Jupiter} = 32^\circ 27' 46''.22$$

$$,, \text{ Sun} = 16^\circ 46' 57''.02 \text{ at G.M.N.}$$

Thus the heliacal setting of Jupiter took place in two days more according to Brahmagupta's rule on the 9th April, 482 A.D. and the new-moon happened on the 5th April, 482 A.D. when the sun was on the *nakṣatra Bharanī*. Hence the year to come got its name *Āsvayuja* year. But the tentative date of the inscription was obtained as March 8, 482 A.D., which was 28 days before the new-moon, on about the 5th April, 482 A.D. This needs elucidation.

Here by coming down by 30 days we arrive at the lunar month of *Vaiśākha* as it is reckoned now. But in the year 482 A.D., i.e. 17 years before the year 499 A.D. when the Hindu scientific *siddhāntas* came into being, the calendar formation rule was different. In our gauge year 1941 A.D. the moon of the last quarter got conjoined with *Citrā* or α *Virginis* on the 20th January before sunrise. Hence as pointed out before in this gauge year 1941 A.D. also, the lunar *Agrahāyana* of the early Gupta period ended on the 27th January, 1941. Thus the lunar month that is now called *Pauṣa* in 1941 A.D. was called *Agrahāyana* in 482 A.D. Hence the lunar *Caitra* of 482 A.D. is now the lunar *Vaiśākha* of 1941.

The date of the inscription is thus correctly obtained as THE 7TH APRIL, 482 A.D.; the Jovial year begun was a *Mahā-Āsvayuja* year. This instance also shows that the zero year of the Gupta era was approximately the same as the Christian year 319 A.D.

(viii) The Eighth Instance of Gupta-Inscription-date.

एकनवत्युत्तरेऽब्दशते (१८१) गुप्तपरराज्यमुत्तौ श्रीमति
प्रवर्धमान-महाचैत्रसंवत्सरे माघमास-वङ्कलपक्षद्वितीयायाम्¹ ।

¹ Fleet's Gupta Inscriptions, page. 114, the *Mājhgavām* Grant.

This inscription records the date as the year 191 of the Gupta emperors, the Jovial year of *Mahācaitra*, the day of the third *tithi* of the dark half of lunar *Māgha*.

We first work out the date on the hypothesis that the Gupta year was in this case also reckoned from the light half of lunar *Pauṣa*. The Gupta year 191, on this hypothesis would be similar to the Christian year 1931 and the date of the inscription would correspond with March 6, 1931. Now this Gupta year 191 = 510 A.D. would be later than the time of Āryabhaṭa I, viz. 499 A.D., by 11 years.

The elapsed years (sidereal) are 1,421, which comprise 17,576 lunations = 519,029 days. These days are applied backward to the date, March 6, 1931 A.D., and we arrive at the date, February 12, 510 A.D.

On this date, February 12, 510 A.D., at G.M.N., we had—

$$\text{Mean Jupiter} = 158^{\circ} 8' 3''.87$$

$$,, \text{ Sun} = 323^{\circ} 46' 13''.72.$$

We find easily that the sun and Jupiter had reached equality in mean longitude in 183.5 days before, when at G.M.T. 0 hr.

$$\text{Mean Sun} = 142^{\circ} 54' 14''.50$$

$$,, \text{ Jupiter} = 142^{\circ} 52' 48''.57.$$

If these were the longitudes as corrected by the equations of apsids, then the heliacal visibility would come according to the rule of Brahmagupta about 15.5 days later. The mean longitudes 15.5 days later become—

$$\text{For Sun} = 158^{\circ} 10' 54''.21$$

$$,, \text{ Jupiter} = 144^{\circ} 10' 7''.25.$$

These longitudes corrected by the equations of apsids become—

$$\text{For Sun} = 156^{\circ} 3' 27''$$

$$,, \text{ Jupiter} = 146^{\circ} 16' 41''.$$

Hence the true heliacal visibility would come in 4 days more. We have here (1) gone up by 183.5 days and (2) come down by 15.5 days. On the whole we have gone up by 168 days or 5 lunations and 21 *tithis*. Thus on the day of the heliacal visibility of Jupiter, which came in four days more, we would have to go up by 164 days = 5 lunations + 17 *tithis*. This interval we have to apply backward to the 18th *tithi* of *Māgha* and we arrive at the 1st day of *Bhādrapada*. The date of the heliacal visibility would thus be September 1, 509 A.D., and at G.M.N. the sun's true longitude would be $160^{\circ} 9'$ nearly, which shows that the sun would reach the *Hastā* division. On the preceding day of the new-moon, the sun would be in the *nakṣatra* *U.Phalgunī* and the Jovial year begun would be styled *Phālguna* or the *Mahāphālguna*.

year. This result does not agree with the statement of the inscription.

It now appears that after the year 499 A.D. or Āryabhaṭa I's time, the reckoning of the years of the Gupta era was changed from the light half of *Pauṣa* to the light half of *Caitra*, according to Āryabhaṭa I's rule:

युगवर्धमासदिवसाः समं प्रवृत्तास्ते चैत्रशुक्लादेः ।

Kālakriyā, .

'The *Yuga*, year, month and the first day of the year started simultaneously from the beginning of the light half of *Caitra*.'

After the year 499 A.D. all the Indian eras slowly changed their year-reckoning from the winter solstice day to the next vernal equinox day, i.e. the year beginning was shifted forward by 3 lunations. Hence in finding in our own time a year similar to the Gupta year of times later than 499 A.D., we have sometimes to compare it to the present-day Śaka year and not to the Christian year.

Hence the year 191 of the Gupta era = the year 432 of the Śaka era. In our times the Śaka year 1853 is similar to the Gupta year 191 and the date of the inscription corresponds to February 24, 1932 A.D. The number of sidereal years elapsed up to this date = 1,421 = 519,029 days, which applied backward lead to the date of the inscription as FEBRUARY 2, 511 A.D.

The date of the heliacal rising arrived at before was September 1, 509 A.D. The next heliacal rising would take place 399 days or 13.5 lunations later. The date for it works out to have been October 5, 510 A.D., and the sun had the longitude of $194^{\circ} 24' 51''$ at G.M.N. At the preceding new-moon, which followed the previous heliacal setting of Jupiter, the sun had the longitude of about 179° and was in the *nakṣatra Citrā* or the Jovial year begun was *Caitra* or the *Mahā-Caitra* year, as it is styled in the inscription.

In the present case the year 191 of the Gupta emperors = 432 of the Śaka emperors = 510-11 A.D. Thus the year 0 of the Gupta emperors = 241 of the Śaka emperors = 319-320 A.D.

(ix) The Ninth Gupta-Inscription-date.

नवोत्तरेऽब्दशतद्वये गुप्तनृपराज्यमुत्तौ श्रीमति प्रवर्धमानविजय-
राज्य-महा-आश्वयुजसंवत्सरे चैत्रशुक्लपक्षत्रयोदश्याम् ।

The year and date as given in this inscription is 209 of the Gupta era, the day of the 13th *tithi* of the light half of *Caitra*. Following the *Caitra-śukla* reckoning, the corresponding date in our time is the 11th April, 1930. We have to apply 1,402 sidereal years, or more correctly, 17,341 lunations = 512,090 days backward to this date of April 11, 1930. We thus arrive at the date of the inscription, MARCH 19, 528 A.D.

On this date at G.M.N., we had—

Mean Jupiter	= 347° 37' 23".90	Hence :—
„ Sun	= 358° 53' 52".27	Jupiter as corrected
Jupiter's Perihelion	= 350° 51' 21".61	by the equation of
Sun's Apogee	= 77° 42' 56"	apsis = 347° 19'
„ Eccentricity	= 0.017301	Appt. Sun = 358° 5'
Jupiter's Eccentricity	= 0.046175.	

It appears that the heliacal rising of Jupiter would happen 3 days later and the preceding new-moon happened 13 days before, i.e. on the 6th March, 528 A.D.

For on that date at G.M.N., we had—

Mean Sun	= 346° 5' 3".98	Hence :—
„ Moon	= 343° 5' 27".90	Appt. Sun = 349° 4'
Lunar Perigee	= 313° 57' 36".84	Appt. Moon = 345° 43'
Sun's Apogee	= 77° 42' 56"	nearly.

The new-moon happened at about 8 hours later. The sun was in the *nakṣatra Revatī*, and the Jovial year begun was *Āvayuja* or the *Mahā-Āvayuja* year as the inscription says.

Here the year 209 of the Gupta era = 528 A.D. = year 440 of Śaka era.

The Zero year of the Gupta era = 319 A.D. = year 241 of Śaka era.

(x) The Tenth Instance of Gupta-Inscription-date—The Nepal Inscription.

संवत् ३८६ ज्यैष्ठमास-शुक्लपक्ष-प्रतिपदि रोहिणीनक्षत्रयुक्ते सुद्धर्ते
प्रशस्तेऽभिजिति¹ ।

Here the date is stated to have been 386 of the (Gupta) era, the day of the 1st *tithi* of lunar *Jyaiṣṭha*; the moon was in the *nakṣatra*-division *Rohiṇī* and the 8th part (*muhūrta*) of the day.

The equivalent years are 627 of Śaka era = 705 A.D.; we readily see that the corresponding day in our own time was May 20, 1939. We arrive at the date, April 30, 705 A.D.

Now on April 30, 705 A.D., at G.M.T. 0 hr.	On April 29, 705 A.D., at G.M.T. 0 hr.
Mean Sun = 40° 54' 10".97	Mean Sun = 39° 55' 2".64
„ Moon = 62° 0' 9".07	„ Moon = 48° 49' 34".04
L. Perigee = 322° 39' 15".02.	L. Perigee = 322° 32' 33".97

Thus on April 29, 705 A.D., at G.M.T. 0 hr.

Apparent Sun = 41° 12'

„ Moon = 53° 50'.

¹ Fleet's Gupta Inscriptions, page 95.

Hence on this day, at the stated hour, the 1st *tithi* was over; we have to deduct about $3^{\circ} 3'$ from these longitudes to allow for the shifting of the equinoxes from 499 A.D. The date of the inscription is thus April 28, 705 A.D.

According to the *Khaṇḍakhādya* calculations, the *ahargana* at the midnight (mean) of Ujjayinī of April 28, 705 A.D. = 14,647. In order to have the mean places at the G.M.T. 0 hr. of 29th April, we have to take the *ahargana* = 14,647 days + 5 hrs. and 4 mins.

The mean places are:—

Mean Sun = $36^{\circ} 52' 12''$	Hence:—
„ Moon = $45^{\circ} 43' 58''$	Apparent Sun = $38^{\circ} 16' 23''$
L. Perigee = $318^{\circ} 56' 2''$	„ Moon = $50^{\circ} 44' 30''$
Sun's Apogee = $77^{\circ} 0' 0''$	

Note.—To the *Khaṇḍakhādya* mean places, we have applied Lalla's corrections which are well known in Hindu Astronomy.

Hence on the 29th April at G.M.T. 0 hr. or 5-4 A.M. of Ujjayinī mean time, the 1st *tithi* was over, the sun was in the *nakṣatra Kṛttikā* and the moon in the *nakṣatra*-division *Rohiṇī*, which extends from 40° to $53^{\circ} 20'$ of the Hindu longitudes. The date of the inscription was the previous day, THE 28TH APRIL, 705 A.D., as has been shown before.

Now Gupta year 386 = Śaka year 627 = 705 A.D.

∴ Gupta year Zero = Śaka year 241 = 319 A.D.

(xi) The Eleventh Example of Gupta-Inscription-date.

संवत्सर १०० ६० ६ (१६६) महामार्गवर्षे कार्तिक १०^१

The date of the inscription is the Gupta year 199, the *Mahāmārga* Jovial year, the day of the 10th *tithi* of lunar *Kārtika* which corresponds to November 21 of 1939 A.D. of our times. The elapsed sidereal year to this date = 1,421 = 17,576 lunations = 519,029 days.

Hence the date of the Inscription was OCTOBER 29, 518 A.D.² On this date at G.M.N.—

Mean Jupiter = $62^{\circ} 34' 9''.59$
„ Sun = $219^{\circ} 6' 50''.17$
„ Moon = $332^{\circ} 22' 20''.47$

Now 173.5 days before October 29, 518 A.D., the mean longitudes were for—

Jupiter = $48^{\circ} 8' 46''.95$
Sun = $48^{\circ} 6' 14''.86$

¹ *Epigraphica Indica*, Vol. VIII, pp. 284 et seq.

² Kielhorn's approximate date was 518 A.D., October 15 or September 15—*idem*—page 290.

and these are practically equal. Hence according to Brahmagupta's rule Jupiter should rise heliacally 15.5 days later, i.e. 158 days before October 29, 518 A.D., i.e. on May 24, 518 A.D., when the mean sun had at G.M.N. the longitude of $63^{\circ} 23' 54''$ and the mean moon, at the same hour, the longitude of $50^{\circ} 40' 6''$. Thus the new-moon came on the day following, the sun having a small positive equation. The new-moon-sun was in the *nakṣatra* division *Mṛgaśīras* ($53^{\circ} 20'$ to $66^{\circ} 40'$ of longitude) and the Jovial year begun was *Mārga* or the *Mahā-Mārga* year as the inscription says.

Thus the Gupta year 199 = 518 A.D.

∴ Gupta year Zero = 319 A.D.

CONCLUSION

We have here proved from 11 concrete statements found in the inscriptions which have used either the Gupta or the Valabhī era that—

(1) The Gupta and Valabhī eras were but one and the same era.

(2) It was most probable that the era in question had been originally started by the Gupta emperors and was given a new name by the Valabhī princes who were vassals of the Gupta emperors.¹

(3) The date from which the Gupta era was started was from December 20, 318 A.D., when began the zero year of the era from the day of the winter solstice.

(4) That the Gupta era agrees with the Christian era from 319 A.D. till about 499 A.D., the date of Āryabhaṭa I, up to which the year reckoning began from the light half of *Pauṣa*.

(5) From some year which was different for different localities, after 499 A.D., the beginning of the year was shifted forward from the light half of *Pauṣa* to the light half of *Caitra*, conformably with Āryabhaṭa I's *dictum* of beginning the year from the vernal equinox day, so that the 'year of confusion' was of 15 or 16 lunations. This is evident from the inscriptions dealt with as Nos. v, viii, x and xi. This change has been noticed in the inscriptions of those localities where Āryabhaṭa I's reputation as the foremost Indian astronomer had been unquestionably accepted. In such cases the Gupta years correspond more conformably to the *Caitra-suklādi* Śaka years and that the zero year of the Gupta emperors is taken as the Śaka year 241 (*Caitra-suklādi*) which is the same as the Christian year 319-320 A.D.

To sum up: the zero year of the Gupta era was originally the same as the year 319 A.D. and in times later than 499 A.D.,

¹ Fleet's Gupta Inscriptions, Plate No. 18, the Mandasor stone inscription of Kumar Gupta and Bandhu Varman will be discussed in a separate paper on the Sarnvat era.

this zero year was in some cases taken equivalent to 319-320 A.D. Further the Gupta and Valabhi eras were the same era. It is hoped that further speculations as to this era would be considered inadmissible.

One point more that we want to lay stress on, is that in verifying the Jovial years as stated in the Gupta Inscriptions, we have followed the *Sūryasiddhānta* rules given in Chapter XIV, 16-17. Dīkṣita, however, appears to have followed the *Brhatsamhitā* rules and was led to conflicting results as to the zero year of the Gupta-Valabhi era as varying from 240-242 of the Śaka years of *Caitra-buklādi* reckoning. We have shown in this paper that the Gupta Inscriptions using the Jovial years have consistently followed the *Sūryasiddhānta* rules. This work even in its present form has preserved some of the rules which were followed before the time of Āryabhaṭa I.

**Jajnagar Expedition of Sultān Firūz Shāh—English
Translation and Text of an Extract from
'Sirat-i-Firūz Shāhī'.**

By N. B. Roy.

The unique manuscript of *Sirat-i-Firūz Shāhī* in Persian¹, preserved in the Bankipore Library, constitutes a source of first-rate importance for the history of the reign of Sultān Firūz Shāh of Tughluq dynasty. It was composed by an anonymous author at the dictates of Sultān Firūz Shāh², as is clear from the following verse:—

کتاب سیرت فیروز شاهی مرتب شد بتائید الہی
باملاء شاہ جهان شد کتابت طریق سلاطین و آداب شاهی

It is a compendium of the various activities of Sultān Firūz's reign, e.g. his campaigns, works of public utility, canals, hospices, hospitals, buildings and monuments. It is written in an elegant and ornamental style. The sentences are short, but often abstruse, and full of metaphors, similies and high-sounding expressions usually characteristic of Persian writers. A singular feature of the work, which gives it a distinctive place in Persian literature, is that though it is written in prose, in places it reads like verse. In addition to the musical swing and jingle of rhythm, characteristic of Persian verse, the author invariably complicates the sense by using almost similar words varying in the number of diacritical marks, and thus renders it difficult to understand even a simple narrative.

The history of Orissa from the earliest times down to the 16th century is wrapped in obscurity. Except for a few inscriptions, there is hardly any historical account which lifts the veil of mist that shrouds the history of this land. The extract from *Sirat-i-Firūz Shāhī* published in the following pages helps materially in clearing up this mist. It supplies us not only with

¹ No. 547, vol. VII, of the *Bankipore Catalogue*.

² According to Shams-ul-Ulema Hidayet Hossain the work was dictated by Sultān Firūz. He based his opinion on the word *Imlā* which means dictation (*J.R.A.S.B.*, July 1914, XCVIII). The present work, however, deals with such varied and technical topics, e.g. astronomy, pharmacopoeia and its stylistic peculiarities vary so widely from those of *Futuḥāt-i-Firūz Shāhī*, which was composed by Sultān Firūz (vide *J.R.A.S.B.*, Aug. 1941) that we have hardly any doubt that the work was written at the dictates but not to the dictation of Sultān Firūz.

Sirat-i-Firūz (Sir Jadunath Sarkar's copy of Bankipore MS, p. 1).

details about the expedition made by Sultān Firūz into this country but also throws light upon the wealth and prosperity of this kingdom, the splendour of the temple of Jagannath at Puri and the peculiar rites of worship that were prevalent there in the 14th century A.D. Of particular interest in this extract is the account of the aborigines of south Bihar and some of the characteristics of these interesting people who have survived in almost inaccessible regions from the dawn of history down to the present day.

The description of the Jainagar expedition given in this extract is, however, of special interest and importance. In *Tārīkh-i-Firūz Shāhī* by Shams-i-Siraj-i-'Afif, it is merely stated that Sultān Firūz marched from Bihar to Cuttack-Banarasi. The account in *Munshāt-i-Māhrū* is more detailed, but it does neither describe the route of Sultān Firūz's march to Cuttack nor his wide-spread ranging across the country. The present extract surpasses in detail not only all other contemporary and later accounts of the Muslim chroniclers but gives an account of various stages of the Sultān's march to Cuttack.

Sultān Firūz set out on this expedition from Jaunpur towards the middle of October, 1360 A.D.¹ Ascending the throne of Delhi at a difficult time in 1351 A.D., he had restored order and security in the kingdom and recovered the imperial territories from Oudh to the Kusi by defeating Sultān Shams-uddīn Ilyās Shāh of Lakhnauti in 1352-1353 A.D. During 1353-58 he recuperated the prosperity of the empire by his beneficent legislation and irrigation activities but the independence of the two eastern kingdoms, Bengal and Orissa, galled his pride. Accordingly he led a second expedition into Bengal in 1358-9 A.D. During his halt at Jaunpur, (July-Sept., 1360), on his return journey to Delhi he conceived the idea of making a lightning raid into Jainagar from the north. He started from Jaunpur with a light cavalry and reached Bihar about December, 1360. From this place he marched towards modern Pachet through the undulating plateaus of southern Bihar. The area constituted a beautiful landscape of south Bihar, with low hills and dales, dotted with orchards abounding in various kinds of fruits. Game was plentiful in this region, and the Sultān indulged his love of chase by shooting various kinds of deer and numbers of strange animals. After a delightful spell of hunting, the Sultān burst upon Sikhar in the Manbhum district. The Raja of this place was an important chief with thirty-six minor chiefs as his vassals. The Raja fled on the surprise attack of the Muslim army. The garrison in the capital put up a stern fight, but was overpowered. Thereupon the Muslim army pushed southward and marched through the

¹ *Tārīkh-i-Mubārak Shāhī*, B. I. Series, p. 129; *Ṭabaqāt-i-Akbarī*, B. I. Series, p. 232, gives this date.

defiles of Manbhum and Singhbhum, the track lay through steep plateaus and thick forests skirted by chains of low hills. The Sultān had planned beforehand the various stages of journey, but he could not march more than twenty miles a day. The first town of the kingdom of Jajnagar upon which the imperial army broke was Tinānagar. This place had so far been immune from Muslim invasions, but the inhabitants did not submit without a struggle. After the reduction of the town, the imperial army hewed its way to Kinianagar (Khichingnagar) which was a prosperous town mainly inhabited by Brahmins. After a short refreshing halt at this place, Sultān Firūz made a turning movement southward and sweeping through Keonjhar reached the frontier of the Cuttack district. This movement was so swift as to outstrip the news of the advance of the Muslim army, which had arrived at Saranghar, five miles southwest of Cuttack. The king Bhānudeva III fled from the fortress of Saranghar, leaving the task of defence to the garrison who offered a brave fight but was defeated. As a result of the flight of Bhanudeva the whole country lay at the mercy of Sultān Firūz. First of all he marched to the royal capital Cuttack and after the occupation of this place sallied forth to Puri.

Here stood the famous temple of Jagannath which has been a hallowed spot of the Hindus for ages. The eternal deep rolled by it; artisans had lavished all their skill in the construction and decoration of this temple. For the celebration of the worship of Jagannath, situated in this exquisite spot on the seashore, the Ganga kings of Orissa had made magnificent endowments: thirty thousand dinars were expended annually on the food dedicated to the deity at the time of worship; daughters of the nobility devoted themselves to menial work in the temple and won favour in God's eyes. Ascetics who had earned spiritual grace by mortifying their flesh, squatted in front of the temple; their matted hair, emaciated body, sallow countenance, and sunken eyes bespoke utter contempt of the world and its vanity. For paying homage to these holy persons, people flocked from far-off places. Here thronged people who sought relief from the sufferings of the earthly tabernacle by most ghastly and revolting orgies. Some earned eternal beatitude by consuming themselves in the flames of fire, others by leaping into the deep sea, others again immolated themselves by slicing off their limbs.

Sultān Firūz destroyed the shrine, defaced the deity, and obliterated all vestiges of this temple by throwing the debris into the waters of the sea. The region round Puri was studded with many magnificent shrines; there was the temple of Megheśvara (Viṣṇu) at Bhubaneśvara, built by Svapnesvaradeva during the reign of Anangabhimā II¹. It had a beautiful garden and a

¹ *Epigraphia Indica*, vol. VI, pp. 198-203.

tank within its precincts and maintained a seminary for the study of the Vedas. There were other temples, e.g. the famous temple of the Sun-God at Konārak in the district of Puri, erected by Narasingh I¹, (1238–1264 A.D.), the temple of Viṣṇu at Ekāmra (Bhubaneśvara) consecrated to the triple deities of Balaram, Kṛṣṇa and Subhadṛā, built during the reigns of Bhānudeva I², and the temple of Cateśvara (Śiva) in the Padampur pargana of the Cuttack district.³ It is not stated whether these temples also were destroyed but that some of the images of the temples in the neighbourhood of Puri were removed and carried to Delhi is explicitly stated.

Scores of thousands of people of Orissa had taken refuge inside the Chilka Lake to escape from the fury of the imperial army. They were attacked in turn and a large number of them were put to the sword, while the rest offered submission. The victorious campaign was concluded by an elephant hunt in Padamtala in the Baramba State of Orissa, and the Sultān returned to Kārā via Sambālpur⁴ with immense spoils and a long train of captives.

It was an audacious campaign, brilliantly conceived and mightily executed. No other Muslim Sultān had accomplished such a task. The invading hosts had hitherto attacked Orissa, along the sea-coast either from the north-east or from the south-west. No other general ever dared to force his way to Cuttack from the north through the aboriginal tracts and the impenetrable defiles and the dense forests. The successful execution of this campaign testifies to Firūz's undoubted skill as a general. This master-stroke, coupled with the equally successful (though hard-won exploit in Sind and in Nagarkot), refute the charge of military incompetence that has been levelled against this Sultān by Haig, Lanepoole and Smith.

The account sketched above also removes all doubts regarding the location of the kingdom of Jajnagar and the route of Sultān Firūz's march to Cuttack. From the meagre account of 'Afif, and the names of a few places, e.g. Gadha-Katanka, Ratanpur, and Saranghar, mentioned in *Tārikh-i-Mubārak Shāhī* and *Tabaqāt-i-Akbarī*, Major Raverty put forward the incorrect hypothesis that Sultān Firūz marched from Bihar to Ratanpur in Bilaspur district of the Central Provinces of the present day, and thence through Jajnagar to Puri. This view was supported by R. D. Banerji, and as a result Jajnagar and Orissa were regarded as two separate kingdoms. The detailed description of the stages of the Sultān's march would make it

¹ *Antiquities of Orissa*, vol. II, pp. 145–163.

² *Epigraphia Indica*, vol. XIII, pp. 150–155.

³ *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal*, Old Series, vol. LXVII, 1808, part 1, pp. 317–327.

⁴ *Munshāt-i-Māhrū* (Dr. Raghubir Sinh's copy of R.A.S.B. MS., p. 104).

abundantly clear that Raverty not only confused the route of march but made the confusion worse confounded by regarding Jajnagar and Orissa as two separate kingdoms.

In the preparation of this paper, I have received invaluable help from Prof. Mahfuz-ul Haq. Dr. Baini Prashad, the translator of *Qanun-i-Humayuni*, an erudite scholar in Persian, but widely known for his researches in Zoology, had thoroughly revised the English translation for me at an enormous expense of his time. P. Acharyee, Archaeological Officer, Mayurbhanj State, helped me materially in identifying the places mentioned in the text. Sir Jadunath Sarkar, who initiated me into the study of Persian, offered me the use of his MS. of *Sirat-i-Firūz Shāhī*. Dr. Raghubir Singh, Heir-apparent, Sitamau State, lent me his copy of the MS. of *Munshāt-i-Māhrū*. My grateful thanks are due to all of them.

ENGLISH TRANSLATION.

In 762 A.H.¹ news was brought by travellers of the occurrence of wild elephants—whose form cannot be pictured by imagination—, in the kingdom of Jajnagar², which was situated

¹ According to *Tārīkh-i-Mubārak Shāhī* (B. I. Series, p. 129) Sultān Firūz spent the rains at Jaunpur and started from this place in Dhihijjah 761 A.H. which would correspond roughly to October, 1360 A.D., *Ṭabaqāt-i-Akbarī* also supports it (*T.A.*, B. I. Series, p. 232). It appears that Sultān Firūz started from Bihar in Muharram, 762 A.H. (December 1360).

² The description contained in *Sirat-i-Firūz Shāhī* and in *Munshāt-i-Māhrū* and the reference in *Makhzan-i-Afghanāh*, to this kingdom of Jajnagar, refute Raverty's view, that Jajnagar and Orissa were two different kingdoms. In the Eng. trans. of *Ṭabaqāt-i-Nāṣiri* (B. I. Series, p. 588) Raverty wrote, 'Jajnagar appears to have been bounded on the east by the range of hills forming the present west boundary of Udisah-Jag-nathh, Katasin, on the Maha-nadi, being the nearest frontier town towards the Lakhanawati territory. Farther N. it was bounded towards the E. by the river called Braminy by some English writers—. On the W. it does not seem to have extended beyond the Wana-Ganga, and its feeder the Kahan; but its southern boundary was the Gudawuri, and S.W. lay Talinganah'. R. D. Banerji supported Raverty's view. According to him 'Firūz Tughluq advanced from Bihar towards Gadhakatanka. Jajnagar lay at the extremity of this province which is the same as the British district of Jubbulpur....'. After passing through Jajnagar territories Firūz Tughluq entered the kingdom of Bhanudeva III (i.e. Orissa) (*History of Orissa*, vol. I, p. 282). This MS., however, says that Firūz marched from Bihar to Sikhar (Sikharbhumi) which is in modern Manbhum district of the province of Bihar. From Sikhar Firūz strode forward to the town of Tinānagar, thence to Kinīānagar which appears to be an abbreviation of Khichingānagar, the ancient capital of Mayurbhanj. According to the present MS. Tinanagar and Kinianagar were included within the kingdom of Jajnagar. Thus if R. D. Banerji's opinion is accepted, the kingdom of Jajnagar extended from the eastern boundaries of modern Central Provinces right up to the limits of Bengal. Cuttack, Puri, Lake Chilka were also parts of Jajnagar. Where then did the kingdom of Orissa lie? In *Munshāt-i-Māhrū* (Dr. Raghubir Singh's copy

along the eastern sea-coast on the extreme border of Hindustan; (they stated that) there were thousands upon thousands of these clever and mighty (animals). In this wilderness are found savages who have never set their eyes on civilized men. They cannot understand the language of the civilized people, nor can the latter comprehend their speech (of the savages). Their dress consists of peacock-feathers, and their food the flesh of buffaloes; the trees are their dwellings, and leaves and flowers their beds¹; their drinking bowls are the palms of their hands with which they sip water from streams by day and night. They are nude, bare-footed men, devoid of all humane sentiments; they shun the haunts of men. They employ a peculiar signal when they want succour from their own tribesmen, at the time of concentration of troops. (When) bodies of soldiers and men advance to attack them, one of them lops off an earlobe with a sharp instrument, and shows the fellow-tribesmen blood on his person. In a short while, hundreds of men gather together for their help and succour. Like wild elephants, they, with their shouts, cries and calls, hurl back the attacks of furious elephants in such contests, but when they notice the dust raised up by an (attacking) cavalry, and are unable to come up to it, they break up their formations and like monkeys climb up the trees.

If even a single plot of this land covered with the susan flowers were extolled by a thousand tongues, it would not be possible to describe an infinitesimal part of its excellence. All the people of this country are as black as crows, and their dwellings are always located in orchards where they live like crows in their rookeries. All people of this country are warriors and independent, but affable and silly. Their garden walls are made of the black Indian soil. Their complexion resembles that of the Sudanese². What value is there, in their darkness

of R.A.S.B. MS., p. 90) it is definitely stated that both Jajnagar and Orissa were identical. *Munshāt-i-Māhrū* says:—

دوم فتح شهر کہ از احصار اعظم ملک جاجنکر
است و ولایت او ایسہ میخوانند *

The account of *Makhzan-i-Afghanāh* (Sir Jadunath Sarkar's copy) also corroborates our view.

¹ The attraction of the Santhals for woods and aversion to settled habitation is borne out by Dalton, 'In marked contrast to the Kolarians of the Munda and Ho divisions, the Santhals, as a rule, care little for permanently locating themselves. A country, denuded of the primeval forest which affords them the hunting-grounds they delight in and the virgin soil they prefer, does not attract them (quoted in the *Imperial Gazetteer of India*, vol. XII, Old Edition, 1872, pp. 238-246).

² The people referred to here are evidently the Santhals, the pitch darkness of whose complexion is attested by Dalton, in the *Descriptive Ethnology of Bengal*. 'The Santhals' according to him belong to the dark races of India. The Cheros, Hos and Mundas are, on the whole, fairer. Mr. Mann remarks of them, that their cast of countenance almost approaches the Negro type.

having an affinity with that of the Sudanese; the seed of darkness pervades their minds, and their temperament is so malevolent that it would not wear off even by constant association with Christ, the son of Mary; all that is called black (Sawda) is held dear by them. Their palms dyed with myrtle appear as if they have been stained with the blood of the lover and that of the heart of the beloved.

Verses.—

They have tinged their hands with the blood of their dear ones,
 Their finger-tips they have stained with the colour of the red-berry;
 Their faces beam with joy; smile and laughter are patent on their lips;
 Their minds overflow with love; their heads are full of youthful intoxication.
 How (beautiful) are the faces, how (lovely) the locks of their hair;
 The former (faces) are the harbingers of a happy life, the latter (hairs) an excuse for enjoyment.¹

In every orchard are found various kinds of trees, and such varieties of fruits and ripe pomegranates, as (human) eyes have never beheld anywhere. Oranges so beautiful in colour, and which have never borne the hardships of transit since the beginning of the world, have neither been seen nor tasted by anybody. Every cocoa-nut tree vies in height with the sun; the sickle of the moon does not reach the fruits, and they are safe from the hands of thieves. It is a straight, slender tree and its branches are so high that they do not recline like the sun and the moon. There are other kinds of edible fruits in Hindustan, but the cocoa-nut surpasses all of them and is never niggardly in its yield. They rest underneath the shade of a (natural) basket which has been constructed without the help of the tools of a basket-maker or of a potter's wheel. They are filled with a sugared drink and are, as it were, the breasts of the orchard, which like a kind foster-mother suckles

¹ Regarding their locks of hair, Col. Dalton remarks, 'The heads of young girls are generally uncovered, displaying a mass of black, rather coarse, but sometimes wavy hair, gathered into a large knob at one side of the back of the head ornamented with flowers or with tufts of coloured silk'. Their delight in dancing and playing the flute is well known. Col. Dalton remarks, 'The sound of their flutes and drums attract the maidens, who smooth and adjust their long hair, and, adding to it a flower or two, blithely join them'. Then begins a hilarious dance in which are seen 'the maidens decked with garlands of flowers and peacock's feathers, holding their hands and closely compressed, so that the breast of the girl touches the back of the man next to her, going round in a great circle, limbs all moving as if they belonged to one creature, feet falling in perfect cadence, the dancers in the ring singing responsive to the musicians in the centre'.

the people promptly and eagerly. Sucking the human breast after two years and a half, which marks the time for weaning, is forbidden and unlawful, but sucking the breast of the garden at all ages is lawful and permissible. The offspring of Adam does not obtain milk from the mother's breasts without crying, but this breast readily offers its milk of its own free will. The human nurse is stingy with her milk but the motherlike cocoa-nut tree offers liberally her milk. The milk of women is sticky and thick, that of the cocoa-nut is transparent and thin. Sucking the milk provides sustenance for the children (only), but the drinking of the cocoa-nut juice is permissible for all women and men. In addition to these trees, there are others which are peculiar and indigenous to the country of Hind, as for example, the areca-nut palm, in search of which denizens of the world would even give their life. Each nut (of this palm) hangs like a pearl in the ear of the straight cypress-like tree, or each of them is enclosed like the grain of life in the sheath of the heart. To exhilarate the spirits of their dear ones, lively-tempered persons crack the nuts into bits, and powder them like alkali in the mill of their teeth, and until its particles are leavened with the green leaf (betel), the lips of the moon-faced (beloved) do not become rosy, and the teeth of the coquettes do not take on the red tint. The palm trees, which have their heads lifted to the sky, on a dark night appear as if veiled. Their trunks stand out in the groves of the orchards like the columns of the royal court and their leaves are woven (as it were) into a green brocade with the warp and woof of the carded cotton thread.

The flowing streams are the cheer of life and spirits; the towns are flourishing, there are majestic edifices, goods beyond enumeration, property without limits; such is the country of the unbelievers¹. By universal agreement, the imprisonment and massacre of the inhabitants of this land is permissible. The inhabitants of this country are polytheists; they are always sunk in a state of drunken stupor and given to idol-worship. They constitute a distinct tribe of Mulhids and Ibahiyats. They have made the idols the objects of their worship and have erected temples in every town; the most famous of these is the shrine of Jagannath, like that of Somnath on the coast of the Arabian sea, Lat, Ujja and Minat in Arabia; every temple has its special store of treasures, and there is a manufactory for every special commodity attached to each.

When the news of the charms of this tract was conveyed to the royal ears, it was honoured by his attention, and the attention of his gracious mind was focussed on journeying

¹ All the contemporary chroniclers speak in eloquent terms about the prosperity of this country, 'Afif (B. I. Series, p. 165), *Munshāt-i-Māhrā*, pp. 101-102.

towards that quarter, with a view to extirpating Rai Gajpat, massacring the unbelievers, demolishing their temples, hunting elephants and getting a glimpse of their enchanting country.

Verse.—

When I heard that the country of Jajnagar is endowed
with such excellence,
My heart naturally became inclined to hunt in Jajnagar.

When this design became patent in the mind of the world-adorning king, who is the shadow of God, (May through the grace of God, the shadow of his greatness be everlasting !!), he ordered that strong armies, and brave regiments (of) stalwart fighters fully versed in warfare, inured to the hardships of marches, possessed of reckless daring, and knowledge of different parts of the world

Verse.—

(Men who are) skilled in warfare; well-versed in the strategy of war.

be assembled. Orders were conveyed to them to follow the gracious royal stirrups, well-equipped and accoutred. And they were directed to relinquish heavy loads and equipment, and carry only a light outfit suited for rapid marches, and they were forbidden to take with them women and children, wives and concubines whose presence in this campaign would be a source of worry; and also they should not try (to carry) large stocks of provisions. Having made these arrangements, he, under the shadow of divine protection, mounted his sturdy charger, and started from Jaunpur with royal pomp,

Verses.—

It (the royal steed) is so light-footed that it does not
awaken the sleepers when it scampers over their eyes.
The face of the sky has turned blue from its hoof beats,
The sparks from its shoes have scorched the back of the fish.
By a trick it makes itself hidden under the shadow of the
mosquito-wing.
By its skill it runs into the corner of the eye of a flea.
It is so fleet that the earth rocks constantly like drops of
quicksilver under its pounding hoofs.
The wind flashes with sparks of fire at the violence of its
hoof-beats
The earth becomes crescent-shaped by the marks of its shoe.
At the time of charge it rushes like a shark in the ocean
During attack, it springs like a leopard upon a mountain.
By the stamp of its shoes, it perforates the horn of the cow
like the hive of the wasp in the subterranean region.

and set out for Jainagar. The auspicious standards reached the town of Bihar in the spring, and from this place he gave orders for the successive marches of the royal armies. When he reached the frontiers of the Sikhar¹ country, he enquired about the game animals peculiar to that region. It was reported that a kind of animal found in the valley of this hill is called Gōrkhār, but it can only be captured with great trouble and skill. This animal resembles buffaloes in appearance, has moon-shaped marks on its forehead, is four-footed and has a white tail. From this place he turned back a few miles and hunted a large number of wild deer. On the return journey to Sikhar from this place strange and peculiar animals were bagged on the way. After the armies crossed the hills, they saw a deer². This was an animal, whose flesh in flavour and taste is superior to the meat of every other type of game. Its hide possesses a peculiar virtue, a piece of it worn by any person, whether man or infant, acts as a charm against epileptic fits and possession by genii and ghosts. It is red in colour, resembling the swallow; countless numbers of this species were bagged, and an order was issued to flay them and to preserve their skins, so that the people might be able to use them for their beneficial qualities, and also have a chance of seeing them, because in all our wanderings in search of game such strange animals had never been seen.

Thereafter, attention was directed to the extirpation of the Rai of Sikhar whom thirty-six kings paid homage. Sikhar is a hill whose crest vies with the Pleiades. The mighty armies besieged this hill, and stormed it in a day. Countless unbelievers formed food for the sword, and seventy thousand people with their children were taken captive. The Rai of Sikhar, when he saw the troops closing in upon the hill, fled from the fortress even before the siege had commenced.

Victorious, light of the eye of the kingdom, bud of the garden of sultanate, fruit of the mind of sovereignty, core of the heart of royalty, flower of the garden of Fortune, wholesome water of the fountain of joy, favourite of the king of the world, Shukr Khan³ was (living) here at this time. Three months

¹ Sikhar was the surname of a ruler of Tailakumpa identified with Telkupi in the Manbhum district. In *Ramacharita* of Sandhyakar Nandi (*Memoirs of the Asiatic Society of Bengal*, vol. III, No. 1, p. 36, occurs a verse—Vandya-gune-Simha-Vikrama-Sura-Sikhara-Bhaskara-pratapaistai). And in the annotation it is written that 'Sikharaiti Samaraparisara-Visaradarirajaraji-ganda-garva-gahana-dahana-davanalah Tailkumpi ya Kalpataru Rudrasikhara'. In the introduction to the text of *Ramacharita*, published by the Varendra Research Society, it is stated, p. xxvii, that Rudra Sikhara was the ruler of Tailakumpa, and the region over which he held sway is still known as the Sikharbhum, evidently after the surname Sikhara of the royal family.

² The author puzzles the reader by writing مرگى which in Persian means death but in Hindustani, a deer.

³ Sukr Khan has been held by Raverty and others to be Shukr Khātun, but the present account supplemented by that of 'Aff (B. I. Series, p. 330)

and ten days only had elapsed since the birth of this fortunate prince, when this pearl of the crown of sovereignty, this new moon of the sky of joy was admitted into the light of the cradle of His Majesty's fostering care out of the dark shell of the infidel country. When the mischief-mongering Rai took recourse to flight, this amulet of safety slipped off from his hand. Prosperity and safety, order and security, vanished from the Rai and his country, as a result of this loss and separation (from Shukr Khan).

Verses.—

The mind was full of happiness and free from anxiety
 All that belonged to the Rai, passed away from him;
 You had been the solace of my mind and the peace of my
 soul
 You went away and all that attended on you also departed.

By God's grace, affection for this fortunate prince obtained so firm a hold in the mind of the Muslim king that he was granted a higher status than most descendants of the Sultān. He grew up daily under the fostering care of His Majesty. Fortune and prosperity are always the handmaidens of good name, learning and intellect are the attendants of good fortune. When he was only seven years old he brought down easily, with his immature hand, deer, long and short-footed (deers), chital (guzan), nilgau (blue cow) and gorkhar (wild asses). He felled ferocious tigers on the spot by a single shot. Excellent qualities and laudable traits which Almighty God had bestowed from the treasury of His kindness on this prince were beyond enumeration. After the conquest of the country of Sikhar he set off for Jajnagar along the various stages through a dark waste and desolate region (by a route) which was darker than the moonless night and narrower than the hair of the head; in penetrating through it even ants had to be crowded and snakes were jostled together.

Verses.—

Even keen-witted persons are baffled in attempting to
 describe it;
 By its colour the accursed Devil goes astray;
 The air of this deadly region is like the hot *simum*.
 Its winds are exterminating like the Simum.
 Its pathways are as narrow as the bridge of Maḥshar (the
 bridge leading to paradise after the Resurrection).
 Its defiles are as gloomy as the heart of the Antichrist
 The nights in this region are darker than the core of a stone
 The gorges (here) are more precipitous than the tip of the
 (erect) hair.

leaves no doubt that Shukr Khan was the son of the Rai of Sikhar who fell into the hands of Sultān Firūz in course of this expedition.

Each stage constituted a day's march of twenty miles; it could only be covered by soldiers marching rapidly day and night. It was a bitter winter. In course of march through these defiles a strange phenomenon was witnessed. In an area, six farsangs long and one mile broad, tall trees were seen strangely overturned, with their trunks uprooted and the tops broken off; some that escaped this fate, kept trees of equal height suspended by their branches entangled with one another. When this devastating landscape which stood out in striking contrast to the neighbourhood presented itself, the soldiers, irrespective of their ranks, gaped with wonder as to how the destruction of so many trees could have taken place in this way. The Brahmins of this country related that two months before the arrival of the Muslim army, the demon of the wind had blown across this tract and tearing up these trees from their roots, had lain them prostrate on the ground. Some trees, however, escaped through resting on others, their dangling branches getting intertwined with one another.

The Brahmins, the sooth-sayers and astrologers had predicted that on the approach of the powerful Muslim army in the vicinity of this kingdom, a terrible calamity would befall the kingdom and that the people would be engulfed in misfortune at the hands of the attacking army. This state of thing came to pass in accordance with the prophecies which were made by them.

From this place, under the sacred divine protection, the auspicious cavalcade with royal pomp reached Tinnanagar. It was one of the virgin towns of Jajnagar, which had hitherto been immune from the assaults of warriors but was now ravished by the invasion of stalwart fighters. The brain of the garrison, which was deranged by the cottonwool of vanity, on the flourish of the sword cast off the cottonwool of pride from the surface of the sore, and their skulls filled with the marrow of vanity were broken to bits.

The army of Islam set out from this place with a rich booty, and passing through the fixed stages emerged on Kinanagar¹. This is a town which with the cultivated area extended over six farsangs. All its inhabitants were Brahmins, living in ease and plenty and free from fear of attack. Their houses and villas were in the midst of orchards and gardens, fruits and flowers. When the victorious armies (May God help them!) penetrated this region, they importuned the Sultān with the request 'we have captured agreeably to our expectation, a town so large, a place so flourishing, with people so amiable and possessed

¹ Kinanagar appears to be Kichhinganagar, the ancient capital of Mayurbhanj State. If Satrubhanja ruled about 1325 A.D. (the Kumurkhela inscription, *Journal of the Bihar and Orissa Research Society*, vol. II, pp. 429-35), his successor Ranabhanja was probably the ruler of Khiching at the time of Sultān Firūz's invasion.

of such pleasing manners. All of them are endowed with such comeliness that our people are enamoured of them. Their gait and movements have captivated our hearts. For fear of the royal stewards and sentinels we cannot extend our hands against them. If the royal command for plunder is issued, a large booty would fall into the hands of the forces of Islam. The town is flourishing and the honey is without the bees'.

The order was issued 'Our object is the chase of elephants, the demolition of idols and the extirpation of the Rai. These places are only the outposts and dependencies of Jajnagar; the soldiers have marched so far separated from their families, covering so much distance and bearing such hardship; that is our fixed destination. If before the attainment of the principal object we agree to your prayer, and your hands are set to plunder, the (looted) baggage and goods will become an encumbrance for you, and if you are so engaged, our plans for the more important objective are not likely to succeed.

Verses.—

Do not be engaged in a headlong pursuit of the fugitive,
Lest you be separated from your friends.
Do not push forward the troops in pursuit of plunder,
Lest no army be left in the rear of the king.
Better it is for the soldiers to guard the king,
Than to be in the thick of a fight.

Give precedence to that work over this (plunder of Kina-nagar), and relinquish this work (of plunder) in preference to that (subjugation of the Rai of Jajnagar). This town lies along the route of the army. When the chief place is taken, the subsidiary areas will automatically follow suit! If God is willing! When, safely and laden with booty, we are on our return journey having gained the longed-for victory and the desired success, all of you along with your camp-followers will be able to capture a great booty and stuff. Due to this admonition against pillage, they deemed it their imperative duty to obey the behests of the Sultān, and leaving them to their fate started to march forward from this place. A battalion of the troops belonging to the Rai (of Jajnagar) had advanced to obtain news of the approach of the Muslim army, and was lying in wait on the highway disguised as spies. Believing that they would not come, they had encamped to enquire about their whereabouts from the passers-by and send the news to the Rai. The imperial army took them by surprise; they spied the victorious standards and the birds of life flying out of the cages of their bodies, they were taken prisoners. The Rai trusting to their news had remained in the place, expecting that they would apprise him of the approach of Muslim army. (But) as none of them escaped from the jaws of death, and those who were

guarding the highways were taken prisoners and massacred, the news did not reach the Rai till the dust raised by the (advancing) army and the calamity of the victorious troops reached Kulkulghat which was another name for Kalkal¹ and some thousand farsangs distant from Bastak. The dust raised by the cavalry enveloped the fortress of Saranghara², and dust covered the head of the undiscerning Rai.

Verse.—

By the hoofs of the quadrupeds in that spacious plain
The (seven-layered) earth was reduced to six, and the
(seven-storied) heaven increased to eight.

Finding no other alternative except flight and no other course to adopt except retreat, he committed the city into the hands of the headman, and slipped alone. When Rai Pirbhandeo³ beheld the umbrella of His Majesty, who was the shadow of God, he fled towards Chattargarh⁴, leaving his troops engaged in the capture of elephants. He sought refuge in the forest in the midst of the elephants so that he might rescue himself by this device from the talons of the royal infantry. When the armies of the Alexander-like monarch having achieved tranquillity

Verse.—

When he strings his bow, yells break forth from the sky.
When he falls upon an ambush, sparks shoot up to the sun.

safely crossed this desolate region, he sent detachments of troops in pursuit of the Rai, and pushed forward his victorious troops in all directions to smite like thunder-clap and lightning, the infidels on the eastern sea-coast and make the polytheists the food for the Islamic sword, take their children into captivity and carry away their goods as spoils. He despatched the

¹ Kalkala is 15 miles north of Cuttack, lying on the direct road from lower Keonjhar to Cuttack. (*Cuttack Dist. Gazetteer*.)

² Saranghar.—After passing through Kalkal, the imperial army marched to Saranghar which was evidently situated near Cuttack. Saranghar was one of the five Katakas (fortress) of Orissa situated 5 miles south-west of modern Cuttack. *Munshāt-i-Māhrū* says that Ahmad Khān let loose his elephants in the jungles of Saranghar before he repaired to the presence to Sultān Firūz (op. cit., Raghbir Singh's MS., p. 92). Raverty's identification of Saranghar with a place of the same name in C.P. is, therefore, untenable.

³ Pirbhandeo is Bhanudeva III, who ruled in Orissa from 1353–70 A.D.

⁴ According to 'Affif, op. cit., *Tārīkh-i-Firūz Shāhi*, Bhanudeva sailed away by sea to a place of safety. According to *Tārīkh-i-Mubārak Shāhi*, B. I. Series, p. 128, *Tabaqāt-i-Akbari*, B. I. Series, p. 232, Bhanudeva fled towards Telingana. But here Bhanudeva is said to have fled to Chattargarh which may be either Chatterpur in Ganjam district, or Chatterduar, a narrow pass at a distance of 24 miles from Rajamahendri.

warriors in different directions to search out the hunting ground of elephants, and also sent scouts into the forests. They brought the news that they had seen a herd of elephants in a particular spot in a certain forest, (but) that their capture would not be possible without the imperial elephants. Guided by them the body of warriors attending the auspicious stirrups set out in that direction. It was confirmed by the reports of the captives, who were taken on the way, that undoubtedly a large herd of elephants roamed in that area. He ordered a kheda to be erected over an area of six farsangs; accordingly they erected a stockade and built a rampart with logs of hewn trees for the capture of the wild elephants¹. All round it was so closely beset by the soldiers that it was impossible even for ants to slip out from the inside or for serpents to creep in from the outside. Arrangements were completed within a week. A tumult arose among the people (of Bhanudeva) who were besieged within this enclosure, pangs of thirst and hunger began to tell on their constitution. Swarms of people irrespective of their rank, worried by the situation, with bowls of despair in their hands and ropes of privation and the halters of agony and captivity round their necks, simultaneously raised a chorus of lamentation, saying 'we are dissolving in the crucible of despondency. Our only hope of life lies in the fact, that we be put in chains by the exalted soldiers'.

Verse.—

Every slave, who is set free, achieves happiness
Our happiness, however, consists in becoming your slave.

'Our captivity at the hands of the victorious army would result in our continued existence. It would be kindness towards us if you would enchain us in the train of your prisoners.'

Verses.—

'Wherever there is a prisoner in a cage, he trembles inside the iron bars.
I shall not escape from your cage, so long as I live.
I am obedient to your orders even if you would burn my heart,
I am loyal to your behests even if you ignore me.'

Orders were issued to the effect 'we shall set you at liberty provided you show us elephants inside the kheda'. They agreed, and on this condition were released. They brought intelligence that there were elephants in a certain direction within the enclosure which had not tasted water and forage since the beginning

¹ 'Afif, op. cit., *Tārīkh-i-Firūz Shāhī*, pp. 164-5, describes this elephant hunt. According to him, the kheda was ten yards broad and seven yards high.

of the siege. They occasionally roamed about this place. They were now reduced to such extremities that if even a sheaf of grass is held out to them with the hand, they would meekly follow. Being escorted by this body of men, he (Sultān) rode out for the elephant hunt. A beat was ordered inside the enclosure, and mountain-like elephants were captured by such dexterous tricks and artifices as could not be conceived by fancy or imagination. In course of this hunt, news was brought that the Rai had sent a present of elephants and a petition praying 'Resourceless, I have fallen into this strait. I am a humble servant and the son of a servant of the (imperial) court; for generations I have been a faithful servant and a staunch partisan of your cause. My duty is unremitting devotion and fidelity; it is the glory and fortune of this country that your standard is shining over the heads of these slaves'.

Verses.—

'That morning is happy on which you glide away before him
That day is auspicious on which you gaze at him.
That slave is free who attends on thy stirrups
That country is prosperous across which you travel.'

Further it was set forth: 'The victorious troops are laying waste the country and towns; in fear of life I have retreated to this wilderness; all that I possess, I shall lay before you as an offering'.

Verse.—

If you are pleased to order, I shall along with the arrow make an offering of my heart which has been lacerated by your arrow.

'It is patent that from fear of the army I had left elephants in the jungle to capture wild elephants and bring them to my stable. The wild elephants, which I brought with me, have been forwarded to the imperial court along with presents, with only a single exception. If the (gracious) court takes compassion towards this humble slave and spares (my) life, I shall keep this solitary elephant so that by the graciousness of your Majesty, the name of Gajpat handed down to me by my forefathers is not obliterated. And as long as I shall live, I shall send every year lusty elephants to the imperial court'. Before the arrival of the presents from the king (of Jajnagar), one of his ministers named Baki presented himself before His Majesty and petitioned 'For countless years from the time of my ancestors, we have devoted ourselves to the service of the Rai, but he is now oppressing me. When life was endangered and the dagger pierced the bones, I deserted him, panic-stricken and frightened as how long shall I be oppressed by the Rai; to whom shall I represent my situation and complain against the injustice of the Rai. It was my good fortune that the imperial

standards were unfurled at this opportune moment. I have appeared before the court so that I may be spared through the kindness of your sublime court'.

Verses.—

Thy appearance in the kingdom effects a conjunction of the two stars (Jupiter and Venus).

Thy justice prevails in the world of equity.

The arms of thy justice, if they so desire, know how to protect the nest of the turtle-dove from the talons of the falcon and the bills of the eagle.

'At such a moment, your auspicious standards have cast their shadows on this territory.'

Verses.—

Fortune has consigned the reins of the kingdom into your hands

Fortune has mounted the Burāq¹ of your desires

Your scimitar for whose sake the garden of the kingdom was laid out

Has converted the face of the earth into a tulip-garden by the blood of the enemy.

The strength of your arms has proved to the hilt the assertion

Of that person, who extolled Rustam and Isfandiyar, to be a lie.

Your might smote down many lusty elephants

Your majesty hunted down many ferocious tigers.

'If your Majesty be not pleased to order my liberation, the hope of my earthly existence will be extinguished. If I am not favoured even at this time, what hour shall I look forward to. When the Rai of Jajnagar and the Zamindars of this country come to know of my favourable reception at the hands of your Majesty, denunciations against me would be of no avail.'

Verses.—

When they regard me as your slave, they will enthrone me in their eye-ball

Thy kindness which is open to all, has been lavished on me

Otherwise who am I that people should take cognisance of me.

¹ Burāq was a celebrated animal smaller than a mule and bigger than an ass on which Muhammad is said to have ridden from Jerusalem to heaven, *Persian-English Dictionary* by Steingass, p. 168. *Encyclopedia of Islam*, vol. I, p. 793, says that it was the name applied to the fabulous animal riding on which the Prophet Muhammad performed the journey to the heaven on the night of Ascension.

(The Sultān) distinguished him with royal favours and bounty, clothed him with robe of honour and made him the gift of a drum and a standard. While this elephant hunt was in progress, Khan-i-'Azam, Khaqan-i-Mu'azzam Ahmad Khān¹—who had been expelled from Bengal by Sultān Shamsuddin and had allied with the Rai of Jajnagar—Alas! what amount of atrocities must have been committed by him that these drove the believers (Muslim) to fly from him and seek refuge with the infidels,—

Verse.—

During his reign oppression was so violent,
That death came for succour and began annihilation.

(this oppressed person) left the infidels on the approach of the auspicious standards of the Muslim army and joined the world-protecting court with his troops and followers. His Majesty's kindness is the sustenance of the journey. He obtained according to his expectations many distinctions of rank, horses beyond count and goods beyond enumeration, and enlisted himself in the service of the auspicious stirrups. Thereupon the gracious mind (of the Sultān), May his happiness be everlasting! decided on leaving the stores and the army at the village of Gartas² in charge of Ibrāhīm Ākbūh, who was the Malik, Malik-us-Sharf-ul-Hijab, commander of the age, a strong-bodied warrior (Rustam) of the age, Ulugh-i-'Azam, Naib-i-Bārbak, and Bashīr-i-Sultānī, who was the Malik, Malik-us-Sharq, commander of the age, brazen-bodied warrior (Rustam) of the age, chief of the army, chief of the department of 'Arid-i-Mumālīk.

The victorious standards now set out for the destruction of the temple of Jagannath. This was the shrine of the polytheists of this land and the sanctuary of worship of the unbelievers of the Far East (China and Mahāchin). It was the most famous of their temples. Its buildings were gorgeous; bright images, and shining figures were carved on their walls. The appearance, dress and visage of the dwellers of this place were different; darkness was stamped on their faces, and thin bodies and eyes were devoid of all lustre. Their bodies were haggard and emaciated; life and spirits were so languid that they were gasping, as it were, even for their last breaths. Thirty thousand silver dinars are spent on the kitchen (of the temple). Bevis of the

¹ Ahmad Khān.—According to the *Tārīkh-i-Mubārak Shāhi*, Ahmad Khān had taken refuge in the hills of Rantambor. Rantambor has been identified with Ratanpur in the Central Provinces, 244 miles south of Allahabad, but the description of the Sultān's march contained in *Munshāt-i-Māhrū* supplemented by that of the present MS. establish beyond doubt that this Ratanpur was in Orissa. In *Munshāt-i-Māhrū* it is stated that Ahmad Khān and Baki Pata were entrusted with the command of the army of Jajnagar but they quailed before the onward march of the imperial army (op. cit., Raghubir Singh's MS., p. 92).

² Gartas.—This word may be Karnas or Garnas.

daughters of the Rais and Brahmins, misguided and seduced, throng here from distant parts and places; troops of the followers of the female devil sannyasis who are called Devadasis¹, and garrulous persons who are called Bhurja squat on the ground and lead the people astray. Some shed their own blood, like animals intended for sacrifice, in front of the deity, some attire the limbs of their body with the robe of amputations (slice them off), some fling themselves from the top of an eminence into a remote distance, some drown themselves into the deep sea by a leap from a lofty height, some again setting straw, hay, ricks of faggots ablaze consume themselves in the tongues² of the flaming fire. All the unbelievers who live in the country worship this deity. Allah who is the only true God and has no other emanation, endowed the king of Islam with the strength to destroy this ancient shrine on the eastern sea-coast and to plunge it into the sea, and after its destruction, he ordered the nose of the image of Jagannath³ to be perforated and disgraced it by casting it down on the ground. They dug out other idols which were worshipped by the polytheists in the kingdom of Jajnagar, and overthrew them as they did the image of Jagannath, for being laid in front of the mosques along the path of the Sunnis and way of the musallis (the multitude who offer their prayers), and stretched them in front of the portals of every mosque, so that the body and sides of the images might be trampled at the time of ascent and descent, entrance and exit by the shoes on the feet of the Muslims. By the grace of Almighty God, after the attainment of the object, the return journey was safely concluded from the eastern sea-coast. Some of the commanders of the army, who had been deputed for pillage and plunder, sent news that there was an island near the sea-coast, having a broad and long pool of water⁴ in which nearly one hundred thousand men of Jajnagar had taken refuge with their women, children, kinsmen and relations. Each figure was (radiant) like the moon and the sun, but notwithstanding this appearance, they were crouching in water like the fish. It was stated that Shamsuddin, the ruler of Lakhnauti had besieged them on this sea-coast, but with all his forces, he could not gain the

¹ Devadasi.—The word in the text is *masawasi*.

² The word in the text is ظلت but لطات gives it a better meaning.

³ Jagannath.—Muslim iconoclastic fury was particularly directed against this temple of Jagannath. According to *Makhzan-i-Afghanah* (Sir Jadunath Sarkar's MS., p. 121) Sulaimān Karārānī destroyed the temple, and reduced the statue of Krishna which was studded with jewels and diamonds to fragments. According to *Riyāḍ-us-Salāṭīn* (B. I. Series, Persian text, p. 302) the Raja of Puri removed the image of Jagannath to the top of a hill on the other side of Lake Chilka during the commotion in Muhammad Taqī Khān's time (1733-1734 A.D.).

⁴ Pool of water.—This is undoubtedly the Chilka Lake where the aristocracy of Orissa is said to have often sought refuge during the time of Muslim invasions.

upper hand over them and had returned empty-handed. On receipt of this news the auspicious stirrups were turned in that direction, and troops were so distributed on all sides that they might converge at a point and convert the island into a basin of blood by the massacre of the unbelievers with the sharp sword. When the auspicious, victory-proclaiming standards, which were the fountain-head of auspicious stars, appeared on the shores of this lake, with a mighty army,

Verses.—

The earth through the weapons became (bespangled) like
the face of the sky,
The face of the heavens was overspread by dust like the
surface of the earth
The mountain was converted into a cavern by the hoofs of
the cavalry
The cavern was converted into a mountain by the heaps
of the slain.

Eternal Almighty God struck terror into the hearts of these vanquished people. When at daybreak their gaze fell on the shining points of the victorious spears and the drawn scimitars of the vanguard and the wings, they rent the air with a loud outcry, and exhibited their helplessness by casting their swords, shields, arrows, bows, and suits of armour into the water,

Hemistich.—

You are to strike with the sword, and we to wield the shield.

and bent their refractory heads on the ground. Ere long the soldiers surged round from all sides and by strokes of swords flashing like lightning on the heads of the fugitives and the infidels on the eastern sea-coast, they plunged them in the ocean of their own blood; and their persons, which had defied the command of the Sultān, were turned into food for the fish and the crocodiles.

Verse.—

The seven oceans were connected together by the effusion
of blood
And the earth projected out of them from another angle.

Captive women of all descriptions, young, middle-aged, and old, maidens and married, women bearing only male children, those bearing only female ones, women with a few and many children, widows, bashful women, chaste ladies, women endowed with natural beauty were pressed, as slaves, slave maidens, maid servants, female singers, nurses and midwives, into service in the house of every soldier. The rest of their women were taken

captive along with the elephants; women with babies and pregnant ladies were haltered, manacled, fettered and enchained and no vestige of the infidels was left except their blood.

Verse.—

Whoever saw asked: What is it blood or water?

The reply was: It is an island reeking with human blood.

From this place, triumphant and victorious, elated and jubilant, (His Majesty) returned to the place where the heavy baggage had been left, and all the armies from various sides joined His Majesty, laden with rich spoils. From this place they set out for Padamtala¹, which was the haunt of wild elephants, and skirting along the bank of the Mahanadi where elephants countless like stars prowled about, (they) came across elephants beyond enumeration and bagged a large number of them in the valley of a hill. Elephants as ponderous as hills were felled by the shots of arrows, and by God's grace all yearnings for the realization of which His Majesty's stirrups had turned in that direction were fulfilled according to his expectations.

Verses.—

Your achievements have become known all over the world!

The heavens are laid low as a result of your expeditions!

The world is singing praises for you;

The heavens have girded up their loins to serve you.

Glory is the associate of your illustrious armies,

Victory accompanies your fortunate troops.

¹ *Tārīkh-i-Mubārak Shāhī* (B. I. Series, p. 129) also says that the Sultān hunted in Badmavati and Baramtalaoli which by a slight variation of diacritical marks would become Padmavati and Padamtala of our MS. Padmavati is situated within the Khandpara State, about 50 miles west of Cuttack and was an important centre for trade in that part of Orissa. The opposite bank of the river Mahanadi which lies within the jurisdiction of Baramba State, has been used for elephant kheda for ages (*Orissa Feudatory States Gaz.*, p. 345).

در شهر سنه اثنی و ستین و سبعائه جهان گشتگان
شان دادند که در آقصی هند بساحل دریای شرقی در ملک
ماجنگر افیال و حش که مثال آن تمثال در نقش خیال صورت
، بندد. هزاران هزار از هشیار و مست هست، و در آن بیابان
زمیان اند وحشی که هرگز مردم مدنی را بچشم ندیده اند،
بشانرا زبان مردم معلوم نه، و زبان ایشان مردم را مفهوم نه،
اس ایشان از ریش طواریس و طعام شان لحوم جوامیس،
اخ ایشان اشجار، مفرش شان اوراق و ازهار، مشربۀ شان
لف دست که بدان در لیل و نهار آب انهار اغترف کنند،
فیات عرات بشر و لیکن از بشریت عاری، مدام ایشانرا
ز عمرانات بیزاری، علامت استنصار ایشان از قبائل خویش
نگام ازدحام لشکرها آنست که (چون) لشکری و جماعتی بمحاربه
بشان درآید شخصی از احاد ایشان نرمه گوش خود را بآلت
مارحه قطع کنند تا آن گروه درو دم او معاینه کنند در یکدم
سد هزار مردم بتناصر و تعاضد ایشان فراهم آیند، چون پیلان
حش ایشان بنعره و فریاد و صیاح در مسا و صباح مکابره کنند،
بدان عربده صولت پیلان با مهابت را دفع گردانند، لیکن
نوع گرد نعال مراکب لشکر بینند گرد آن نتوانند گشت و از
ماعت فرد فرد شوند، چون فرد بر درختان بر روند *

اگر از قطع متجاورات اراضی آن یک قطعه سون زار
را بهزار زبان صفت کنند یکی از هزار و اندکی از بسیار بیان
نکرده باشند، جمله مردم آن زمین سیاه چون زاغ و اوطان شان
همه در باغ: * مصرع *

همیشه باشد، آنجا زاغ در باغ

همه خلق آن دیار حربی و باغی اما لطیف طبع و لاغی،
سور بستاتین ایشان از گلِ هندی اسود، و بیاض الناس شان از سوادِ
سودان آن سواد (sic) و سواد آن قوم از سواد سودان بلاد،
ولی چه سود که حبه السواد قلوب اهل دارد و حب ایشان چنان
غلیست که بملازمت مسیح مریمی¹ انفکاک نه پذیرد، بر هر چیز
که نام سودا اطلاق کنند محبوب گیرد، کف را از حنا خضاب داده
چنانستی که از خون عشاق و دل مشتاق رنگ داده اند: * بیت *

بخون عزیزان فرو برده چنگ
سرانگشت ها کرده عتاب رنگ
در روی شان شادی، در لب نشاط و خنده
در دل هوای عشرت در سرمی شبانه
روی چگونه روی، زلفی چگونه زلفی
این عمر را بشارت وان عیش را بهانه

و در هر چمنی انواع اشجار و الوان اثمار اند، و انار پخته²
که قوتِ باصره از احاطت آن قاصر گردد، نارنج که از تاریخ بنای
جهان نارنج سفر دیده با رنگ بچنان رنگ کسی ندیده باشد،

¹ Text: لائی.

² Text: پخته.

و یانغ پخشیده، و نخل جوز هر یکی در صعود با خور تقابل نموده که بنارِ آن منجلِ ماه نرسد و از جورِ قطاعِ ایمن، نبات با لبینت منصوب، فرع چنان مرفوع که چون ماه و خور مجرور نگردد و صرف نپذیرد. اگرچه فاکه دیگر را در هند صرف است، اما جوز هم بر آن حرفست و در نثار اثمار بخل ندارد، ثمره آن زیرِ مظلّ مفقاعیست که بی واسطه اسباب قفای و بی ازدحام انقباب کلال، مملوست بشراب نبات و پستان مرضعه بستانست که بی غفلت و نسیان آدمی زاد را چون ظیر مشفقه مثل دهد، نعم از پستان انسانی بعد حولین و نصف که آوان فطامست رضاع لایجوز و حرام اما از پستان بستانی رضاع حلال و یجوز مدام، و از ثدیی آدمی ولدِ آدم بی بکا شیر نیاید لیکن آن پستان ناخواسته با رضاع شتابد، و دایه بشر در ادرار لبن بخل ورزد لیکن دایه نخل با شیر پستان بخشد، در آن شیر همه از وحت و غلظت درین شیر همه صفوة و رقت، مشرب آن همه وظیفه اطفال و مس این مباح بر نسوان و رجال، و غیر این اشجار دیگر که مخصوص و منصوب اند در بلاد هند چنانکه سپاری که جهانیان در طلب آن جان سپاری میکنند، هر دانه درست در گوش سرو قدی آویخته یا مهره جانست در غلاف دل پیچیده، عَفَص مزاجی که برای تفریحِ قلوبِ عزیزان تن خود را بانکسار دهد و برخی اسنان چون اُشنان طحن پذیرد و تا اجزای او در اوراقِ خضر نخر نشود لب ماه رویان عمر نگردد و دندان نازنینان رنگ نگیرد، و درخت تار که پنجه بر ارغای سما زده است در شب تار

ستاره می‌نماید، اصول او چون اساطین بارگاه سلاطین در چمن
 بساتین منصوب، و فروع او بی قطن محلوج بتارپود، دیباچ اخضر
 منسوج و منسوب، آبهای روان راحت جان و روان، و شهرهای
 پر نعمت و قصرهای با رفعت و اموال فراوان و اسباب بی پایان،
 دار حربیست بالاتفاق جایز الاسر و القتل علی الاطلاق، اهل آن
 بلاد همه مشرک که مدام بدمام مست، خمر خوار (و) بت پرست،
 قومی اند علاحدہ اباحتی و ملاحدہ، اصنام را اله خود ساخته،
 در هر شهری معبدی پرداخته، مشهورترین شان جگنات چنانکه¹
 در ساحل دریای غربی سومنات و در زمین عرب لات و عزى
 و منات، هر بتخانه را خزانه خاص و هر متاعی را درو
 کارخانه بالاخصاص *

چون خبر لطافت آن ارض بموقف عرض رسانیدند و بشرف
 استماع مقرون شد، هوای طوف آن طرف بر رای همایون برای قلع
 رای گچیت² و قتال اهل شرک و تخریب معابد ایشان و صید پیلان
 و نظاره آن مقام بانضارت ازدیاد پذیرفت:

بدین صفت که شنیدم دیار جاجنگر
 کشید دل بهوای شکار جاجنگر

بر رای جهان آرای ظل الله ابد الله ظلّ الله جلّاله، عزم کار
 آن طرف مصمم شد، فرمود تا از عساکر قاهره و افواج جرّاره
 مردان جنگی غزا دیده و مشاق سفر کشیده و جرات ورزیده
 جهان گردیده که:

¹ Text: چکنان چنانکی.

² Text: گچیت.

* بیت *

سخت دانند حرب را تدبیر نیک دانند جنگ را هنجار
 بگزینند، و بر ایشان فرمان رسانید تا مرتب و مستعد جریده
 بمتابعت رکاب همایون باشند و از احوال و ائقال در خور مسارعت
 و قدر مسافرت سبک بار باشند و از نسوان و اطفال و حرایر
 و جواری که مصاحبت ایشان درین مهاجرت ماده خوار است
 با خود نیارند و در ازدیاد زاد نکوشند، برین ترتیب در کنف
 عصمت الهی با کوبه پادشاهی از جونپور خنک جهان نور را
 زیر رکاب آورده:

* بیت *

سبک تگی که نگردد ز سم او بیدار
 گرش بباشد¹ در چشمهای خفته گذار
 که کرد² روی فلک را ضربت گامش کبود
 که کرد³ پشت سمک را آتش نعلش کباب
 از حیل پنهان شود در سایه پر پشه
 وز هنر جولان کند در گوشه چشم ذباب
 تگآوری که زمین از تحرک سم او
 بود چو نقطه سیاب دایما زلزال
 مقطر از اثر گام او هوا بشهاب
 منقش از اثر نعل او زمین بهلال
 نهنک وار که پویه در رود به بحار
 پلنگ وار که حمله بر رود بجبال

¹ Text: نباشد.² Text: کند.³ Text: کند.

سرون گاوِ ثری همچو خائۀ زنبور
که درنگِ مشبک کند بمیخِ نعل

بر ضوَبِ جاجنگر نهفت فرمود، در ایامِ بهارِ رایاتِ همایون¹ در شهرِ بهارِ وصول شد از آنجا بکوچِ متواترِ موکبِ همایون را رکعتِ فرمود، چون بر سرحدِ ولایتِ سیکهر رسید جانورانِ شکاری که مخصوصِ بدانِ ولایتِ اند استکشافِ فرمود، گفتند که در سهل² این جبالِ جانورانند که آنرا گورخوانند اما بصعوبیت و حیل دست آیند، صورتِ آن جانورانِ بجاموس مانند، ماهِ پیشانی باشند و قوایمِ اربعه و دُمِ سپید دارند، از آنجا عنانِ مرکب را چند میل میل فرموده و بسیارِ گورِ درکارِ روزی شد، چون از آنجا بجانبِ سیکهرِ عزیمت شد در اثنای راهِ جانورانِ عجیب و غریب در صید آمدند، چون موکب از کوه بدرآمد³ لشکرِ ایشانرا مرگی⁴ پدید آمد و آن حیوانیست بقیاسِ حلوانی و لذتِ طعمِ او چنانکه هیچ گوشتی از لحومِ صید بدان نرسد، و از خواصِ پوستِ او آنست که بر هر کسی و هر طفلی که پاره از آن بندند او را بارِ صرع نیاید و از حرکاتِ جن و شیاطین ایمن گردد، رنگِ او سرخ، و همچنین دراجانِ لعل که رنگِ آن برنگِ طیراً ابابیل ماند، ازین جنس درکارِ بسیار و بی شمارِ روزی شده، فرمان شد تا آنرا سلخ کنند پوستهای آنرا نگاه دارند، تا مردم از آن انتفاع گیرند

¹ رایاتِ همایون را . Text :

² سهل . Text :

³ مرگی که بدرآمد . Text :

⁴ مرگی . Text :

و بینند، زیرا که تا در طلب کار می‌کردیم اینچنین جانور نادر دیده نشده است *

از آنجا باستیصال رای سیکهر که سی و شش رای او را خدمت میکردند اشتغال اتفاق افتاد، سیکهر کوهیست که شاهی آن با ثریا همسری دارد، عساکر قاهره آن کوه را گرد گرفت، در روز فتح شد، کفار بیشمار علف تیغ شدند و هفتاد هزار مردم و ذراری ایشان اسیر شد، رای سیکهر چون احاطت افواج را معائنه کرد پیش از احصار از آن حصار راه فرار گرفت، مظفر (با) سعادت، نور حدقه مملکت، و نور حدیقه سلطنت ثمره باغ جهانداری، ثمره فواد شهریاری، گلستان دولت و زلال چشمه عشرت، برگزیده شاه جهان، شکر خان در آن ایام و در آن مقام بود، از ولادت آن صاحب سعادت سه ماه و ده روز برآمد که آن دره تاج جهانبانی و غره سپهر شادمانی از صدف ظلمات کفرستان بنور حجر تربیت همایون مقاربت یافت، چون رای بد رای راه گریز گزید آن عوده امان از دست او افتاد، هرآینه دولت و امن و انتظام¹ و التیام از رای و بلاد رای بفقدان و افتراق او اعراض نمود:

بود در دل خوشی نبود غمی

رفت از رای هرچه بود نبود

آرام دل و راحت جانم تو بدی

رفقی تو و با تو هر چه بود هست برفت

بعثت سبحانی مهربانی بدلی پادشاه اسلام در حق آن صاحب دولت
بمثابه تمکن یافت که از اکثر اولاد عظمت او ازدیاد پذیرفت،
و هر روز که بتربیت حضرت نشو و نما می یافت¹ بخت و دولت
معاً بیک نامی ناشی و نامی شد² و علم و هنر با بخت قرین،
در هفت سالگی آهو و گز پا و کوتاه پای و گوزن و نیلگاؤ
و گورخر بتیسر نیم شکاری در شکار انداخت و شیر شرزه
بیک سهم او بر جای افتاد، خصائل حمیده و فضائل پسندیده
که باری تعالی بدان صاحب سعادت از خزائن کرم خویش
عطا کرده از حد احصار بیرونست *

بعد فتح بلاد سیکهر توجه بمنازل صوب جاجنگر شد بمهامه
و فیافی ظلمات که از شب دیجور تاریک تر و از موی سر باریک تر
بود بر مور مرور آن مقتضی ازدحام بودی و بر مار دخول
آن موجب اقتحام:

بوصفش اندر طبع کریم گردد گند
برنگش اندر دیو رجیم گردد ضال
سموم وار بود بادهای آن محرق
سموم وار بود بادهای آن قتال
طریقهایش بباریکی پل محشر
مضیقهایش بتاریکی دل دجال

شی از دلِ سنگ تاریک‌تر
 رهی از سرِ موی باریک‌تر

هر منزلی را سبیل هر روزی بیست میل بسرعتِ لیلی و ایام
 سیرِ افواج، در سردی سرما بودی، در احشائی سبیل و اثنائی
 طریق در آن مَرِّ مضیقِ عجب حالی مشاهده شد، مقدارِ پنج فرسنگ
 طول و یک میل عرض اشجارِ طوالِ اعجازِ خاویه گشته، از اصول
 سقوط و از رؤس هبوط یافته و بعضی که قائم مانده درختی
 هم قدّ وی برو معلق، بالاتفاق اعصاب هم دیگر درباخته، چون هیأت
 آن قطعات خلاف متجاورات مشاهده شد خاص و عام لشکر
 متعجب گشتند که برین نوع انکسار این مقدار اشجار را چه سان
 طاری شده، براهمه آن بلاد گفتند که پیش از قدومِ اقدامِ لشکرِ
 اسلام دو ماه دیوی از باد درین حدود افتاد، این درختان را از
 بیخ و بنیاد بر کند و بر زمین انداخت، و بعضی درخت را
 بر درخت ایستاده شاخ در شاخ پیچیده و معلق ساخت، براهمه
 و کاهنه و اهل طیره تطیر کردند که قریب الایام از قهرِ لشکرِ
 اسلام در نواحی این مملکت وقوعِ دواهی خواهد بود و از دست
 جحافل و سرایا بلاها بر سر خواهد رسید، هم بدان قال که
 قال ایشان بود این حال در آن محل حال شد *

چون از آنجا در کنف عصمتِ الهی موکبِ همایون با کوکبه
 پادشاهی در تینه نگر که شهرِ یست از شهرهای جاجنگر از توطیه
 رجال غزا بکر مانده (برسید) بدخول مردانِ جنگی ثبّه گشت،
 و دماغِ اهل آن قلعه که به پنبه تکبرِ خلل پذیرفته بود به تنبیه

تبغ پنبه غرور از سر جراحت افکند و کاسِ راس او را با مغزِ نخوت
در هم شکست *

لشکر اسلام با غنائیم کثیره از آنجا روان شده بمنازل
معتاد بکنیا نگر رسید، شهریست که عمرانات او شش فرسخ
زمین است، سکنان او همه بر همان با ترفه و تنعم، از خوف
غارت بیغم، مساکن و موطنشان در حدائق و بساتین فواکه
و ریاحین، چون در خلال آن دیار لشکرهای منصور نصرهم الله
درآمد التماس نمودند که شهری با چنین عظمت و مقامی چنین
پر نعمت آدمیان خوب با صور مرغوب بر حسب مطلوب دریافته ایم،
هر یکی بدین صفت موصوف و مردم بمحبت او مشغوف،
حرکات و سکانات شان دلهای ما را ربوده است، از خوف
نقبای درگاه و رقبای با جاه دست بر ایشان دراز کردن نمی توانیم
اگر فرمان شود اغتنام نمائیم و غنائیم کثیره بر دست لشکر اسلام
افتد، شهریست معمور و شهیدست بی زنبور، فرمان شد مقصد
ما مصادی پیلان است و کسرِ بتان، و استیصالِ رای، این مواضع
از مضافات و توابع است، شهر مشهور و بلد معمور پیشتر است
که آنجا کثرتِ پیل و مال و غنم و بقر است، و آنجا مقرّرای
جائنگر است، و لشکر را که جریده چندین راه بریده و مشقت
بسیار کشیده اینجا رسیده، نیت و قصد همین است، اگر پیش
از وصول بمقصد اجازت کنیم دست بغارت برند، اثقال و احوال
دامن گیر ایشان شوند، اگر مشغولِ آن گردند تمنای چیزی که
اهم است بدامنِ شان نرسد:

* بیت *

بسی در قفای هزیمت مران
 مبادا که دور افگنی یاوران
 بدنبال غارت نرانده¹ سپاه
 که خالی بماند پس پشت شاه
 سپه را نگهبانی شهریار
 به از جنگ در حلقه کارزار

از آن کار این کار را مهم دار، ازین کار انکار کن انکار، که این
 شهر در گذرگاه لشکر بیفتاد، چون اصل بر دست افتد فرع
 تابعست، انشاء الله تعالی چون سالم و غانم بعد فتح مقصد
 و نَجیح مقصود مراجعت شود، تراهمه با همه² اَتْبَاعِ اِتْبَاعِ³ فواضل
 و غنائم زواید اِثقال خواهند بود، بوجوه⁴ موعظت از غارت
 ایتبار امر حضرت واجب شناختند، و آنرا همچنان بر همان گذاشتند،
 از آنجا عزم پیشتر شد، فوجی از رای برای استخبار ورود
 لشکر اسلام آمده بود، بر سبیلِ عین در عینِ طریق پناه گرفته،
 بگمان آنکه در نخواهد آمد مسکن خود ساخته، تا از واردی مردی
 و طارق فردی استکشاف حال کنند و خبر بسوی رای برند،
 بیگمان بر شان لشکر خُافَة در رسید، رایات ظفر آیات را دیدند،
 مرغِ جان از قفصِ قالبِ شان پریده با جمعهم اسیر شدند،
 چون رای بر اعتمادِ اخبارِ شان پای بر جای مانده بود مترصد آنکه

¹ Text: نراند.² Text: تراهمه بر همه.³ Text: اتباع.⁴ Text: بوجود موعظت و غارت.

از وصول لشکر اسلام انهای آنها خواهند کرد، چون هیچ یکی از ایشان از کند اجل نجست و نخست هم ایشان که عین راه بودند با سر و قتل مبتلا گشتند خبر برای نرسید تا غبار افواج و عثار لشکر منصور در کُل کُل گهاتی که آن کل کل ست و سَتک (sic) ازو هزار فرسنگ است رسید، و گرد نعال مراکب لشکر در گرد حصار سارنگ گهر چون گرد باد درآمد و خاک بر سرِ رای بد رای افتاد:

* بیت *

ز سم ستور آن دران پهن دشت
ز مین شش شد و آسمان گشت هشت

چاره خود از جای قرار جز فرار نیافت و از گریز گریز ندیده ده بدهقان سپرد و راه فرار گرفت، چون رای پربهاندیو چتر همایون ظلّ الله را معانته کرد بجانب چتر گهر گریخت، و القاء خیل بر غارت پیلان کرد، و در میان افیال وحشی در جنگل اسراع نمود تا گر بدین تعبیه از جنگل رخ پیادگان شاه رهائی یابد، چون موکب سکندر ثانی با حصول امانی انک:

* بیت *

ز چرخ ناله برآید چو او کشید کمان
بهر ذره در افتد چو او کشاد کمین

از آن ظلمات عبور فرموده سریه لشکر را بتعاقب رای گسیل کرد، و افواج منصور را بهر سمتی و جهتی فرستاد تا در سواحل دریای شرقی چون صاعقه و برق بر کفار زنند و اهل شرک را علف شمشیر اسلام کنند، و ذراجمی ایشان اسیر سازند و اسباب و املاک ایشان را غنیمت گیرند و ارسال کتابت باطراف

و جوانب به تتبع شکارگاه پیلان فرمود، و متجسسان در آجام فرستاد، خبر آوردند که در فلان جنگل در موضعی کله پیلان دیده‌ام، جز پیلان شاه اخذ ایشان میسر نشود، بدلات این گروه حرب¹ رکاب همایون بر آن سمت شد، و اسیرانی که در اثنای راه ماخوذ شده بودند از اخبار ایشان محقق شد قطعاً و یقیناً جمعی پیلان در آن جای هستند، این شکارگاه را بدور شش فرسنگ فرمود تا از کنده درختان برگنده برای پیلان زنده حصنی ساختند، و سوری پرداختند، و اطراف آنرا افواج لشکر محیط شد، چنانچه مور را از داخل خروج و مار را از خارج آن دخول ممکن نه گردد، در هفت روز مرتب شد و بهائی که درون دایره آن سور محصر شده بودند شور در ایشان افتاد، و سوز عطش و جوع در جوف ایشان اثر کرد. جوق جوق باکی و شاکی کاس یاس بر دست و رسن محن و طناب اضطراب و اسیری در گردن، از صغار و کبار بیکبار فریاد برآوردند که بی قوت شدیم و اولاد و احفاد را که زمرّد و یاقوت بوده‌اند آتش نامرادی در بوتۀ بلا گداز می‌دهد رجای بقا در آن داریم که در سلک اسرای امرای لشکر باشیم:

* بیت *

هر بنده که آزاد شود شاد شود

من شاد برآیم که ترا بنده شوم

اسیری ما بدست لشکر منصور موجب بقای ما ست مرحمت در حق ما محبوسان آن باشد که در سلسله اساری مسلسل گردانند:

¹ Text: مرب.

درون قفص طبد هر بجا گرفتاریست
 من از کند تو تا زنده ام نخواهم جَست
 مطیعِ امرِ تو ام گر دلم بخوای سوخت
 اسیرِ حکمِ تو ام گر تنم بخوای خَست

فرمان شد امان دهیم لیکن بشرط آنکه پیلانی که درین محوطه در اند بما نمانند، قبول کردند، و بدین شرط خلاص یافتند، خبر آوردند که درون این دایره در فلان ناحیه پیلان هستند از گاه احصار آب و گاه نیافته و گاه و بیگاه درین جائگاه در میشوند، چنان عاجز شده اند که اگر دسته گاه بر دست گرفته بدیشان می نمانند با مردم الفت می ورزند، همان گروه را دلیل ساخته بشکار پیل سواری شد، و درون آن محوطه تفتیش فرمود، بلطائف احتیال پیلان همچون جبال و فطنت و خیال چنانکه در فکر و خیال کسی صورت نه بندد در قید آورده، هم در اثنای شکار خبر آوردند که رای چتر گهر نیز فرار نموده، پیلان خدمتی و عرضه داشت رفع کرده که بی توشه درین گوشه افتاده ام، بده و بنده زاده درگاهم، از آبا و اجداد خدمتگارِ مخلص و دولت خواهم همیشه کار ما بندگی و خدمتگاریست و سعادت و دولت این دیارست که اعلام بر سر این بندگان طالع شده است :

فرخ صباح آنکه تو بروی گذر کنی
 فیروز روز آنکه تو بروی نظر کنی
 آزاد بنده که رود در رکاب تو
 خورم ولایتی که تو آنجا سفر کنی

و باز نموده که ولایت را و شهر را لشکر منصور بتاراج می‌برد، من از خوفِ جان گریخته در بیابانی خزیده هرچه دارم خدمتی پیش آرم:

* بیت *

گر بکوی دل که از تیر تو خست

خدمتی بیرون کشم پیکان بهم

پیدا که از بیم لشکر در جنگل گذاشته بودم تا پیلان وحشی بشکار پیلخانه خاص جمع خواهند آمد، و پیلان وحشی با خود آورده بودم، تیار با خدمتیات پیش درگاه فرستاد (م) جز یک پیل که داشته‌ام، اگر در حق این بنده و بنده زاده از درگاه مرحمت شود و جان را امان باشد بدارم تا بمرحمت حضرت نام گجپی که ابا و جدای باریت رسیده است بر نیفتد، و تا زنده باشم همیشه پیلان زنده هر سال ارسال نمایم، و پیش از¹ رسیدن خدمتی رای باکی نام وزیر او بحضرت آمد و باز نمود که سالها از ابا و اجداد رای را خدمت کردم، این زمان بیجری مرا ایذا میکند، چون کار بجان و کارد باستخوان برسد روی ازو تافتم، از رای باکی و شاکی که تاکی مظلوم رای باشم، و حال خود باکه گوئم، و از ناپاکی رای باکه حکایت کنم، بخت من بود که ریایات بر سر وقت من رسید، پیش تخت آمدم تا بنیل مراحم درگاه استظهار یابم:

ای سپهر ملک را اقبال تو صاحب قران

وای جهان عدل را انصاف تو مالک رقاب

دست عدلت گر بخواهد آشیان داند نهاد
 کبک را در مغلِب شاهین و منقار عقاب
 در چنین محل که رایاتِ همایون بر سطحِ این بلاد ظلیل گشته
 است :

* بیت *

دولتِ عنانِ ملک بدست تو باز داد
 اقبال بر براقِ مرادت سوار کرد
 تیغت که باغِ ملک برایش نهاده اند
 روی زمین ز خونِ عدو لاله زار کرد
 با زور بازوی تو مقر شد بافترا
 آنکس که وصف رستم و اسفندیار کرد
 بس پیلِ مست را که نهیبت فرو شکست
 بس شیرِ شَرزه که شکوهت شکار کرد

اگر استخلاص نفرماید انقطاعِ رجای بقا روی نماید :

درین ایام اگر دولت نیابم بامید کدام ایام باشم

و چون رای جاجنگر و زمین داران این ولایت (مرا) برکشیده
 حضرت دانند فضولِ شان را با من اثری نماید :

* بیت *

زانروی که بنده تو بدانند مرا بر مردمک چشم نشانند مرا
 لطف تو که عامست عنایت فرمود ورنه چه کسم، کیم، چه خوانند مرا
 او را بمرحمت پادشاهانه و عاطفت خسروانه مخصوص گردانید،
 خلعت تشریف پوشانید و مراتبِ طبل و عَلم داد و بر صفحه
 امنیت او رقمِ انجام کشید، هم در آوانِ شکارِ فیلان خان اعظم
 خاقانِ معظم احمد خان که از مملکتِ بنگاله از دستِ ظلمِ سلطان

شمس الدین بیرون آمده بود و بر رای جاجنگر پیوسته، سبحان الله تا چه غایت ظلم او سرائت کرده باشد که مؤمنان از وی گریخته پناه بر کفار آرند:

ستم در عهد او زان گونه خونی شد که هر ساعت

اجل بهر شفاعت آید و دست ستم گیرد

آن مظلوم برسیدنِ رایاتِ همایون با لشکریهای اسلام از کفار بیرون آمد و با خیل و تبع خویش بدرگاه جهان پناه پیوست، مرحمت حضرت چتر سبیل چنانکه آرزو و امید داشت با مراتب و اسبان بسیار و اموال بیشمار یافت، و ملازمت رکاب همایون گردید، از آنجا رای همایون لازال مسرور این اقتضا کرد که بنگاه¹ و لشکر را بموافقت ملک ملوک الشرف و الحجاب سپهکش زمان تهمتن گیهان الغ اعظم نائب باربک ابراهیم اخوه و ملوک الشرق سپهکش زمان تهمتن گیهان قهرمان العساکر صاحب دیوان عرض ممالک بشیر سلطانی در موضع گرناس و رایات ظفر آیات بقلع بتخانه جگنات توجه فرمود، و آن معبد مشرکان آن زمین و معتقد کافران چین و ماچین است، و مشهورترین معابد ایشانست، نباهای با تکلف کرده و تمثال دمی و صورت جلیه بر جدران و حیطان نگاشته، و سکنه آرا هیئت و شاره و زئی نوعی دیگر و در صفحه وجوه شان ظله پیدا، و نور عرض ای رونق ابرو ندیده، و حسم و شخص نحیف، و جثه و جرم و جسد ضعیف، و از نسبه و جو (sic) ای نفس و روح چنانستی که حشاشه

و رمقی مانده است، سیصد هزار دینار نقره سالی در مطبخ آن صرف میشود، و از اقصای جوانب و اطراف ابناء و بناتِ رایات و برهمنات ضال و مضلل از گمراهی پویان، و جماعتی اتباعِ شیاطین از زنانِ وسواسی که آنرا دیوداسی¹ میخوانند، و مردانِ بهره زدن که ایشان را بهره خوانند، نشسته خلق را اضلال میکنند، بعضی چون ذبائحِ خونِ خویش را پیشِ بت اهرق میکنند، و بعضی اجزای اعضای خویش را خلعِ تقطیع می‌پوشانند، و بعضی از ربوۀ رفیعۀ و شواهِقِ منیعۀ در مکانِ سحیق و میاهِ عمیق بهبوطِ غریق، و بعضی باستیقادِ اضغاثِ وقود و ابابیلِ حطب در ظلماتِ لبِ حریق میگردند، و جملهٔ کفار که در آن دیار هستند بتِ رایِ پرستند. معبودِ بحقِّ لا اله الا الله وحده لا شریک له پادشاهِ اسلام را موفق گردانید تا این بتخانهٔ قدیم را که بر لبِ دریای شرقی بود خراب کرد، بعدِ تخریبِ بدریا غرق گردانید و بتِ جگنات را فرمود که سوراخ در بینی کردند و بذلِ خور و مخور گردانیدند و با اصنامِ دیگر که در بلادِ جاجنگر مشرکانِ معبود ساخته بودند با تمثالِ جگناته بمثالِ ملقیاتِ کوآسده² برکنندند، تا در عتباتِ مساجدِ اسلام بر ممرِ ستیان³ و راهِ گذرِ مصلیان افکنند و در آستانهٔ هر مسجدی شان بخسانند تا در صدور و ورود و دخول و خروجِ صدور و اضلاعِ این اصنامِ بنعالِ اقدامِ اهلِ اسلام سوده گردند، بعنایتِ حقِّ جلّ و علا، بعدِ حصولِ این مرام از لبِ دریای شرقی عودِ اتفاق افتاد، بعضی از سرانِ افواج

¹ Text: موساسی.² Text: کواسنده.³ Text: منیات.

که برای نهب و تاراج نامزد بودند خبر فرستادند که نزدیک ساحل دریا جزیره ایست و در و آب گیرست طویل و عریض که مقدار صد هزار مردم جاجنگر آنجا¹ پناه گرفته با زن و فرزند و خویش و پیوند، هر صورتی چون ماهی و آفتابی برین صورت چون ماهی در چنین آبی مانده اند، و گفتند سلطان شمس الدین ضابط لکهنوتی با جمله لشکر خویش درین ساحل دریا محیط شده بود بر ایشان قدرت نیافت و صفر الیدین بگذشت، باستماع این خبر رکاب همایون را رکضت بدان سمت شد و افواج را بر سمت هر رکفی تعیین کرد تا از هر طرف درآیند و جزیره را بشمشیر آبدار از قتل مشرکان طشت پر خون سازند، چون اعلام ظفر اعلام همایون مطالع سعد و اختر میمون با لشکرهای دریا جوش بر ساحل آن جزیره طالع شد:

زمین چو روی فلک گشته از سلاح

روی فلک چو پشت زمین گشته از غبار

از سم مرکبان شده مانند غار، کوه

و از شخص کشتگان شده مانند کوه، غار

قادر لم یزل و لایزال رعب در قلوب آن جمع مغلوب القا کرد، چون مدبصر ایشان بر شعاع اسنه رماح نصر مفتاح، و سنای سیوف مسلوله مقدمه و جناح وقت الصباح رسید صیاح برآوردند در لجه دریا بالراح عجز با جمعهم تیغ و سپر و تیر و کان و جوشن و زره در آب افکندند:

شمشیر زدن از تو، از ما سپر اندازی

و سر رقیب بر زمین نهادند و پیش از آن لشکر از هر طرفی و جایی درآمد بود و تیغ برق صدمت را بر فرق لاجیان دریای شرق و فرق بد دینان را بدریای خون شاه غرق کرده و تنهای شاه را که از انقیاد امر شاهی آبی بوده اند لقمه ماهی و طعمه شیر آبی گردانیده:

* بیت *

ز خون هفت دریا برآمد بهم زمین از دگر سو برون داد نم
از هر جنس عاتق و عذرا ای بکر و نصف، و عوان ای میانه سال
و عروس و عجز و غروب و شیب ای شو دیده و مذکار آنکه
همه نرزايد و میناث آنکه همه ماده زائد و نزور ای اندک زائنده
و نشور ای بسیار زائنده و ارمله و بیوه و آیم ای بی شوی و خریده
ای شرمگین و جواری نیکو خوی و غایتی ای زنی آراسته بی آرائش،
در خانه هر لشکری و عسکری و تابع ای چاکر ازین غنیمت
عبد و غلام و آمه و وقنسیه ای خینیاگر و ظیر ای دایه و حاضسه
ای پیشکاره بخدمت مشغول، و بقایای ما قیل را اسیر کرد،
و نسوان شاه را از مرضعه و حلبی هر خیلی مطوق و مسلسل
مقید و مغفل گردانید، از کفار جز خون شاه نشان نمانده:

پرسید هر که دید تو آبی و یادی

گفتا جزیره ایست پر از خون آدمی

از آنجا مظفر و منصور مرفه و مسرور در مقامی که بنگاه مقام
کرده بود نزول شد و مجموع افواج از جوانب با مغنم کثیره
بحضرت پیوست، از آنجا بر سمت پدم تلاؤ که مسکن پیلان
وحشی است بشکار عزیمت شد، در کرانه لب آب مهاندی

که پیلان بعدد ستاره در و سیاره اند بقصد قتل فیل تتبع آثار کرده پی پیلان بیعدد یافته، آنجا در دامن کوه شکار پیل حاصل گشت، پیلان کوه شکوه را بزخم تیر انداخته جمیع امانی که برای حصول آن نهضت رکاب بر آن سمت شده بود بعون ربانی بر حسب ارادت میسر شد:

ای از مکارم تو شده در جهان خبر
 افکنده از سیاست تو آسمان سپر
 گیتی زبان کشاده بمدح تو و فلک
 بسته ز بهر خدمت تو درمیان کمر
 با موکب جلالت تو هم گتف شرف
 با موکب سعادت تو هم عنان ظفر



Dharma Worship.

By K. P. CHATTOPADHYAY.

The worship of Dharma is an old cult in Bengal, and has produced a number of works in verse describing the origin and merits of Dharma Pūjā. Some of these narratives, known as Dharmamaṅgala have been published. Others still remain as manuscripts.¹ A somewhat different class of work is the Śūnya Purāṇa, which resembles the Maṅgala works. At the same time it is more archaic in character and refers more to the details of worship.² Another work, the Dharma Pūjābidhān, is an account of the mode of worship.³ The literature of the Dharma cult has been examined by various scholars and there are a number of valuable articles⁴ on this subject. The editors of

¹ I have consulted the following published works of this category:—

- (a) Śrī Dharmamaṅgala by Mānik Ganguli, edited by Mahāmahopādhyāy Haraprasād Śāstri and Śrī Dīnēśandra Sen. Calcutta, 1312 B.S. (=1906 A.D.). Sāhitya Pariṣat publication.
- (b) Śrī Dharmamaṅgala by Mahākabi Ghanaram Chakrabarti, Kabiratna. Calcutta, 1318 B.S. (=1912 A.D.).
- (c) Śrī Dharma Purāṇa by Mayurbhaṭṭa, edited by Śrī Basanta Kumar Chattopadhyay. Calcutta, 1337 B.S. (=1931 A.D.). S.P. publication. This account is based not on any old manuscript but a modern revised version.
- (d) Anādimāṅgala bā Śrī Dharma Purāṇa by Kabi Rāmdās Ādak, edited by Śrī Basanta Kumar Chattopadhyay. Calcutta, 1345 B.S. (=1939 A.D.). S.P. publication.

I have not consulted any manuscripts but used summaries noted about those writings by various authors, quoting such references, cf. Sahadeb Chakrabartir Dharmamaṅgal by Śrī Ambikācaran Gupta, Sāhitya Pariṣat Patrikā, Calcutta, 1304 B.S. (=1898 A.D.).

The account of Ruparām was heard by me in Midnapur at a celebration of Dharma Pūjā.

² Śūnya Purāṇa by Ramāi Paṇḍit (?), edited by Śrī Nagendranath Basu. Calcutta, B.S. 1314 (=1908 A.D.). S.P. publication.

³ Dharma Pūjābidhān by Ramāi Paṇḍit (?), edited by Śrī Nanigopal Bandopadhyay. Calcutta, B.S. 1323 (=1917 A.D.). S.P. publication.

⁴ Most of the important articles have been published in the Sāhitya Pariṣat Patrikā (the journal of the academy of Bengalee literature), and a few also in the Prabāsi. Only the important articles have been mentioned. I have avoided unnecessary multiplication of references which would have occurred if I had included all the notes contributed on this subject. The important articles will be found in S.P.P., Vols. 4, 12, 13, 15, 16, 36, and 38. Valuable discussions are to be found in the introductions to Śrī Dharma Purāṇa by Mayurbhaṭṭa, Anādimāṅgala bā Śrī Dharma Purāṇa by Kabi Rāmdās Ādak, Śūnya Purāṇa by Ramāi Paṇḍit (?), and Dharma Pūjābidhān by Ramāi Paṇḍit (?), noted above.

the Śūnya Purāṇa consider that work to be the oldest account in verse of the worship of Dharma and the associated traditions. The manuscripts consulted by the editors were not older than three hundred years, but the editors place the date of composition in the eleventh century A.D. An able critic, Śrī Jogeś Rāy, has shown that there is a good case for placing it about two centuries later. The dates of the Maṅgalas have also been disputed. But some of them were undoubtedly composed in the sixteenth century while the last of these works was written in the eighteenth century.

Whatever be its exact date, the Śūnya Purāṇa and some of the Maṅgalas have preserved for us an account of Dharma worship, and details of the Dharma cult, which must of necessity have been based on lost prototypes dating from the 13th or 14th century and describing a well-established practice and tradition of that period.¹

In the Śūnya Purāṇa the poet starts with a description of creation. There was nothing but empty space, and in it was the *Prabhu* (Lord) alone. The Lord thought, 'Whom shall I create?' First came from him air or breath or wind. Then the Lord created his own body. From the yawn of Lord Dharma (now mentioned by this name) was born the owl who was fed with his spittle. A part of it fell and became the primeval waters on which the Lord and the owl floated. From a feather of the owl was born the goose. Next came the tortoise from a touch of the Lord's hand on the waters. Attempts had been made by the Lord to rest successively on a bubble, the owl, the goose and the tortoise. But the bubble broke and the animals each in its turn became tired of His weight, after a time. So now, on the advice of the owl, the Lord threw on the waters his golden sacred thread, tearing it up. It became at once the great thousand-hooded snake Bāsuki. His ornaments

¹ The Origin and Development of the Bengali Language, by Suniti Kumār Chatterji. Calcutta University Press, 1926.

Ramāi Paṇḍiter Dharmamaṅgal, by Śrī Haraprasād Śāstri. *S.P.P.*, Vol. 4, B.S. 1304.

Do. Pariśiṣṭa, by Śrī Benodebihārī Kābātīrtha. *S.P.P.*, Vol. 4 (1898).

Sahadeb Chakrabartī Dharmamaṅgal, by Śrī Ambikācaran Gupta. *S.P.P.*, Vol. 4.

Māṇik Gāṅguli o Dharmamaṅgal, by Śrī Brojesundar Sanyal. *S.P.P.*, Vol. 12.

Dharmamaṅgal, by Śrī Dīnēscandra Sen. *S.P.P.*, Vol. 13.

Dharmamaṅgal prañetā Māṇik Gāṅguli, by Śrī Jogeścandra Rāy, *S.P.P.*, Vol. 15.

Śūnya Purāṇa, by Śrī Jogeścandra Rāy. *S.P.P.*, Vol. 16.

Śūnya Purāṇa sambandhe Mantabya, by Śrī Nagendranath Basu. *S.P.P.*, Vol. 16.

Dharmamaṅgaler ādikabi Mayurbhaṭṭa, by Śrī Basanta Kumar Chattopadhyay. *S.P.P.*, Vol. 36.

Śūnya Purāṇa, by Śrī Jogeścandra Rāy. *S.P.P.*, Vol. 38.

similarly became frogs and supplied food to the snake. Now the Lord rubbed his hand on his own throat and put the little dirt that had gathered there, on the snake's head. This became Basumatī or the Earth. Now waters were moved to three sides of the Earth, and the Lord and the owl went to see the earth. The exertion caused them to perspire. The Lord wiped off the sweat of half his body (one side only) and from it was born Ādyā Śakti. She was left behind and the Lord created the river Ballukā, on the banks of which is placed the traditional site of origin of Dharma worship. There the Lord remained in contemplation. By this time Ādyā Śakti had become a young woman and she felt desire. Kāmadeba or the god of love was born at once and he went with her message to the Lord and the owl. The Lord put Kāmadeba in a pot of earth and it became full of poison. Then they came and saw Ādyā but did not know where to find her mate. The pot of poison (Kāmadeba) was left in her care and they went back to Ballukā ostensibly to find her a groom. Ādyā became despondent and swallowed the poison. She conceived in consequence and three blind sons came out of her body, Brahmā through the fontanelle, Viṣṇu through her navel, and Śiva through the vagina. The Lord now came floating as a putrid corpse to the three brothers as they sat in contemplation. Brahmā and Viṣṇu failed to recognize the Lord and pushed the corpse away. But Śiva wondered how there could be death before there was birth of any other besides themselves. He saw through the deception and pleased Dharma by his homage. The three gods now got their eyes through the Lord's favour, and were allotted their duties, usual to them in other traditional accounts. Brahmā would create, Viṣṇu would protect and nourish, Śiva would destroy. Ādyā Śakti would live in all creatures as the female organ and Maheś (Śiva) would marry her in another birth. Dharma himself remained in space on the owl.

Next follows a description of worship of Dharma, beginning with drawing of water for the sacred pot. Dharma is now to be bathed and the devotees make sandal paste for *tikā* or initiation. Flowers are gathered, Gaṇeśa is offered worship first and then Dharma. The ceremony is stated to be performed by king Haricandra (Hariścandra) and his queen Madanā for the birth of a son. A new *maṇḍap* (shed) is stated to have been set up and four doors (on four sides) are opened for the queen successively. The conventional 'house' of Dharma is now shown to the royal worshippers. There is a repetition of the description and a reference to the merits of Dharma worship. The devotee is to observe *haviṣya* (a special restricted diet) on a Friday and offer *pūjā* on Saturday. There is a reference to the great respect in which Dharma is held in Ceylon. The temple (house) of Dharma is described in detail. Stones are dressed, wooden pillars are put up and toddy palm poles and

areca poles are split, apparently for the roof. Peacock feathers are to cover the roof of Dharma's house. An *ālam*, or bamboo cut ceremonially, is stated to be placed by each door, and the *pādukā* (sandals) of Dharma are worshipped. The offerings to Dharma are now described—plantain and other fruits, milk, clarified butter, honey, curds and *ātap* rice. The whole of the food offerings is known as *manui*. It is followed by betel leaves for 'cleansing the mouth' as it is termed. The sage Mārkaṇḍeya is stated to have offended Dharma and become a leper; he was cured when his wife thus offered worship to Dharma. Incense is now burnt probably for the swinging of devotees over its flame; but this is not stated. A horse is also said to be saddled for Dharma.

There is a description of worship and cutting of the *Gām-bhāri* or *gāmār* (*Gmelina arborea*, Linn.) tree. The wood is sent to the blacksmith to be dressed and made properly, i.e. fitted with nails. A fresh description of the rites starts here, of the bathing of Dharma, his worship and other details. A horse is again mentioned as drawing the car of Dharma. In this portion of the book is described the placing of sacred sand from Ballukā, and of coral, pearls, silver and gold, and *ātap* (sun-dried) rice on the back of the tortoise-shaped deity Dharma. A ceremony called *muktisnān* is also mentioned. After this, however, comes a story of Śiva working the plough—a golden plough with a share of silver. Paddy is stated to have originated from sexual desire of Śiva, from his semen. A fresh start is again made to describe the rites, and the tying of an armlet as part of the initiation of the devotee is mentioned. Another brief reiteration of the mode of worship occurs. The armlet is now stated to be of copper. There is mention of animal sacrifice before the Devī, and also further on, the origin of the goat from incest.

In the Dharma Pūjābidhān, first of all elaborate rituals are mentioned, with incantations in Sanskrit for setting up the Dharma deity and other deities and worshipping them. There are at the same time verses in Bengalee which are to be recited at the time of the worship. There is clear mention of worship by a Brāhmaṇ (Devaśarmā) in this description of the *grahabharan* type of Dharma pūjā. Formal inclusion in the group of worshippers now takes place of (a) the Dhāmāt-karṇi or Dharmādhikaraṇa, who is in charge of the cooking of offerings, (b) the singers of the songs of Dharma, (c) the *graha-vipra* and then others including the *deul sanyāsi* and the *pāṭ-bhakta*. Twelve *sanyāsis* must be included, and they are each given a piece of cane to hold in their hand, after they have put on the *uttariya*. Worship is offered first to Gaṇeśa, Sūrya, Viṣṇu, Śiva, Durgā, and after that to Dharma. Then follows worship of Kaminyā—the female devotee companion of Dharma. Next are worshipped Lakṣmī, Manasā, Bhairaba, Bāsuli, Sara-

swatī, Kuvera, Śaṣṭhī, Bhagavatī and finally the divine keepers of the doors. In the second part of the work, the mantras are fuller and the rites noted carefully. Mention is also made of worship of Dharma's owl after the worship of Dharma, and of Basumatī, i.e. Earth, after Lakṣmī. Worship is also offered to Brahmā, his consort, to Ananta, Garuḍa and Viśvakarmā, to Bāneśwar and minor deities, including the *grahas*. In a third portion of this work, the description of rites starts from the beginning but passes on quickly to worship of the *gāmār* tree and bathing of pearls represented by rice grains. There is mention of *hindol*, i.e. fire-swing of devotees, of the sacrifice of a goat, of the placing of the head in a pot and invoking its resuscitation. Next follows a shorter version of the so-called Śūnya Purāṇa.

In the Dharmamaṅgalas of Māṇik Gāngulī, of Ghanarām, and the Anādimāṅgala of Rāmdās Ādak, there is a tale of creation, and an account of the worship of Dharma by King Hariścandra and his wife. The king and queen were childless, and worshipped Dharma for a son. The boon was granted, according to one account, only when the king and queen offered their lives to Dharma by falling on a razor-sharp weapon. They were brought back to life and given the boon of a son, on condition that the son would be sacrificed to Dharma. The son was named Luicandra. When the boy was twelve years of age, Dharma came disguised as an ascetic, and asked the king and queen to kill and cook their son as food for him. Promise bound, this request was complied with; but in reality it was an illusion. Dharma was merely testing their worth. This anecdote was related to Rājīābatī, queen of Kaṇa Sen, when she lamented her childless state. She offered worship to Dharma at Cāmpāi-ghat on the banks of the river Dwārkeśwar. Ramāi Paṇḍit was the priest who performed the rites. Rājīābatī performed all the rites, including the swing over fire, head downwards, and the fall on *kāṭārī* (curved knives) fixed on plantain stems. Finally she threw herself on sharp iron spikes and died on them. She was now brought back to life by Dharma and granted her boon. This son, Lausen, is the hero of the Maṅgala literature of Dharma.

In the Dharma Purāṇa of Mayurbhaṭṭa, the first part relates the origin of Dharma worship and the reason why the image of Dharma is of stone. The deity Dharma is frankly identified with Viṣṇu and rationalizations are put forward to cover anomalies or obscure points and events in the genuinely older versions. The account begins not with the usual tale of creation, but the narration of accidental killing of a Brāhmaṇ by Dharma Sen, grandson of Lāusen already mentioned above. There is a long account of the origin of Ramāi Paṇḍit and the adventures of his son Dharmadās. There is an obvious rationalization (on Pauranic lines, no doubt) of the anomaly of the

claim of Brahmanic descent by Paṇḍits and their actual social rules. The worship of Dharma by a king Rañjit Rāy is described and an account of the adventures of Lāusen promised in the second part. This portion of the work has not so far been found.

According to the traditional accounts preserved by the Dom Paṇḍit who worships Jātrā-siddhi-rāy, i.e. Dharma, at Maynāpur in Bankura District¹ as well as the narrative of Mayurbhaṭṭa, Ramāi is stated to be of Brahmanic descent but brought up in the Dharma cult after he lost his parents in childhood. He received copper initiation at the age of fifteen. He had a son by Keśabati who was born from the foot of Dharma. In the account from Bankura, Ramāi stated that the son would be initiated, i.e. given a copper ring and armlet, at the age of fourteen years and fourteen days. In the published narration of Mayurbhaṭṭa this is directed to be done, by Dharma. The son was named Dharmadās; he married a Dom's daughter according to the traditions obtained in Bankura and became the founder of the line of Dom Paṇḍit priests. The narrative of Mayurbhaṭṭa describes a marriage with a Brāhmaṇ girl. The armlet mentioned is worn on the right arm. The Dharma Paṇḍits are not, however, the only worshippers of Dharma. The *grahaviṇḍas*, i.e. Ācārya Brāhmaṇs, were apparently once serious rivals to the Paṇḍits, as they are referred to as having wrongfully taken up this worship, in the traditional account. In actual practice many lower castes supply priests to Dharma. This will be apparent from the accounts of the Dharma cults in different districts. Even some of the purer castes, however, sometimes act as devotees and worshippers. Thus in the Dharmamaṅgala of Ghanarām (p. 29, *ibid.*), a Bāruī of name Sukhadatta is mentioned as having come to Maynā, carrying the footwear of Dharma in a golden seat on the head.

The Dharma deity known as Jātrā-siddhi-rāy, worshipped in the village Maynāpur in Bankura District, is revered by all castes including Brāhmaṇs. The priest is a Dom known as Paṇḍit. They do not accept water from other Doms who are not Paṇḍits, but serve as priests to them at marriage, funeral and other rites. The Paṇḍits accept cooked rice only from Brāhmaṇs and are endogamous. Although, like other Doms, they are held to be impure, yet at the worship of Dharma the sacred offerings of water are accepted from them even by the highest caste of Brāhmaṇ. The copper ring is stated to be worn on the index finger and this initiation takes the place of Upanayana or sacred thread ceremony among Brāhmaṇs.

The image of this and several other Dharms are said to be of stone and shaped like a tortoise, about 4" to 6" long. The

¹ Ramāi Paṇḍit o Maynāpurur Jātrāsiddhi, by Benodebihārī Kābyatīrtha Bhaktibinode. *S.P. Patrikā*, Vol. 13. See also Śūnya Purāṇa, *ibid.*, introduction.

worship is stated to start on the Akṣayṛtīyā, i.e. third day after new moon in Baisākh (April-May), and ends on the full-moon day. The ceremony is not described but stated to be like the *gājan* of Śiva, i.e. the rites followed at Cāḍak festival. During these twelve days offerings are cooked by Brāhmaṇ women. At other times offerings are made by the Paṇḍit priest, but cooked rice or any cooked food is not included.

According to Śrī Jogēścandra Rāy¹ the images are mostly tortoise-like in shape, and all have tortoise backs. The priests in Bankura are known as Pārit. But priests may also be of Bāgdi, Namaśūdra, Kaibartta, Jugi, Tānti and other castes. According to the Gazetteer of the Bankura District² the most ancient Dharma 'is said to be Briddhakṣha who is enshrined at Sankaripara in the town of Bishnupur. The name Briddhakṣha means "the old-eyed one" and the god who is commonly known as Bura Dharma is represented by a piece of stone covered with vermilion and having metal eyes. . . . It is said that the worship of this deity goes back to the days before the establishment of the Bishnupur Raj, i.e. over 1,100 years. . . . Other representations of Dharma-raj of some celebrity are the following: . . . Bankura Rai of Indas is represented by a piece of stone. . . . The idol of Rupnarayan of Mangalpur is a piece of stone emblematical of the tortoise incarnation of Visnu'. Several other similar emblems are described.

Most of the images of Dharma which the writer of this paper observed in the districts of Birbhum, Midnapur and 24-Parganas were shaped like tortoises. In one case it had a tortoise back only. But the size, though generally as noted above, varied. At Labhpur in Birbhum, the deity measured about a foot each way. In Midnapur, the priests of the Dharma worship centres visited were all Paṇḍits (Dom) by caste. In Midnapur, like Bankura, they are termed Pārit. In Birbhum other castes like Kaibartta, Swarnakār and Barua Brāhmaṇs also have charge of Dharma temples. In Labhpur, the deities were originally in charge of a Keot (Kaibartta) family; but as misfortunes befell them, they made over charge to another family of the Swarnakār caste. It appears that first a cow of the Keot died; then the man lost his son. Finally, he himself died. This was stated to have happened about twenty years ago. In Raipur, Śrī Kālimohan Ghosh states³ that a local Brāhmaṇ performed the usual worship and that 'he

¹ Śūnya Purāṇa, by Śrī Jogēścandra Rāy. *S.P. Patrikā*, Vol. 16.

Śūnya Purāṇa, by Śrī Jogēścandra Rāy. *S.P. Patrikā*, Vol. 38.

² Bengal District Gazetteers, Bankura, by L. S. S. O'Malley. Calcutta, 1908.

³ Raipur, by Kālimohan Ghosh. Sriniketan, Birbhum, 1933. (Visvabharati publication.)

was looked down upon by the rest of society'. Evidently, he was either a *Bārṇa Brāhman* or a *grahavipra*. Some of the shrines are specially venerated and visits are paid by sufferers from rheumatism, the specific cure for which, according to the Birbhum District Gazetteer, is believed to be a pilgrimage to these shrines.¹ In 24-Parganas, including Calcutta and suburbs, the priests are of various castes. In Dhakuria, Garia and Bosepukur, the priests are Dom Paṇḍits. In Bhawanipur (in Calcutta), the priest is an Ācārya Brāhman (*grahavipra*) while in Chetla, there is a Jugi priest.

The worship of Dharma is of two kinds—the regular daily offerings, generally on a very modest scale, of *bātāsa* and flowers, and the annual celebration. A third kind of worship may be offered on occasions for vows made. This last variety of worship is also mentioned in the *Śūnya Purāṇa*. The rule noted there is to fast on a Friday and make offerings on a Saturday.

In 24-Parganas, I was informed that the usual practice is to make a vow to offer worship when cured; and if the desire is fulfilled, to carry out the pledge at the next full-moon day. Generally people make vows for cure of eye troubles. Gold or silver eyes are offered to the Dharma deity. On the day preceding full moon, the devotee keeps to a vegetarian diet. Next day, a fast is observed and the offerings are made. The vow may include burning incense, as it is termed. This is done by lighting charcoal in an earthen *mālsā* (hemispherical bowl) and throwing incense on it when the fire has blazed up. The pot is kept on the head, on each palm and also on the chest. Some devotees vow and offer blood from the chest by pricking the skin. Others again circumambulate the place of worship on their breast. The metallic eyes offered are fixed to the deity by means of a paste of resin (gum of *śāl* tree), vermilion and a little mustard oil.

The priest in charge of the place of worship and the deity is known as *Devāṁsi* in Western Bengal. The daily offerings are made by him. But for the annual celebration, in Birbhum at least, a low caste Brāhman is employed. This is done at Labhpur and, according to Śrī Kālimohan Ghosh (*ibid.*), at Raipur. The temple of Dharma may be of brick or a shed. In Dhakuria in 24-Parganas, and in Labhpur in Birbhum, the deities were housed in a mud and bamboo structure with a tiled shed and a corrugated iron roof respectively.

In Calcutta and suburbs, the worship has lost most of its special features. In the town, the annual worship starts five days before the full moon in Baisākh. The rites are similar to those for the *gājan* of Śiva, i.e. the *Caḍak* festival as performed

¹ Bengal District Gazetteers, Birbhum. Calcutta, 1910.

in this area, in Central Bengal.¹ The ceremony could not be performed in Monoharpukur in 1934-35 and subsequently owing to lack of funds. The annual celebration was formerly a regular feature in this locality, but the bustee (hut clusters) in this area has been broken up by the Improvement Trust and their place taken by brick-built houses of the higher caste people, some of whom are non-Bengalees. So the festival has died out, as it cannot be celebrated without sufficient funds which have to be raised by subscription from local residents. Also, devotees are not available in the locality. In Dhakuria, the priest Akṣoy Paṇḍit who is over fifty years of age informed me that formerly there was a *gājan* like that of Śiva in this area. But it is no longer celebrated. He has seen it when a boy. *Hindol*, *Kāṇā jhāp*, *Bāṭi jhāp* and piercing with arrows all used to be performed at Bosepukur. Canes were carried by devotees who were initiated five days before the final rites, and invested with *uttariya*. He had heard that a goat used to be sacrificed only if any one had promised it. He has never seen it done.

The Paṇḍit stated that their family has been among the earliest settlers in this part of the country, 'clearing the forest'. In the old days, the deity Dharma was held in great respect. Nowadays, the respect has decreased, and people sometimes make mistakes. Such lapses are, however, avenged by Dharma promptly. A Bhakta, who does not observe the rules carefully, dies within the year. This, stated the Paṇḍit, has happened several times within the past few years. In consequence people do not dare become devotees. In 1939 the celebration had to be carried out without any Bhakta. If there are devotees, Uttariya is given on *dwādāśī*, i.e. fourth day prior to full moon. The loin-cloth and body-cloth are of ochre colour; and a sacred thread with kuśa root is also worn. There is no *deul* Bhakta or *koṭāl*. The ceremony nowadays starts on the day before full moon. A lamp is lighted with clarified butter and cotton wick before the deity and a *baran-dālā* or tray of *baran* used at weddings is placed in the shed, near the deity. It has on it wristlets of lac, conch shell bracelets, an iron wristlet, thread on a winder, a necklace, Ganges clay, betel leaf, areca nuts and other requisites. The *maṅgala hāḍis*—earthen pots, three or five in number—containing turmeric, baiḍā (*Terminalia belerica*), haritaki (*Terminalia chebula*), areca nut, cowry shell and *ātap* rice coloured with turmeric paste, are also kept there. Next day, at midday, women who have fasted since morning bathe. Dharma is carried in a basket known as *dhucuni* to this tank by the Paṇḍit; the

¹ A Short Account of the Carak Puja Ceremonial, by Ram Comal Sen *Journ. A.S.B.*, 1833.

Ādyer Gambhīrā, by Śrī Haridās Pālit, B.S. 1319 (= 1913 A.D.). Chapter VI.

The Caḍak Festival of Bengal, by K. P. Chattopadhyay. *Journ. and Proc. A.S.B.*, 1934.

women rub the deity with oil and turmeric and bathe it. The deity is now brought back to the temple, placed on the earthen seat in the basket and worshipped with flowers.

In Birbhum, the ceremony starts five days before the final celebration. The Debāmsi, however, starts *habīṣya* from Akṣay-*trītiyā*, and on the last four days takes only fruit and milk. Bhaktas or devotees are initiated only four days before full moon. Among touchable low castes, people like Sadgopes, Sundis and Sekras, and impure groups (using these terms in the sense in which they were used by the orthodox Hindu of an earlier generation) like Keots and Bagdis, contribute devotees. Each man is invested with a bunch of threads termed the sacred thread, worn round the neck. Each devotee also puts on a new cloth, ties a *gāṃchā* (body-cloth used as towel for rubbing the body also) round the waist and carries a cane with a curved end like the chief devotee of Cadak. On the first day, the devotees perform *habīṣya*, prepare the 'sacred thread' from purchased thread by twisting and are invested with the same by the Debāmsi. There is a chief Bhakta, known as *pāṭ* Bhakta. At Labhpur, this function is performed by the descendants of the former Keot Debāmsi who gave up charge of the Dharma deities to the goldsmith. On the first day, the Debāmsi takes the deity Bāneśwar who is also kept in the temple of Dharma to a tank near the village boundary. This deity is made of wood and shaped as shown in the figure like a post with a conical head, resembling a bulbous spear-head (Fig. 1). It is studded with a number of iron nails generally.



1

FIG. 1. Spear-like image of Bāneśwar, Birbhum.

After the deity has been worshipped the devotees are initiated, i.e. have the thread put on. They now return to the temple. Dancing and drumming occurs on both journeys.

The next day the Bhaktas fast. In the evening they proceed to the tank, carrying Bāneśwar, to bathe him and also themselves. The deity is now taken back to the temple of Dharma, with the usual drumming and dancing. At night only fruits and milk are taken. On the third day, in the afternoon, the deity Dharma is placed on a wooden *dolā* (shaped partly like a throne, but carried on shoulders), and this is placed on a ceremonially cleansed piece of ground before the Dharma shed (temple). Beginning from the door, but north of it, the devotees lie down head to east on their face, the feet pointing west. The Debāmsi puts on a new *gāṃchā* as a *pugree* (turban) and takes up one

deity at a time on his head if there are several Dharmas in the temple and walks on the bodies of the devotees and comes back

also in the same way. At Labhpur, I noted seven deities but was able to obtain the names of only four. These were: (a) Dharmarāj, (b) Dāmodar, (c) Khijurāi, (d) Bilveśwar. When this ceremony is over, the deities are put on the *dolā* and carried by the devotees round the village and finally to the tank. At the *ghāt* (bathing place or getting in place), the deities are put in a small bamboo basket of the type known as *dhucunt*, brought by a Dom (basket-weaver) of a family enjoying the hereditary right to do this duty. The basket must be woven by a woman who is living with her first married husband. The Dom gets two seers and a half of rice (parboiled and husked, not *ātap*) for his services. Now a devotee of a particular family goes into the tank with the basket, until the water rises to his chest. In Labhpur, this duty was formerly performed by a Sundi family. But that family is now extinct and the prerogative has passed to a goldsmith family. The other devotees now pour milk and water (sacred water) on the deity. An earthen pot (*kalsi*—narrow-necked vessel) is held under the deities and the water is caught in it. It is then filled up with tank water if not quite full and taken with a twig of mango on it. The deities are then bathed and taken back to the temple. The prescribed mantras are uttered, *āsan śuddhi* and other rites are performed and ceremonial offerings are made of rice and other food as laid down in the sacred texts of Dharma.

This is followed by *hindol sevā* or *dhunābān*. Wood of *pākuḍ* (*Ficus infectoria*, Roxb.), *bael* (*Aegle marmosa*) or *śāl* (*Shorea robusta*) are heaped in a small hole below a swinging platform exactly similar to that described for Caḍak and the ceremony is also the same. The platform is erected in front of the temple. In Labhpur, the Dharma deity is placed outside the temple on a *gāmchā* twisted into a circular coil. As incense is burnt on the fire below, the devotee swings backward and forward, head downwards over it. He takes flowers in his hands and swinging forward holds them over the incense and then offers the same to Dharma. Early next morning, i.e. on the full-moon day, a big fire is built up of the logs, so that embers form quickly. Worship is now done to Dharma, the embers spread with cane and the Bhaktas dance on the embers until the fire is put out. Arrangements are now made for a *homa* (sacred fire offerings) ceremony by a Brāhmaṇ.

In the meanwhile each Bhakta fills an earthen pot with water at the tank and takes it to the house of a Sundi (wine-distiller by caste). Here each man puts a few drops of newly distilled wine from a new pot into his vessel. This is called *bhāṇḍār bhorā* or 'filling the pot' (really 'larder' or 'store'). The Debāṃsi now offers worship to these pots at the Sundi's place. The devotees now proceed dancing round the village and finally return to the place of the Dharma deity. By this time the Brāhmaṇ priest will have finished his *homa* ceremony. A he-goat

is now sacrificed in places where this is customary. The devotees now break their fast. On this night, as on preceding nights, songs of Dharma usually from the Maṅgala books are sung, with dance and a certain amount of dramatizing. Next morning the 'sacred thread' is taken off and the whole ceremony is over.

At Labhpur, I noted two wooden horses inside the temple. The smaller horse is carried by devotees on shoulder when the deity Bāneśwar is taken out. When Dharma is taken out and bathed, the deity Bāneśwar and both the horses are also carried out and bathed. In the village of Bhastar, several miles from this place, the devotees still pierce their sides and tongues with iron spears. This is, however, not done at Labhpur or other villages in the neighbourhood. This piercing ceremony is performed on the morning of the full-moon day, as described later.

In 24 Parganas, the ceremony is now very much attenuated as noted before. The only feature that has remained is the bathing of the deity, and placing it in a *dhucuni* as elsewhere. The *dhucuni* has certain designs on it drawn in vermillion. A photo of it inside the temple of Dharma in Dhakuria is shown (Plate 3, Fig. 2).

In Midnapur, the ceremony known as *grahabharāṇa* in the Dharma Pūjā Paddhati (*ibid.*) is celebrated with pomp in many villages.¹ It is not an annual village festival, but is said to have been originally held at intervals of twelve years. There is now no hard and fast rule regarding the interval. It depends on the prosperity of the villages to a certain extent. Usually four years elapse between two celebrations. In the area, where the writer observed the ceremony, the different groups of villages hold this festival in different years, so that practically this celebration falls due every year in one or other of the group of villages which possess Dharma temples. In this ceremony it is the rule to have twelve men devotees and four women devotees. Nowadays it is difficult to get so many devotees. In the ceremony observed in 1939, there were only seven men and four women devotees. There must be a chief devotee termed *pātī* Bhakta, a *deul* Bhakta and a *koṭāl*, who are expected to be supplied by certain families. The *pātī* Bhakta in Birsinha village has to be furnished by the Guṭi family of Sadgope caste. But they do not any longer discharge this religious duty. The elders are either in official service or in the professions followed by educated men in this country. The boys are students in school or college. In 1939, a villager of the same caste was persuaded to act as substitute on behalf of the family in lieu of payments made out of the general fund raised by subscription. The *deul* Bhakta comes from another educated Sadgope family, of surname

¹ See also Appendix to Mayurbhaṭṭa's Śrī Dharma Purāṇa (edited by Śrī Basanta Kumar Chattopadhyay) for a description of *grahabaran* obtained from a priest in Bankura District.

Pānja, of an adjacent village (Mahmudpur). Here also a substitute is offered at present. When the *deul* Bhakta is initiated, he goes to a clump of bamboos and calling on Dharma and worshipping a bamboo, cuts it. He now returns to the *mandap* with this bamboo known as '*ālam bās*' and, when a red cloth pennant has been fitted to the top, fixes it in the ground by the shed. The *koṭāl* is a villager of Dolui caste. The *dhāmātkarṇi* is a Brāhmaṇ by caste. A Brāhmaṇ priest (*grahavipra*) performed those rites which require the services of a Brāhmaṇ as noted before. The Dom Paṇḍit performed the rest of the ceremony. The principal Dom priest was assisted by his brother. The Nāpit (barber) looked after the dressing of fruits and arranging offerings, of lighting the fire for swinging and finally shaving the devotees. The songs of Dharma were sung (with dance and dramatic gestures) by Umapati Chakravarty, a Vyāsastha Brāhmaṇ, explained as one who serves Kaibarttas (fishing Kaibarttas).

In this village, the Dharma deity is of name Bāṅkurā Rāy, and is housed in a brick-built temple. The worship is not, however, celebrated in the temple, but in a *mandap*, i.e. shed, put up to the north of it and facing south. In the temple originally there was Dharma and his Kāminyā. About two generations ago the Guṭi family discovered under earth an image of Kālī through a dream. They had this image placed by Dharma's side in the temple, to his left like a wife by her husband. There are other deities in the temple. They are: (a) eleven other Dharma images, (b) Śitalā, and (c) Manasā. There is also a horse of Dharma and the remnant of a chariot of Dharma. Daily worship is offered to these deities by the Dharma Paṇḍit.

On the Akṣaytrīyā, the Paṇḍit proceeds with the Brāhmaṇ priest with the *ghaṭ*, i.e. earthen pitcher; to a deep tank on the outskirts of the village. No one is allowed to use this tank on this day or until the festival is over. The term '*ākātā pukur*' used for such tanks means a natural pool. The priests are accompanied by villagers, some of whom dance and make displays of quarterstaff play, and by drummers. The *ghaṭ* is filled up and brought back to be put in the *mandap*. There are placed in this pot the usual *pancaratna* or five precious metals and jewels, and the *pancapallava* or five kinds of twigs; also one *haritaki* (*Terminalia chebula*, Roxb.) nut. On the mouth of the pot is now placed an earthenware *sarā* (a concave plate). A seer of *ātap* rice is poured on it and on it is placed a green coconut. Some paddy and *durvā* grass (*Cynodon dactylon*) are put on it. Vermillion marks have already been made on the surface of the pot after daubing it with rice flower solution. It is now decorated with artificial lotus flowers. The Dharma deities in the temple are worshipped, and then the Kālī image. The deities are now installed in the *mandap*. Usually an earthen platform is raised

for the deities at the back, i.e. northern extremity of the shed. But a bamboo platform may also be made and covered with beaten earth. This was done at Birsinha. The arrangement of the deities (Plate 3, Fig. 1) was as follows, from west to east:—

1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9.

- (1) Manasā, (2) the other Dharmas, (3) the horse of Dharma, (4) image of Kālī, (5) Bānkurā Rāy, the principal Dharma deity, (6) a trident, to represent Bāneśwar (?), (7) Kāmīnyā of Dharma, (8) Śitalā, (9) the chariot of Dharma.

It is to be noted that at this festival, the intrusive deity Kālī was not placed to the left of Dharma.

A little in front of the deities was the *dhucuni* with the designs as indicated. The basket was of bamboo slips about half an inch wide, twilled in four right from the bottom. The base had four pointed corners. The top rim was strengthened by a strip of bamboo. The dotted lines shown represent vermillion marks. Five conventionalized human figures said to represent the five Kaśyapas are also drawn (with vermillion) with a trident between each pair. At the bottom are drawn images of the wheel of Dharma (*dharmacakra*) (Fig. 2). The basket was

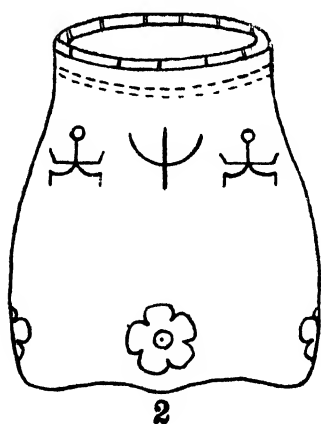


FIG. 2. The basket, *dhucuni*, with drawings on it, used at *grahabaran*, Birsinha, Midnapur.

in front of the principal Dharma, who rested on a throne. When offering worship the priests sat facing east, i.e. sideways to the row of images.

People may become Bhakta on the Akṣayṛtīyā. This is the rule laid down in the book of procedure and was followed formerly. But nowadays in actual practice, devotees come only five days before full moon. They may also come seven or nine days before full moon. In any case, the would-be devotee abstains from flesh food and observes continence the day before his initiation. Next morning he bathes, listens to a recital of Dharma's glory, and is invested with 'sacred thread' with a

kuśa root and copper ring tied to it and is given a bunch of five canes or one cane curved into a loop at top. Women devotees are known as Āmins. In this village at the time of initiation they put on a copper ring. It was reported by a priest that in some places 'Sacred thread' is put on women. In the published

account¹ the women are stated to be invested exactly like men. The devotees now fast during the day time. At sunset they bathe, make an image of a female genital near the tank, call it Hara Gauri (Śiva and his wife) and offer worship to Sūrya on it, with *jabā* flower (*Hibiscus rosasinensis*), milk, honey, ghee and *haritaki*. If other materials are lacking, only water may be offered. Then they come to the *maṇḍap*. To the south of this shed is an image of a female genital in stone, known as Hara Gauri. Here again worship is done. The devotees now wait for the adoration of Dharma with lamps (*ārati*). When this is over, they offer flowers to Dharma represented by two silver *pādukā* on a plate of copper or brass placed in front of the principal deity. On this are now placed also the canes of the devotees. They now circumambulate the *maṇḍap*. The two posts, which had been used for the *hindol* or fire-swing for the celebration of the ceremony in a former year and had been left in water thereafter, are taken out on Akṣayṛtīyā and set up in a line north to south in front of the shed, a little to the west of the phallic image mentioned. Vermillion figures of men are drawn on the posts and oil and turmeric are rubbed at the base. This *hindol* frame is used for a swing over fire every night by the Bhaktas in this area after they have worshipped Dharma as described.

In the evening, the singer of the song of Dharma starts his dance, acting and song, with his assistants, a little after dusk, commencing from Akṣayṛtīyā. Each night he recites a portion of the Dharmamaṅgala from one of the recognized versions, increasing the duration of it on successive evenings. On the twelfth, i.e. last, night it lasts the whole of the night. In the ceremony observed, the Paṇḍit at an interval of the song performed *ārati* with his lamps, with flowers and *cāmar* (yak tail). A conch shell was blown and bells and a gong sounded. The drums went on all the time any ceremony was performed. After the *ārati*, the devotees who had been resting in the shed shouted, 'We adore the feet of Dharma; we adore the feet of the old goddess Kali'. The Dom priest and his assistant prostrated themselves before these deities and then circumambulated the deities thrice, uttering mantras in Sanskrit. Next the priest recited Bengali verses referring to different deities and Paṇḍits being at different doors. The assistant repeated the verses after him. This is known as the *Kāhīnī* or narrative. A portion of the recital was stated to be taken from Śūnya Purāṇa. The singer's version was said to be based on the Dharmamaṅgala of Rupaṛām.

The important rites commence from the third day prior to full moon. On the evening of this date the ceremony known as

¹ Śrī Dharma Purāṇa by Mayurbhaṭṭa, edited by Śrī Basanta Kumar Chattopadhyay. Calcutta, 1337 B.S. (= 1931 A.D.). (S.P. publication.) This account is based not on any old manuscript, but a modern revised version.

Muktaghar and *Muktacāl* is performed. As stated in the published account¹ the place from which the consort of Dharma has to be fetched is arranged beforehand. The correct form of the consort's name is *Muktā*, meaning pearls, and not *Mukti* meaning salvation as stated in the printed account. This term *Muktā* is used in the *Śūnya Purāṇa* (*ibid.*, p. 98) and the rice poured into the basket is also known as 'pearl'. The name of this paddy is stated to be *muktā hār* or row of pearls also in the published account. The orthodox procedure (as noted in the account from Bankura) is to carry the plate with the *pādukā* of Dharma with pomp to the residence of the consort. Here offerings are made of five seers of rice as stated. The party now return to the *maṇḍap*, the Paṇḍit reciting the *Kāhinī* about coming of *Muktā* and the origin of paddy. Certain figures are, however, drawn and a basket is used to hold the rice—not a pot as stated in the account. The additional details are noted below. In Birsinha, the usual custom was that this rite was performed at the house of a villager of the hamlet of Pāthṛā who offered the rice for this ceremony. But owing to a quarrel between villagers, the Pāthṛā people refused to join the celebration in 1939. They had it separately on an humble scale. As the expenses of the rite are not very small—about rupees seven—no other villager volunteered to take up this function. In order to get over the difficulty, it was decided by the villagers that the expenses should be met from the general fund created by subscriptions raised in the village. But in such a case no villager can claim the honour of having the rite performed in his house. So it was carried out in the temple (not the shed) as representing the village. The *pādukā* of Dharma was taken there; but afterwards a visit was paid to all the houses in the village as all had contributed to the expenses.

The *Muktaghar* was made as follows. Five kinds of coloured powders were first prepared of pounded *ātap* rice, mixed with (i) turmeric for yellow, (ii) vermilion for red, (iii) leaf juice for green, (iv) charcoal for black, and (v) the base as such for white. A lotus-like figure *a* was drawn with these powders, and a central heap *b* made to represent the tortoise shape of Dharma. First white, next yellow, then black red and finally the green powder is used to make these outlines. The figures *c*, *d*, *e* are drawn with vermilion (mixed with a little mustard oil), and the drawings *f f* are made with *ābir* powder (red powder used for holi festival). The wide rectangular figures *f f* were said to represent Ballukā and Cāpāi rivers. The conventionalized human figure *d* is Setāi Paṇḍit, whose name always comes first in the reference to Paṇḍits in the *Śūnya Purāṇa*. The figure *e*

¹ Śrī Dharma Purāṇa by Mayurbhaṭṭa.

is of the *cakra* of Dharma, while *c* represents the seat of worship of the nine *grahas* or planets (Fig. 3).

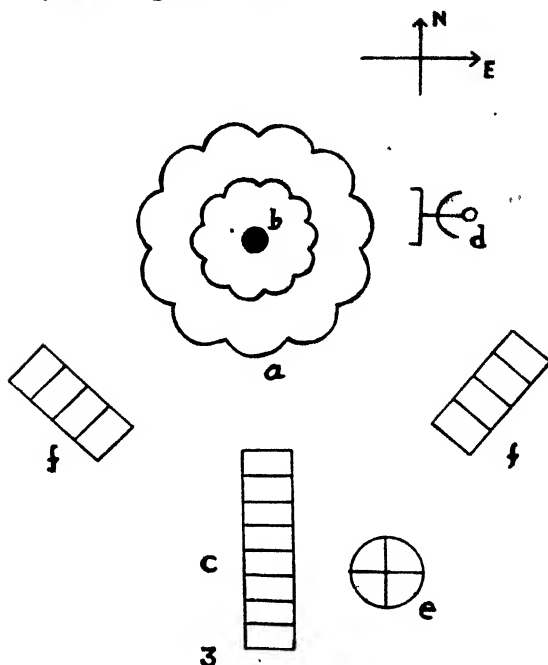


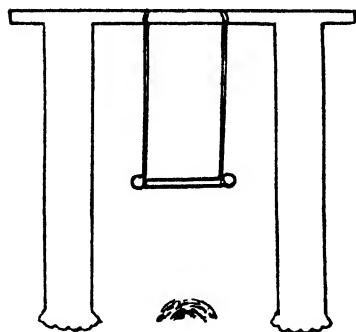
FIG. 3 *Muktaghar*, Birsinha.

The basket (*dhucuni*) was placed on the heap *b* inside the figure *a*. In front of it, on *e* was placed a copper plate (*thālā*) with a strip of *celi* (red cloth worn by bride at marriage). *Pancaratna* (five precious metals or gems) should be placed in the basket. Owing to lack of funds, this was not available. The deficiency was partly met by coins of copper and silver. Four reeds (such as grow in swamps or by rivers) are to be stuck, two on each of the diagram of the rivers. No reeds grow near this village. Their place was taken by four bamboo twigs cut to size and fixed on small mounds of clay. The top ends were cleft and in each was inserted a strip of palm leaf cut like feathers. The sticks are now known as 'sar kāthi' which may mean arrow shafts as well as reeds. Thread spun on the wheel (*carkā*) is tied to a reed and taken thrice round the whole group.

Five seers of *ātap* rice are now placed in the basket along with a coconut, plantain, *haritaki*, areca nut and two varieties of cardamom. A tinsel lotus garland is put on it, as also a bridal red cloth. The Dom priest utters incantations in Sanskrit and offers flower and water accompanied by ringing of the hand-bell.

The *Kāhīnī* is now recited and *ārati* performed. Drummers drummed a special beat. The Bhaktas (seven men and four women) now held canes to form a ring, each holding the end of the cane of the next devotee. Inside this ring stood the chief devotee with the *dhucuni* on his head. Another devotee led the Loue goat. In this fashion the devotees went round the village. On their return, the basket was placed in the *mandap*, in front of Dharma, but a little to the left. The copper plate with *celi* was also put down and on it were placed the canes by the Bhaktas as they returned after bathing to offer flowers to the deities. A plate of *ātap* rice with a green mango on top, lotus flowers, and *bael* leaves were offered to Sūrya, Dharma, Kālī Kāmīnyā, the Paṇḍits and other deities in accordance to the orthodox procedure, the incantations being in Sanskrit. While the *pāṭ* Bhakta was making his offerings, the others sat on small bundles of straw (about a cubit long and two inches diameter). At about this time a party of mummers came dressed up as Muhammadans, with beard and *loongi* (striped loin-cloth, not tucked in between the legs), carrying an imitation *tājiā* and shouting 'Hassen Hossain'. A spirited display of sword and stick play was also given.

Worship being over, the devotees performed *seyā*, i.e. lay down at full length, got up and lay down again after stepping forward to where the head had reached. In this way they went round the *mandap*. Formerly some of the men used to roll round this circuit. This is not done nowadays. Having completed



4

FIG. 4. Swinging post for *Hindol*, with trapeze like arrangement.

a circuit they got up and offered flowers to the stone genital known as Hara Gaurī. At this time the copper plate with canes by the Dharma *pādukā* rested on this structure, a little to its side. A fire was now lighted under the *hindol* posts in a hole of size one foot square and six inches deep. Mango wood (any flower wood will do I was told) was burnt, and the fire poked to make it blaze up. A *gāmchā* (body-cloth and towel) was held by the hand, as high as possible, to the west of the trapeze-like structure for *hindol* (Fig. 4). A loop was tied to the bar of the trapeze and all the devotees put up their canes to rest the end on it. The

copper plate was placed to the east of the fireplace. The Dom priest now uttered a long list of names of the deities, the Paṇḍits

and also holy places. At each pause after a name the Bhaktas (only men) cried 'We bow to Dharmarāj'. All the devotees now put their canes back on the copper plate. The *pāṭ* Bhakta now inserted his feet in the loop and swung head downwards, facing west. The minimum number of swings is three, but I did not find any devotee content with it. One man swung seventy-five times, remaining head downwards, for over fifteen minutes. The record, I was told, is held by a former devotee who had swung thus for a full hour measured by a watch. While the swinging was going on, 'Kavilarāi' or 'tarjā' commenced. In this display, two parties described various things and events, in verse, each trying to surpass the other. Satires and criticisms of village notables and of current events were also included.

After the fire-swing, the Bhaktas broke their fast by taking first of all a flower from the place of worship. It was followed by fruits and milk.

A reference has been made to the Loue goat in the previous description. It is a male kid, now full grown, which had been dedicated to Dharma and liberated at the end of the previous festival. An iron ring is fitted at that time to the left foreleg. This goat wanders about freely, grazing at will, unmolested by any one for the entire period of several years' interval until the next ceremony occurs. The Loue is caught and kept tied at the southern extremity of the *maṇḍap* from the first day usually. It is bathed and conveyed in a procession with drumming and dancing by the Bhaktas (Plate 4, Fig. 5). If, however, the Bhaktas are initiated late, the Loue may be brought at that time. A small kid, known as Kol Loue, is also kept tied by the side of Loue. The goats must be completely black, without any white hair. Both these goats are sacrificed to Dharma on the day after the full moon, and certain rites, described hereafter, are performed with the head. A woman devotee has to perform those rites and bear the expenses. They are carried out for the birth of a son. In view of the expenses and the poverty of the villagers, there was some difficulty in 1939 in getting a woman to act as 'mother' to the Loue as this devotee is termed. In the old days women would beg for this honour and many were disappointed. A son was said to be born if the rites were correctly performed (leaving an ample loophole in case of disappointment). The name given to the son was Luidhar, Lāusen or the like. The son of the king Hariścandra of the Dharmamaṅgalas was named Luicandra, while the son of Rañjāvati was known as Lāusen. The names suggest that the Loue rite was performed in both cases. Śrī Jogeś Rāy (*S.P.P.*, Vol. 38) has suggested the derivation of the term from *Lauha*, meaning iron. According to him, the form Lāusen is a corruption of *Lauhasen*, and Luidhar of *Lauhadhar*. A boy who has lost an elder brother is sometimes made to wear an iron anklet after worshipping Dharma on a Saturday. According to Śrī Jogeś Rāy, the boy may be compared to the Loue goat. He

is also known as Loue and is given a name of that type. Whether the original derivation of the term Loue from Lauha is correct or not, the boy is named after the sacrificial animal. The people who join the rite say that the name is given as the son has been obtained by taking Loue on the lap.

The derivation of the name Lui or Loué from iron has been objected to by Śrī Basanta Chattopadhyay in his introduction to *Anādimāṅgala*.¹ It is stated by him that the ancient practice was to place a copper anklet on the foreleg of the goat, and that this is done even now in many places. No authority is, however, quoted or place-names noted by him. It is, however, pointed out by him that the term Lauha, which now means iron, originally described a metal of red colour, i.e. copper, in the ancient Sanskrit works, quoting numerous references. As the sacred metal of Dharma is copper without doubt, the earlier practice was probably to use a copper anklet. The symbol of initiation even now is the copper ring and anklet. I may note, however, that iron has now at any rate come to be recognized as the proper metal for use in dedicating the goat and marking the child. It appears to me that the sacrifice of Rohitāśva in the story of Hariścandra, the similarity of the mode of placing Dharma's mark on the goat and the child, and the names of the two suggest that the Loue was originally a human sacrifice. This point is discussed later.

In 1939, a woman agreed to act as mother of the Loue of Birsinha only on the evening before the full moon. As she came from a distant village, she was able to reach the place of worship very late. Her husband bathed and offered flowers to Dharma and was then invested with the sacred thread like other Bhaktas. At sunrise, the woman and her husband were formally fetched by the Pandit priest and Bhaktas to the accompaniment of drumming and with a good deal of rejoicing. The woman was initiated after the midday worship, as described hereafter.

On the morning of the full-moon day, the Bhaktas formed a procession, without taking either the basket or the deities. The blacksmith who was to decapitate the Loue went with the procession with his *Khāḍā* or curved sword. Drummers accompanied them; so did the mummers who had dressed up as Muhammadans. A few also went dressed up as village women. The procession went first to the village Pārūle, then to the village Mād and finally returned by way of Mahmudpur. At Mād they have a Dharma temple, and their *grahabaran* was celebrated in the previous year. They came in a procession to Birsinha on that occasion. This was the return visit. At Mād the visitors were offered refreshments. They halted there a little while and then

¹ *Anādimāṅgala* bā Śrī Dharma Purāṇa by Kabi Rāmdās Ādak, edited by Śrī Basanta Kumar Chattopadhyay. Calcutta, 1345 B.S. (= 1939 A.D.). (S.P. publication.)

left for the next village. To illustrate the cycle of Dharma worship in this area I may note that another *grahabaran* of the deity known as Jātrā-siddhi-rāi was celebrated at Udayganj, only two miles away, in 1940.

A little after midday, a Śrotriya Rārhi Brāhman worshipped Dharma. The offerings were made to 'Kāminisahita Bānkuḍā rāyākhyā dharma niranjanāya', i.e. to Dharma along with his Kāminī or consort. The pūjā was being offered on behalf of a villager of position. On previous days such worship had been offered on behalf of the landlord (zamindar) and the village notables.

By the time the worship was over, the processionists had returned from their round of the villages. They now circumambulated the *maṇḍap* thrice, dancing and drumming. The Bhaktas now entered the shed and fell flat on their face, bowing to Dharma and Kālī. A little later flowers were placed on the head of Kālī and this deity was invoked to signify her assent to the tongue-piercing rite with the Hākaṇḍa spear. The flower fell after a time and was acclaimed with shouts of joy.

The woman, who had come to this village to act as Loue's mother, had kept on vegetarian diet with her husband on the preceding day. This day both had fasted. The Paṇḍit now put the copper ring on the middle finger of the right hand of the woman in the name of Dharma. The priests, I noted, had their rings on the index finger. At sunset, the Bhaktas and this woman set out for the so-called 'bath of purification', more correctly the 'bathing of the pearls'. The woman carried the *dhucuni* with rice in it on her head. The *deul* Bhakta was carrying the *ālam* bamboo. The other Bhaktas formed an enclosure with their canes and in this way went to the tank to bathe. The *ālam* bamboo was fixed in the mud, in water, and the woman now waded in with the basket on her head. The Paṇḍit stepped into the water and recited the portion of the narrative referring to this bath. Then he rang a bell with his left hand, and with a copper *kuśi* (spoon-like implement used in worship) poured water thrice into the basket, through the cover of red cloth on its top. The woman now sank down until she and the basket on her head were completely immersed. In wet clothes the party now came back in the same arrangement as before and went round the shed, the priest reciting the verse about Queen Madanā having had a son by Dharma worship. The basket was not restored to the side of Dharma but now placed in the temple on the spot where the *muktāghar* had been drawn the previous day. The devotees now bowed to Dharma and placed the Hākaṇḍa spears, three in number, on the platform before Dharma. The priest performed *ārati* and then he and his assistant recited the narrative regarding 'worship with flowers after plucking flowers'; the appearance of worshippers at different doors and finally of

different kings and sages who had worshipped Dharma. At the end of the recital, some cotton thread spun on *carkā* was dyed with turmeric and short lengths cut off to tie on wrists of devotees. Each bit had a bunch of *ḍurbā* grass tied at its centre with a knot. This thread is known as 'birbal' and is tied to the right wrist of each devotee starting with the *pāt* Bhakta. As this was done each devotee shouted in his turn, 'We offer worship to the feet of Dharmarāj, oh Dharmarāj'.

The Bhaktas were now ready for cutting the *gāmār* branch. A brass plate containing *ātap* rice, the copper *kośā*, *kuśi* (boat-shaped pots used in offering water in worship), and a curved knife, the *Kāṭāri*, was taken up by the priest. The *deul* Bhakta went carrying the *ālam* bamboo. Arrived at the *gāmār* tree, the priest tied a 'birbal' thread to the tree and another to the branch to be cut. Next a human figure was drawn with vermilion at the base of the tree on its trunk. Resin and turmeric were rubbed on it and a watery solution of a particular kind of nut known as 'ābāṭa' poured on it. Flowers were now offered. Then the priest placed the *Kāṭāri* against it, touched the knife with vermilion and offered flowers. The Paṇḍit (priest) now recited the verses describing the cutting of *gāmār*, and then reciting the Sanskrit incantations touched the base of the tree thrice with the knife. Now the chief devotee touched the tree with his chest once on each side and cried 'Victory to Dharmarāj, victory to Kālī'; then he invoked *Biśwakarmā*, the divine artificer and taking up the *Kāṭāri* cut off the branch at one stroke. The branch was narrow and was steadied with the left hand while cutting it, so that it would not fall to the ground. It was transferred immediately to the head of the chief devotee and brought to the shed with drumming and dancing. The branch was placed behind the deities, after going round the shed. In the old days, a thick branch would be cut and made over to the blacksmith for cutting it into short lengths to stud with sharp iron nails. These were pressed against the chest by the devotees next morning when other such rites were performed. Nowadays it is not performed in this area. The narrative about it was, however, fully recited by the priest.

After placing the *gāmār* branch behind Dharma, the devotees bowed to the deity at full length and proceeded to the cremation ground to collect half-burnt logs left over from funeral pyres. These logs were heaped up at some distance from the fire-swing place. The devotees now bathed, offered worship and swung over fire. Strictly speaking, the logs collected should be fired and a dance over the embers performed by the Bhaktas as at a *Caḍak* festival. This part of the ceremony was omitted in this village.

Six iron spears known as '*bān*' were brought from the village Boalia, a mile and a half away, by the devotees of that place who generally perform the tongue-piercing there. These

were now placed against a pillar in front of the deities, and the head of each weapon was smeared with vermillion. Very late that night (early next morning according to the European way of counting the day), the final rites for the piercing ceremony were arranged. A human figure was drawn with *ātap* rice, measuring nine poās (poā = half pound), to represent Lāusen who had offered his nine limbs to Dharma. Nine areca nuts were placed on the figure, two on feet, two on hands, two on sides, two more on body and one on tongue (head). Near the upper extremity of the figure was a tripod of bamboo sticks, each six inches long, crossing at top. On it was placed a white round lump and a wick of cotton impregnated with clarified butter. It was said to represent the head of Lāusen. Nine betel leaves and nine copper coins were placed on one side. The figure lay head to the north. The earthen pot for the head of the goat to be decapitated was now made ready. It was a big earthen cooking vessel known as *hāḍi*. The outer surface was daubed with rice-flour solution. The Paṇḍit drew with vermillion mystic syllables like *hri* and also certain figures and diagrams. Thus he drew human figures to represent the Kaśyaps and the Paṇḍits; the Kūrma was also drawn, as well as the lotus. A narrow rectangle with nine divisions was also drawn for the nine *grahas*. Similar figures were also drawn inside the pot.

The singer of Dharmāyaṇa now sang of Lāusen's offer of his own body in nine parts, to Dharma. As he mentioned the offering of a limb, the singer gave a demonstration by cutting off that limb of the rice figure of Lāusen with an iron knife. When the nine divisions had been made, the 'body' was covered with a red *gāmchā* and the lamp on the conventional head lighted. A rectangular pit was now dug east to west, to the south of the *maṇḍap*. It was about 6' long, 3' wide and a foot deep. Three compartments were made, one for each of the devotees who were going to perform the Hā-kaṇḍa piercing, to emulate Lāusen. Actually, it may be noted only one spear was used—to pierce the tongue—and not nine, all over the body. The Paṇḍit now sat by the pit facing east and uttered mantras and offered flowers. A lamp was placed in the pit, and after worship with rice offerings, and fruit, the priest and his assistant went round it thrice in counter clockwise fashion (west to north) ringing a bell, blowing a conch shell and sprinkling water. The three devotees who are the hereditary performers of the tongue piercing rite in this village, now appeared before Dharma. Each should be given a garland of Ākanda flowers (*Calotropis Gigantea*) but in its absence were given Kṛṣṇacur flowers (*Poinciana Regiaboii*). Then the blacksmith, also a hereditary functionary, pulled out the tongue of the devotee in whose name the flower had been offered for performing this rite. After rubbing the tongue with a piece of clean cloth, he pierced it from below upwards, a little to the left of the centre, with a clean and

polished barbed arrow head of iron, termed *Kālbooth* (Fig. 5).

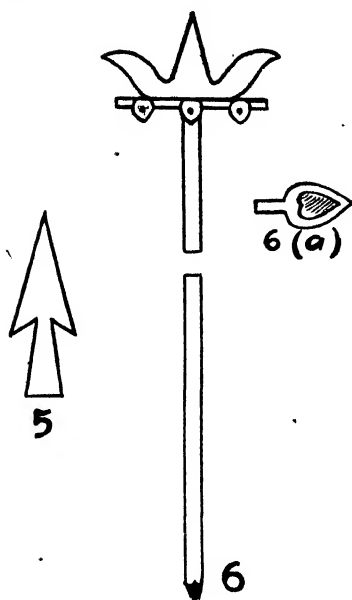


FIG. 5. Arrow-head, known as *Kālbooth*.

FIG. 6. Trident with lamps for passing through the tongue.

FIG. 6(a). Lamp with neck, for attachment to the trident.

The arrow was pushed through. The Paṇḍit now handed to him his *bān* or spear which was a trident, with three small lamps fixed to the head [Figs. 6 and 6(a)]. He put a little clarified butter in these lamps, a plantain on the central point, and two garlands, one of flowers and one of pith, near the cross-bar. The devotee gently pushed the pointed butt of the trident through the pierced tongue, and holding the weapon vertically, started moving it up and down. Unless this is done, the blood will coagulate and the spear get stuck in the wound. Each of the three devotees performed this rite and then they went to the pit termed *Hākāṇḍa* pit, and sat on the plantain leaves facing *Dharma*. At the same time the hereditary performers of this rite from other villages who were not entitled to sit in the *Hākāṇḍa* pit here, had their tongue pierced, outside the *maṇḍap*, and pushed through the wound their spears previously mentioned as placed before

Dharma. The diameter of the spears (simple metallic spears) were a little over one-fourth of an inch; the length varied from six to twelve feet.

The tongues were pierced at half past four at night according to the Indian way of counting hours of the night, about half an hour before it became light. As the sky became light and the first streaks of dawn appeared, the priest fired a bundle of straw to the west of the pit. The *Bhaktas* faced west when this was done. It symbolized 'sunrise in the west' which *Lāusen* caused to take place by his offerings to *Dharma*. The drummers now drummed vigorously to a special timing, and the bleeding devotees got up and started dancing. They went round the *maṇḍap* thrice and entered the shed, to take out the spear. The unofficial devotees took off the spears in front of the temple. The smith rubbed the wounded tongue with a little clarified butter. Next the priest gives them the *bael* leaves of worship to chew. This was quickly followed by betel leaves dressed in the usual way with lime, catechu and areca nut.

Although the wound had been rubbed raw for over an hour with the spears, the devotees spoke normally in a few minutes, and come out to dance for some time more.

Another ceremony was performed the previous evening, after the bathing of the basket of muktā rice. With a preliminary worship of the deities drawn, the Pandit made the 'ghar' or house of Dharma known as *melghar* and referred to in the summary of Śūnya Purāṇa. He used white powder of rice, red *ābir*, mica, black *mung kalāi* (*Phaseolus radiatus*, Linn.) powder and yellowish red powder of *khānṛi musur* (*Lens esculenta*, Monch). First he drew with the powder of rice, the feet of Dharma. Enclosing the feet of Dharma was the circle of the lotus or more probably the tortoise. Round it

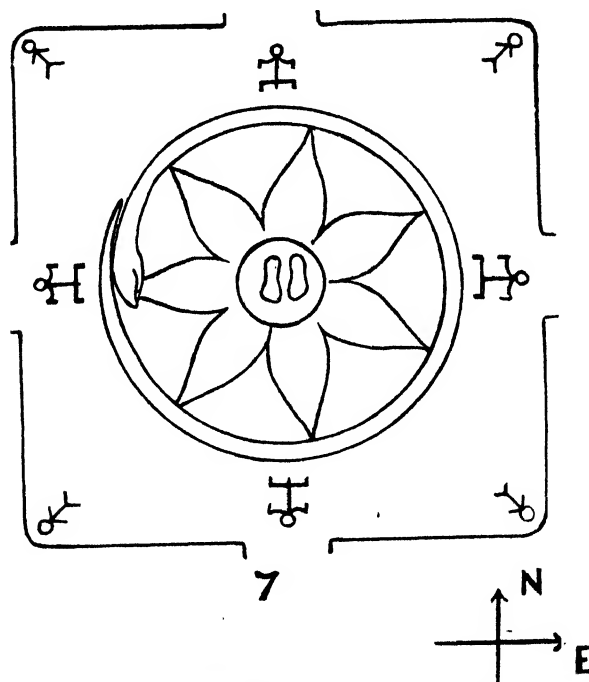


FIG. 7. *Melghar* of Dharma, Birsinha.

were seven petals of lotus, drawn in red. The circular figure round the lotus is of Nāga Bāsuki. The head is inside the tail, signifying a peaceful attitude. The outer enclosure represents the house, with four gates. The human figures at the gates are the four Paṇḍits Setāi, Nilāi, Kāsāi and Ramāi. The human figures at the corners are of women, the four devotees. After drawing the 'house', the Paṇḍit offered worship to Dharma

with sixteen requisites (*ṣoṣaṣpacār*) as it is termed; and adored the other deities. It was next covered up with a cloth and the door kept closed. In the published account it is stated that this 'house' is shown after the decapitation of the goat. But in this village it was done before this sacrifice. According to the published account the Loue is decapitated on the full-moon day. Here it was stated very definitely that it is not sacrificed in any village in the neighbourhood on that day. The sacrifice takes place (as it did on this occasion) the day after full moon. It was even urged by a Brāhman of the *grahavipra* caste that this was really not a part of the 'twelve days' rite' or *bāramati* as it is called. But this view is untenable as the details will show. The published account agrees with what I saw, in that the 'house' of Dharma is viewed on full-moon day. First of all the representative of the family of the headman of the village has to be shown this 'house'. Afterwards others can view it.

Next day, i.e. after the piercing ceremony has been finished, the devotees arrange for the sacrifice of the dedicated goat. The Bhaktas with the woman and her husband take the Loue and Kol Loue to bathe in the tank. Five turmeric pieces, five cowry shells, five areca nuts, two and a half chattacks of *ātap* rice and the same quantity of *biri kalāi* were tied in a turmeric dyed cloth round the body of the Loue. It had an iron bell suspended round its neck and four iron bracelets, one on each leg. Its horns were smeared with vermilion and a body cloth was put on it with incantations. A flower was put on the head of Kālī for decapitation of the two goats, and another for approval of the name of the blacksmith who was to act as sacrificer. The Śrotriya priest was present. The huge curved sword—*Khāṛā*—was also worshipped and the goats touched with it thrice when the devotees had come back from the bath. The Pandit now muttered mantras into the ear of the goats. The Loue was now freed of the bonds and the iron bell was taken off its neck. It was soothed by gently stroking its back. The hair near its neck was carefully parted and *bael* leaves placed before it. As the goat ate the leaves and in an interval stood straight, on all fours, the smith cut off its head with one stroke. A failure to sever the head at one blow is a bad omen and the blacksmith who bungles his job is sure to fare ill at the hands of the devotees and spectators. Next the Kol Loue was also thus decapitated.

The head of the Loue was now placed in the earthen-pot kept ready for it. It is known as *jāghāṇḍi*. The head should have in its mouth five fruits and the *pancaratna*. Actually it had there—a plantain, a cardamom (*Ellettaria Cardamomom*), the bigger cardamom (*Amomum Aromaticum*), areca nut, and a nutmeg; also a silver coin, a copper coin and a piece of gold. A chain of iron was also placed in the pot. On the lid was

placed an earthen lamp with mustard oil and cotton wick. This was lit when the head was put inside the pot. It represented the life of the Loue. The pot so prepared by the Paṇḍit was then made over to the 'mother' who sat with it on her lap. The iron bracelet on the foreleg of the Loue will be put on her son's wrist and the iron bell given to him as his plaything.

The head of the Kol Loue was placed before Kālī and a wick lighted with clarified butter, on an earthen lamp on its head. The Śrotriya Brāhman took some of the blood of the goat collected in an earthen pot and mixed it with a little wine and sweets. While this was done, a *gāṃchā* was held up between him and the assembled people, to represent secrecy. The mixture was offered to Kālī and finally āraṭi performed. The Paṇḍits took no part in this rite. When however it was finished, the Śrotriya Brāhman and the Paṇḍits dipped a finger in the messy mixture and drew a line from glabella upwards on their forehead, and on that of honoured guests and notables present.

A little later, a *homa* was performed by the Śrotriya Brāhman on behalf of the 'mother of Loue' at her expense. After *pūrṇāhuti*, i.e. the final full offerings, a plantain was made over to the woman as the 'fruit of her worship'. The woman should have been conducted immediately to the *melghar*. But there was some delay, the reason for which was not apparent. She was eventually conducted in the evening to the temple room where there was the *melghar*, the Paṇḍit reciting in sing-song fashion the narrative about the resuscitation of Lui. The woman sat inside the room, to the west of the designs, facing east, the light burning all the time on the pot with the head inside. The husband and the Paṇḍits remained outside the door. As the night ended and day began to dawn, the woman asked, 'Bābā Loue, have you awakened?' The form of address was that used towards a son in endearment. The head responds, it is said, by waving its ears so that they strike the head, and the sides of the pot with a tapping sound.

Later in the morning occurs the turmeric rubbing ceremony. The *Nāpit* first of all shaves the Brāhman priest and then the Paṇḍits and finally the men devotees. Only the moustachès and beards are shaved. For women, the nails are pared. Some turmeric paste is prepared by the devotees and mixed with a little mustard oil. They put a little of it at the feet of high caste Brāhman, symbolizing turmeric rubbing on the body, and next proceed to do the same for other village notables. After this is done, they rub each other and villagers in general thoroughly with turmeric and oil.

A *māgur* fish (*Clarias Batrachus*, Linn.) is now released in the *melghar* and destroys the design by its wriggling. It is then caught and carried by a devotee. The woman now puts the Loue pot on her head, the lighted lamp protected by the inverted *dhucuni* which had been emptied of its contents in drawing the

designs Plate 3, fig. 3. The priests carry the four arrows shafts, flowers, etc., from the place of worship. The *Deul* Bhakta carried the *ālam* bamboo, while the other devotees form a ring. The party thus proceeds to the tank by the side of which cremations take place in this village. The priests now chant the story of Madanā wife of Hariścandra who worshipped the deity Dharma for a son. Arrived at the western bank of the tank, the pot is put on the ground, in the soft earth at the water's edge and the Paṇḍit recites a summary of the whole Dharmamañgala.—'At first Setāi Paṇḍit in Satya Yuga worshipped Dharma; next came Nilāi in Tretā Yuga. The Pāṇḍava King Yudhiṣṭhir worshipped Dharma in Dwāparā Yuga; so did Kānsāi Paṇḍit. In the present Kali age it was taken up by Ramāi. Hariścandra sacrificed his son to Dharma; and Rañjāvati was born through the curse of the deity. She married Karmasen and being childless fell on the *sāl* or spear studded plank. The son thus obtained, Lāusen, spread the worship of Dharma, himself performing the "sunrise in the west sacrifice". All this time the woman and her husband had been seated facing east; they now began to turn the pot round and round. The lid was taken off, and the fruits, and precious metals taken out of the goat's mouth, leaving only the iron chain inside. The pot was now packed with clay apparently to make it heavy enough to sink. Care was taken to leave the ear, mouth, eye, and head uncovered. Now the lamp was put on the head, facing east, and the lid closed quickly while the light was still burning. The lid was now fixed by a pair of bamboo sticks crossing at the centre of the lid, and tied to the neck of the pot. The devotees had by this time entered the water and fixed the *ālam* bamboo in the mud. The *māgur* fish was now released, still alive, in the water. The woman now waded into the water and with the pot on her head, dipped down and let it go (Plate 4, fig. 4). After letting go the pot, the woman groped in the mud with her hand, under water. Whatever she finds is considered to have come miraculously. She swallows it secretly, with water from the green coconut from the *ghat* or sacred earthen pot. She has also to eat the fruit (plantain) that was given to her by the Brāhman priest as mentioned before. Both these rites are claimed to give her the son, i.e. cause her to conceive.

On return, the he-goat intended for the next ceremony is bathed, and in the name of Dharma, reciting the narrative of Hariścandra, an iron ring is put on its right foreleg, after smearing vermilion on its horns. It will graze at will, unmolested, for the next few years. The tale of origin of goats is also recited at the time of initiation of the goat as well as at the time of sacrifice. The Bhaktas offer flower to the deity in the *mandap*, for the last time; then they and the Paṇḍits take off the 'sacred thread' saying that they go back to their own caste gotra, leaving the Dharma gotra.

The carcasses of the goats which had been lying so long in the *mandap* were now dressed for cooking. The head of the Kol Loue had however been disposed of previously, by sending it to the house of the Deul Bhakta. The flesh of the two goats was cooked with rice in the compound of the place of worship by the Dharma Paṇḍits, who alone and male agnates can eat it. In the published account it is stated that the devotees share it. But this was contradicted by priests, devotees, and villagers in the area where I observed the festival.

The correct procedure is to serve the cooked food in bamboo basketry vessels—such as *thekā* or *dālā*, *pete*, and *pālī*, woven by Doms. This is done even now in the village Mār and elsewhere. In Birsinha, the old priest died some years ago, and the young man who is officially in charge admitted that he served the food, on copper or brass plates. Stoneware was also used. The rice has to be taken out by a small newly made iron hoe nine times, and put on these baskets for offering to Dharma. (It is possible that the well-known nursery rhyme in Bengali mentioning the use of the hoe in taking rice out of the cooking pot, refers to this practice.) The rest of the food is served with the hand. The dedicated and other food is all eaten by Paṇḍits. Anything left over is buried in the ground. The cooking pots for the deity and the devotees during the entire period of twelve days are disposed of in water. The sacred earthen pot is also similarly disposed on the last day.

The deities are now taken back to their temple and the usual daily worship performed.

Two other rites connected with the worship of Dharma deserve notice. A car festival similar to that of the great god Jagannath is celebrated in many temples. The date varies. At Udaiganj it falls on Rāmanavami. On the last day of Bhādra (Aug.-Sept.) a rite known as *muktasnān* is performed. Those who have made a vow simply observe *habīṣya* the previous day and bathe next morning, while fasting, with *ātap* rice and five fruits in a *dhucuni* on their head. The day is known as *Dharma-saṃkrānti*.

DISCUSSION

Mention has been made of the tradition of creation by Dharma, in the different works on worship or glorification of Dharma, in the first part of this note. Such stories of creation are, however, to be found in connection with certain other festivals, notably the Caḍak festival and the Gāmbhirā festival, which is a variant of the Caḍak, in Northern Bengal. The deity worshipped in this festival is Śiva, known also as Maheś and Mahādeva. In the accounts of creation however, which are recited at the time of adoration of the deity at Gāmbhirā, there

is mention of Dharma as the creator.¹ In some accounts, the same description of creation is noted, without the specific mention of the word Dharma. Instead the creator is called the formless Lord who created Brahmā, Viṣṇu and Mahēśvar. In one respect there is a difference in these traditions, which were collected in villages from actual priests and Bhaktas. The clay is said to be brought up by the crab, and Earth created on the back of the tortoise born of Dharma's touch on the waters. The Cadak ceremony of Western Bengal has many features absent from that of Central Bengal.² The ritual of Dharma worship in Western Bengal is closely followed in it, although Śiva is the deity worshipped.³ As noted in the earlier part of this essay, there is a tendency in Midnapur to equate Dharma to Śiva by making him husband of a Śakti. Mahāmahopādhyāy Haraprasād Śāstri⁴ has noted an excellent example of this transition. Referring to a well-known Dharma temple, he states : 'The offerings are made over to the priest of the temple, a Dom or Mayrā or Teli and he presents it (them) to the deity. But proud Brāhmaṇas when they offer any votive offering, disdain to have it presented by a low fellow and so they bring their own priests....' In some temples in the vicinity of large Brāhmaṇa population, there are two priests, one low born and the other Brāhmaṇa, for presenting votive offerings. In one case the Brāhmaṇa has completely supplanted his low-born rival, and he now worships the deity with Śaiva mantras, and looks upon him as Śiva. But in daily worship, he divides the naivedya or rice offering placed on a brass plate in the form of a cone, into two semicones making a trench with his finger, and offers the joint naivedya, to the joint deity, saying 'Sivāya Dharmarājāya namaḥ'. In North Bengal, the two names occur together in the same festival, and in some cases become equivalent although not actually merged. In Central Bengal, both Dharma worship and Cadak festival have lost many features still found in the ritual followed in Western Bengal. But the two worships resemble each other closely also in this area, Central Bengal. Evidently both these festivals are essentially the same and consist of a cult of a mother goddess and her consort a male god who is the central figure of the worship. The formlessness of the original creator is stressed in the recitals but is lost sight of in the ritual. The image becomes important and is adored. Again, although the snake Bāsuki is said to bear the earth on

¹ Ādyer Gambhirā, by Śrī Haridās Pālit, *Sāhitya Pariṣat Patrikā*, Vol. 16, p. 61 *et seq.* Ādyer Gambhirā, by Śrī Haridās Pālit, B.S. 1319 (1913), Chapter VI.

² A short account of the Charak Puja ceremonial, by Ram Comul Sen : *Journal A.S.B.*, 1833.

³ Unpublished materials collected by the writer.

⁴ *Proceedings of the Asiatic Society of Bengal*, 1894: Discovery of the remnants of Buddhism in Bengal, by Haraprasād Śāstri.

its head, yet, the other tradition of the tortoise doing so fits in better with the image of Dharma being generally tortoise-shaped. The addition of the Bāsuki tradition may have come later or it may represent the merging of some other similar cult in Dharma worship.

Confirmation of the above conclusions is afforded by the worship of Dharmarāj in South India. According to some old Government records,¹ the Sūdra and lower caste Hindus had a fire walking ceremony in connection with the worship of Dharmarāja (spelt variously as Dhurmarajah, Durmaroy) for whom there are numerous temples. The record mentions 16 in Madras proper and 489 in other places, in the Madras Presidency. The fire walk is said to have been performed at the annual celebrations held in July in the case of Madras proper. It is noted further that the ceremony lasted from ten to eighteen days and the fire walk occurred on the last day. Mention is also made of piercing of tongues and limbs with narrow metal arrows of iron, and of lighting of cotton wicks on these. Arcot appears from the report to have been a great centre of Dharmarāja worship.

The nature of this Dharmarāja is made clear from the accounts in the District Gazetteers of this area. In South Arcot² it is stated 'The village deities are legion.... their abodes are sometimes little brick structures, but in very many cases are only signalized by a stone or a brick with an iron trident set up before it..... Draupadi is the special favourite of the Pallis.... Draupadi, as is well-known, was the joint wife of the five Pāndava brothers of the Mahābhārata. The eldest of these, and consequently the one who had the chief right to her was named Dharma. His image frequently appears in Draupadi temples which are consequently known as Dharmarāja Kovils. They are very numerous and the priest at them is very generally a Palli by caste..... Outside the buildings is often a figure of Pothuraja'. 'Festivals to Draupadi always involve two points of ritual the recital (or acting) of a part of the Mahābhārata (which sometimes lasts for as many as ten consecutive days), and a fire walking ceremony.' The fire walking is stated to have 'latterly been introduced at the festivals to some of the other goddesses, but in such cases, the firepit must be lit with a brand brought from a Draupadi temple'. In Salem these temples are stated to be 'known as of Draupadiamman, but are also named after Dharmarāja'.³ The annual festival is said to be held in the springtime and lasts about 18 days. 'The sacrifice of Aravan, son of Arjuna by a Naga princess is

¹ Selections from the Records of the Madras Government, No. VII, Madras, 1854.

² Gazetteer of the South Arcot District, Madras, 1906.

³ Gazetteer of the Salem District, Madras, 1918.

commemorated by the slaughter of a goat, the entrails of which are afterwards entwined on a pole, surmounted with a hideous red mask which represents the head of the heroic youth'..... 'with the Pandava cult, a fire walking ceremony is usually associated'. Aravan, it may be noted fought in the battle of Kurukṣetra, and died to save the army of his father and uncle from a Rākṣasa (ogre).

Bishop Whitehead notes that Poturazu figures sometimes as the brother, sometimes as the husband, and sometimes as merely an attendant of the village goddess. 'In the Telugu country, Potu Razu, the brother or husband of the village goddess is sometimes represented by a stone and sometimes by a thin wooden stake like an attenuated post, about four or five feet high, and roughly carved at the top. It faintly resembles a spear and is called a Sulam, which in Telugu means a spear.'¹ The photo published by him shows the spear to resemble closely the spearlike image of Banēśwar, described earlier, as found in the Dharma temple at Labhpur.

It is evident that the cult of Dharma as performed in South India has many points of resemblance with that found in Western Bengal; but there are certain important differences. In South India, the Dharmarāja is definitely, Yudhiṣṭhir, who is referred to by this name (Dharmarāja) in the Mahābhārata. According to the epic² Dharma is the father of Yudhiṣṭhir. He (Dharma) himself is born of Brahma, from the breast of that god, and appears in human form. He is distinct from the Yama the god of death. The two gods are mentioned separately in the epic, in the same part, Banaparva, showing their distinctness in general. In the verse on the origin of Dharma, the god is mentioned, as bringing happiness to the Universe.

The mention of the name of Yudhiṣṭhir in the recital of Dharmamaṅgala by the priests in Western Bengal, fits in very well with these traditions.

Dharma himself was never a human being. His origin and attributes as described in the Mahābhārata have already been noted. In the Mārkaṇḍeya Purāṇa³ the tale of Hariścandra is noted with certain differences. But it is Dharma, a great god, who brings back Hariścandra's son Rohitāśya, to life. Indra and other gods are stated to come with Dharma in their forefront and they refer to Dharma as Brahman visible to the eyes.

¹ The village deities of South India, Madras Government Museum Bulletin, Vol. 5, No. 3, Madras, 1903

The village gods of South India by the Rt. Rev. H. Whitehead, Bishop of Madras, 2nd edn., Oxford University Press, 1921.

² Mahābhārata, Ādiparva. Any good edition may be consulted. References to Dharma are found in the sub-section of the birth of Vidura and of Yudhiṣṭhira, in this parva.

³ Mārkaṇḍeya Purāṇa, Cantos VII-VIII. References to Dharma are found also in Bhāgavata Purāṇa and Matsya Purāṇa.

MM. Haraprasād Śāstri¹ has sought to make out that the cult in Western and Central Bengal is a remnant of Buddhism. Others have sought to equate Hariścandra to some mediaeval local king. Śrī Basanta Chattopadhyay has discussed some of these points in his introductions to Mayurbhaṭṭa's work² and the Anādimāṅgala.³ He has rightly pointed out that the tale of Hariścandra is of great antiquity and that the name of Dharma occurs in very early Sanskrit literature (see later). Some of the points raised by Śāstri have not however been met by him.

Śāstri points out that⁴ there is a certain resemblance between the story of Lāusen in Dharmamaṅgala and that of Buddha in Lalitavistara. The resemblance is not however very great and the similarity may be due to borrowing of details from one mythological tale by another, without the necessity of equating the Buddha with Dharma. If any equation is justifiable then Lāusen has to be equated to the hero of Lalitavistara, which leaves the question at issue unsolved. But a detailed examination does not justify any such identification. For example, Lāusen's mother sacrifices herself in order to get a son, and is again, brought back to life. Buddha's mother dies within a few days after the birth of her son. The two circumstances are quite different. A more important piece of evidence is that quoted by Śāstri from Lama Tārānāth. The cult of Dhamma, i.e. Dharma is said to have been spread by a king of Tripurā, who went in for Tantrik practices and had a Dom mistress. It is further explained in this extract that 'by the worship of the Dharma is meant that of the Buddhist deities such as Vajra-Yogini' or Vajravarāhi, Vajrabhairava and others. But these worships are accretions to Buddhism proper from more primitive cults and the hypothesis leaves unexplained how 'the Dharma' (Righteousness?) became a deity Dharma and why the tale of Hariścandra, or of Yudhiṣṭhir came to be linked up with this cult as an integral part. Also, the existence of a great god Dharma prior to the time of the mediaeval king of Tripura is ignored.

Śāstri has argued that the shape of the deity Dharma is like that of a Buddhist Stupa and that this structure has two eyes, like Dharma, on the portion which may be termed the

¹ *Proceedings of the Asiatic Society of Bengal*, 1894: Discovery of the remnants of Buddhism in Bengal, by Haraprasād Śāstri.

² Śrī Dharma Purāṇa by Mayurbhaṭṭa, edited by Śrī Basanta Kumar Chattopadhyay, Calcutta, 1337 B.S. (=1931 A.D.). (S.P. publication.)

³ Anādimāṅgala bā Śrī Dharma Purāṇa by Kabi Rāmdās Ādak, edited by Śrī Basanta Kumar Chattopadhyay, Calcutta, 1345 B.S. (=1939 A.D.). (S.P. publication.)

⁴ Śrī Dharmamaṅgala, by Paṇḍit Haraprasād Śāstri, *J.A.S.B.*, 1895.

neck, just below the stone umbrella. It is stated 'now in the Buddhist Triad, Dhamma used to be represented by a stupa', with two eyes on the neck. It is however equally possible to argue that there was an old cult of worship of a tortoise-shaped deity which was absorbed by later Buddhism.¹ Apart from these objections it is to be noted, that the Dharma cult in South India is obviously not derived from Buddhism.

As regards Hariścandra, the tale occurs first in the *Aitareya Brāhmaṇa*.² The king, who had a hundred wives, was however without a son. He was advised by Nārada to pray to Varuṇa. Hariścandra followed this advice and obtained a son by promising to sacrifice to Varuṇa this son when born. The boy was named Rohita and grew up without being sacrificed to Varuṇa, until he could put on full armour. King Hariścandra had put off Varuṇa on various pretexts so long but had to yield now. Rohita however, unlike the prince of that name in *Dharmamaṅgala*, refused to offer himself up to Varuṇa, and fled from home. King Hariścandra was seized by Varuṇa who inflicted dropsy on him. After several years' of wandering Rohita bought a Rsi's son, of name Śunahsepa, as substitute for himself and this was accepted by Varuṇa. Śunahsepa however propitiated Varuṇa and other deities by his prayers and there was no human sacrifice. The still earlier *R̥gveda* records a hymn of Śunahsepa to Varuṇa to release him from bonds.³

Obviously the tales of Hariścandra in the *Dharmamaṅgala*, in the *Purāṇas* and in the *Brāhmaṇas* are closely related. Varuṇa in ancient times seems to have been propitiated by the offering of a son, obtained by making such a vow, like Dharma in later times. Some European scholars have expressed the view that the vow to sacrifice the son obtained by propitiating a god, defeats the purpose of the prayer. Hence there could not have been in existence such a cult of Varuṇa. They have failed to realize the implication that the first born son obtained by propitiation of the deity is to be sacrificed and other children will thereafter come through favour of the god. This was the motive of the now obsolete custom of giving up a son to the deity of 'Sāgara' (and therefore Varuṇa's equivalent; literally, 'the sea'). We may therefore say that the ancient records reveal a cult of Varuṇa with a human sacrifice as in the case of Dharma in much later times. It is not apparent when Varuṇa was

¹ Support is given to this view by a passage of the *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa*, VIII, 4, 35. Prajāpati is stated to have created offspring after assuming the shape of a tortoise (*Kūrma*). All living creatures are hence termed children of *Kaśyapa* (Tortoise).

² The *Aitareya Brahmana* of the *Rig Veda*, by Martin Haug, Bombay, 1863, VII, 3.

³ *Rigveda Brahmanas*, by A. B. Keith, Harvard University Press, 1920, pp. 61, for the earlier references to Śunah-sepa and a critical discussion.

replaced by Dharma; but it is a fact that this last named deity has taken Varuṇa's place in the tale of Hariścandra as it has come down to us. Varuṇa, in the Vedas, is a great god, and 'much oftener than Indra he is called universal monarch.... But more important than his physical attributes, are his moral qualities, his control of the order of the world in its ethical aspect, no less than in its physical, his connexion with the worshipper as the saviour in time of peril and distress, the freer from sin, the merciful god as well as the punisher of the sinner to whom he sends the disease dropsy—Varuṇa is the lord of the holy order Rta'.¹ We find further that 'As a moral governor Varuṇa stands far above any other deity... Varuṇa... is the supreme upholder of law in the moral as well as physical world'.² This is also the function of the great god Dharma as portrayed in the Mahābhārata and in the tale of Hariścandra in the Mārkaṇḍeya Purāṇa. The cult of Varuṇa as a great god did not find favour in the later Vedic times, and the deity eventually lost in importance and survived only as the lord of waters. The god Dharma seems to have taken over the functions of Varuṇa in the matter of maintenance of law and order in the moral world. The equipage of Varuṇa seems also to have been taken over by Dharma. This god like Varuṇa uses the 'pāśa' or noose.³ We have seen, that Dharma has his chariot and powerful and fast steeds. We note that 'the only part of Varuṇa's equipment which is at all prominent is his car. It is... drawn by well yoked steeds'. Varuṇa guards also the steed of Aśva-medha.

Another point of resemblance lies in the association of the sun with Varuṇa. 'The eye with which Varuṇa is said—to observe mankind is undoubtedly the sun.'⁴ Dharma it is to be noted, is associated with the sun among the primitive tribal folk of Chota Nagpur. The great god Dharma is believed by them to manifest himself in the sun.⁵

The cult of human sacrifice did not find favour with the Brāhmanas. We read in the Aitareya Brāhmaṇa that the priests refused to sacrifice the human victim to Varuṇa. We may therefore conclude that Brāhmanic influence, while tolerating

¹ The Religion and Philosophy of the Veda and Upanishads, by A. B. Keith, Harvard University Press, 1925 (Vol. 31).

² Vedic Mythology, by A. A. Macdonell, Grundriss der Indo Arischen Philologie und altertums Kunde, Strassburg, 1889.

Regarding the affliction of dropsy by Varuṇa there are numerous references in the Rg Veda and Atharva Veda.

³ Rāmāyaṇa (Gorresio's edition, Vol. I), Ādikāṇḍa, XXX.

⁴ Vedic Mythology, by A. A. Macdonell, Grundriss der Indo Arischen Philologie und altertums Kunde, Strassburg, 1889.

Regarding the affliction of dropsy by Varuṇa there are numerous references in the Rg Veda and Atharva Veda.

⁵ Oran religion and Customs, by Sarat Chandra Roy, Ranchi, 1928. Descriptive Ethnology of Bengal, by E. Dalton, Calcutta, 1872.

the cult, eliminated the human victim. The ancient literature does not state whether any animal took the place of the human victim. But (a) the similarity in the name of the sacrificial goat, and the child born through such sacrifice, (b) the form of address of the sacrificed animal as 'Baba' (son, in endearment), (c) the reference to the woman devotee as 'mother' of Loue, and (d) the placing of the iron ring of the sacrificed goat on the child born of such offering, leave very little doubt that the goat has taken the place of the son born of sacrifice before Dharma.

It may be pointed out that the substitution of one human victim by another as noted in the ancient tradition, and also of human victims by animals are known to have occurred in modern times in connection with allied worship and ceremonial. In Madras, the hook swinging festival corresponding to Cadak in Bengal, used originally to be celebrated by devotees of the lower Hindu castes. A high caste man would however sometimes make a vow. It is reported that he could send a substitute whom he had paid for such service.¹ Again, after the use of hooks was prohibited by the Government 'live goats were substituted' and these were swung round instead of the man.² The cruelty of this practice has however been recognized, and it is now usual in this Presidency to use a wooden dummy. Again, the Khonds had formerly a human sacrifice, to promote fertility of the soil. The human being selected, known as *meriah* was treated with great kindness and maintained for a number of years, before the actual sacrifice. After human sacrifice was prohibited, the place of the *meriah* has been taken by domestic animals.³ A sheep, goat or buffalo is now sacrificed. After it has been selected the animal is let loose to graze on the crops at will, like the *Loue* goat of Dharma. The Khonds, it may be noted call the creator alternatively as Dharma Pennu. Some of the Santals clans, such as the Godā Māraṇḍi, have a festival called *buru beret*, celebrated at the full moon in Agrahayan (Nov.-Dec.) in which a cock is torn to pieces by the villagers, who try to obtain a part of it, as in the case of the *meriah* sacrifice among Khonds mentioned earlier. If in the scramble, human blood flows from injuries received, the *bongas* (ghostly deities) are said to be pleased. It is admitted that there is a tradition of a human sacrifice in olden times in place of the cock killed at present. Possession of a piece of the victim, especially of the head is believed to

¹ Selection from the Records of the Madras Government, No. VII, Madras, 1854.

² Gazetteer of the Cuddapah district, Vol. I, Madras, 1915.

³ A personal narrative of thirteen years' service amongst the wild tribes of Khondistan, by Major-Gen. John Campbell, London, 1864.

Memorials of service in India, by S. C. McPherson, London, 1805.

bring good luck to the person.¹ In the worship of Dharma, in Birsinha I have noted an example of a substitute doing duty for a special devotee. In the description of the South Indian festival of Dharma or Draupadi, mention has been made of a goat being sacrificed and its entrails hung up to represent a human being.

There are therefore very strong grounds for concluding that an ancient cult with a human victim has come down to us, as the central feature of the Dharma pūjā, the sacrificial *Loue* goat having taken the place of the human being, very early in the history of its incorporation into the culture of the advanced people of Western Bengal.

It is not suggested that the cult has not been affected by Buddhism, Śaivism, and other religious influences. The results of such influence are obvious in the worship and ritual. Nevertheless, the core of the cult—the sacrifice which is made, and the fulfilment of the wished for end,—are not derived directly from the well-known historical religion or sects mentioned. It is however possible that some traits of the primitive cult which has survived as the *Loue* sacrifice before Dharma, had been incorporated also in popular Buddhism and Śaivism as part of those religions in their popular form. This would facilitate the borrowing of other traits from these religions by the followers of the primitive cult.

¹ There is a brief mention of this rite in a footnote to the Gazetteer of the Santal Parganas and in Dr. Bodding's Santal Dictionary. The details have been taken from unpublished data collected by the writer among Santals. It may further be noted that the Santals also worship Dharma as a great god.






FIG. 1. The deities, including Dharma, in the shed, at Birsinha, Midnapur.



FIG. 2 (*centre*). The basket on the seat of Dharma, Kasha.



FIG. 3. The 'mother' of the Loue with the carthen pot and basket on her head, in front of the temple, Birsinha.



FIG. 4. The immersion of the pot with the head of the sacrificial goat. The woman is about to take her dip.

FIG. 5. The sacrificial goat led in procession by devotees, Bir-sinha.



REVIEWS OF BOOKS.

'MARWĀD KĀ ITIHĀS'. By Pt. VISHWESHWAR NĀTH REU; Vol. I (early XIIIth century—1803 A.D.), pp. 1-400; Vol. II (1803-1938 A.D.), pp. 401-772. Published by the Archaeological Department, Jodhpur. Price of each Volume, Rs.5 for cloth bound copy, and Rs.4-8-0 for paper cover.

It is the State History of the Jodhpur State, written by Pt. Vishweshwar Nāth Reu, the State Historian, and is published under authority of the Jodhpur Government. These two volumes can well be described as the continuation of the 'History of the Rāshtrakutās (Rathores)' by the same author, which gives the history of this dynasty prior to its coming down to Marwad. In these two volumes Pt. Reu carries the history of dynasty during its rule in Marwad and hence as such it is called the history of Marwad.

The first volume gives in the beginning a very brief account of the history of Marwad prior to its occupation by the Rathores. A few introductory sections cursorily deal with the greatness and glories of the Rathore rulers, their munificent charities and grants, and finally with their patronage to learning and other finer arts. The regular history of the Rathore dynasty of the Jodhpur State begins on p. 31 with the reign of Rao Siḥājī, who founded the State in the first quarter of the XIIIth century A.D. In the first volume the history of the dynasty is carried down to the end of the reign of Maharaja Bhim Sinh, who died in 1803 A.D. The history is continued in the second volume and is carried to the end of the reign of Maharaja Sumer Sinhji who ruled till 1918. In each reign the author has tried to give the chief events in strict chronological order and at the end wherever it was possible a sketch of the ruler's character, a statement of important places built or repaired during his regime and finally a list of his direct descendants have been given. Discussions about variations in dates, or regarding the authenticity or otherwise of any fact have been given in foot-notes only.

The main work ends on p. 532, and there follow a number of Appendices to the main work. The events of the reign of the present ruler, Maharaja Ummaid Sinhji, up to the year 1938, and an account of his two big game hunting expeditions in East Africa have been given as Appendix 1 and 2. In the following appendices the author has given an account of the part played by the famous Sardar Risala of Jodhpur in the last Great War of 1914-1918, a statement of the villages granted in charity, a short description of the present administrative system along with the details of the various important departments

of the State, and an explanatory list of the various dues the jagirdars have to pay to the State. Another appendix gives a short note on the coins of Marwad and their inscriptions. A short life of Rao Amar, whose name has been immortalized in the *Amar Singh Darwāzā* of the Agra fort, has been attempted. A list of names of important persons killed on the side of Marwad in the various battles has been given. The geneological tables of other Rathore Ruling houses directly descended from the House of Jodhpur are given in the last Appendix. At the end there has been given a very exhaustive and useful index.

The historical writings of the author and his style are too well known among the scholars to need any special introduction here. The fact that it is a State history and is published by authority has to some extent restricted his pen and hence the author may have committed some sins of omission, yet it must be admitted that the author has made an effort at impartiality in presenting the annals of a great dynasty, which was not without many of its inherent short-comings. He has also tried to throw some new light on the relations of Marwad with Mewad. He has also done his best to refute many charges and unfavourable statements made by Dr. G. H. Ojha and other scholars about the various rulers of Marwad, and has quoted eminent historical authorities in support of his own case. He has thus made it possible for the scholars to come to a correct judgment in respect to these matters in the light of the authorities quoted by him and other previous writers.

The author has tried to utilize all the possible published sources and unpublished *khyāts*. He has also made use of the various inscriptions, copper-plates, coins, etc. which directly or indirectly throw some light on the history of the period. It is, however, regrettable to note that the unpublished Persian authorities have not been usually utilized save through the printed works of other scholars. A thorough study of the Akhbarats, letters and other documents of the reign of Aurangzib and his successors would make it possible for us to reconstruct the history of those momentous years in the history of Marwad. Then again the author has completely ignored the original Marathi sources for the history of Marwad during the XVIIIth century. A thorough study of these combined with that of the Persian Akhbars, which begin once again from the year 1779, will make it possible for us to present a fuller picture of that century of internal disorder and anarchy which preceded the final establishment of the British supremacy in India. The value of the work is, however, greatly increased by the exhaustive foot-notes packed with facts and details giving much additional information which may not have been directly useful to the main theme of the work. He has also rendered a great service by referring in these foot-notes to the many anecdotes and

events narrated in the *khyāts* which are still uncorroborated by other sources, and has thus provided much raw material of history for future historians, which may have been ordinarily ignored by them altogether.

Though one misses in these volumes the inspiring forceful style of Tod, and the matter-of-fact outlook of Ojha, we have before us a readable work brim-full of facts, packed with all possible details, and putting forth a point of view which cannot be easily denied. Dr. S. K. Aiyengar very correctly says 'the work is scholarly and carefully compiled and will prove a valuable hand-book to scholars'. The author should be congratulated for having completed the task set to his predecessors in the office half a century ago; and the thanks of the world of historians are due to him for having attempted, and that too with much success, the difficult task of narrating the chronicles of Marwad.

The printing and the get-up of the book is excellent, and hence the long lists of errata are very much to be deplored. In these two volumes there are many exquisite photographs of various historical places and buildings in Marwad, and tri-coloured pictures of the various rulers of Marwad from paintings specially prepared by the State-painter for the purpose. It is not unlikely that these paintings were prepared on the basis of much older and in some cases contemporary paintings, but the historians would have very much preferred the publication of those older paintings themselves.

Finally, the Marwad Government deserves to be congratulated for having published what may easily be called one of the best State histories so far published, and more so for getting it published in Hindi as it definitely enriches the Hindi literature. It would be no exaggeration to say that *Mārwād-kā-Itihās* would be a valuable addition to any library, and no collection of books specializing in Indian history would be complete without a copy of the same.

RAGHUBIR SINH.

HUMĀYŪN BĀDŠĀH, VOL. II. By S. K. BANERJĪ. 9×6, xvi, 444 pages. Maxwell Co., Lucknow, 1941. Rs.8.

The first volume of this history of Humāyūn, the second Mughal Emperor of India, was published in 1938 (Oxford University Press, Calcutta), and dealt with the first part of his reign culminating in his defeats at the hands of Shēr Shāh Sūr in the battles of Chausa and Qanauj, and finally his flight to the Panjāb in 1540 A.D. The narrative beginning with his flight to Lāhore is continued in the second volume now issued. The first six chapters are devoted to detailed accounts of Humāyūn's wanderings in the Panjāb, Sind and Rājputāna, and his unsuccessful attempts towards rallying his supporters for recovering the kingdom. In chapter IV is given an account of his marriage with Ḥamīda Bānū, the mother of Emperor Akbar, and in chapter VII the birth of this august Prince is discussed. Chapters VIII–XIII deal with Humāyūn's return to Sind and later his flight through Seistān to Persia, his stay in Persia, and finally his march to Afghānistān with a Persian army, and the struggles with his brothers resulting in his gaining control of this part of his kingdom. Chapters XIV and XV are devoted to a description of Humāyūn's successful invasion of India and the short period of his 'second kingship' which ended with his death on 28th January, 1556. In chapters XVI–XVIII the author gives an account of Akbar under Humāyūn's tutelage, Bābur's family, and the prominent women of Humāyūn's time. The innovations, regulations and monuments of Humāyūn and his character are dealt with in chapter XIX, while in the closing chapter (XX) the author discusses such general subjects as kingship, nobility, and the people in Humāyūn's time.

En passant it may be noted that, as stated by the author, several of the earlier chapters of this volume have already been published as original papers in the journals of the Historical Societies of the United Provinces and Sind, while two of them were communicated to the session of the Indian History Congress at Calcutta, 1939.

The work is based on a detailed study of the contemporary sources listed on pages 410–425. With the development of historical research and studies these sources are fortunately at the present day much more extensive than those on which Erskine based his admirable account of Humāyūn in the second volume of his *History of India* (1854), and there can be little doubt that the author has made very good use of the material that is now available for the history of the period.

The volume under review is a mine of historical data mixed up with a great deal of general information, and differs to a certain extent from the plan followed in the first volume. Extensive general observations are included at the end of each chapter in this volume, and attention may be directed to the detailed index at the end of the volume, which adds materially to its value as a work of reference. In this connection it would have been useful if a complete chronology of the events of the reign had been included at the end of this volume.

The work is well printed, but a fair number of misprints, particularly in Persian texts, have remained uncorrected. The

translations of several passages are not quite up to the high standard of the work, and the author's conclusions in some cases, as for example the general results of Humāyūn's sojourn in Irān on p. 131, are not borne out by the available historical data. On the whole, the work opens a new vista in the history of Humāyūn's reign and should prove very valuable as a work of reference for the students of Mughal History. The very detailed treatment of the subject is unfortunately not equally critical all through the work, and a certain amount of lack of balance is noticeable in several chapters. The author has, however, creditably accomplished a difficult task, and is to be congratulated on producing a valuable compendium on a period of the Mughal history about which controversial views have been held by several distinguished authorities.

B. P.

A GRAMMAR OF THE OLDEST KANARESE INSCRIPTIONS. By A. N. NARASIMHIAH, M.A., L.T., Ph.D. (London). University Librarian and Part-time Professor of Philology, Maharaja's College, Mysore. 'University of Mysore Studies in Dravidian Philology': Mysore, 1941. Pp. xxi, 375. Price Rs.2-12-0.

The present volume is a welcome addition to the not very extensive literature on the subject of Dravidian Linguistics, and in both its careful planning and conscientious execution the work embodies a mass of exact information on the oldest phase of the Kannada language of which we have records, viz. of the sixth and seventh centuries A.D., which will make it indispensable for some time to come before it can be superseded by something more up-to-date. The work was accepted by the University of London for the degree of Ph.D. to which the author was admitted in 1933; and we can congratulate the University of Mysore in finally giving it to us in its present form. It forms a contribution of real importance in the study of Kannada and Dravidian Philology, and I trust it will inspire other similar works on Old Tamil and Old Telugu.

More than three quarters of a century have passed since the inception of Dravidian Linguistics took place with the publication in 1856 of Bishop Caldwell's *Comparative Grammar of the Dravidian Languages*. Individual Dravidian languages were taken up in descriptive grammars by scholars, mostly Europeans, and lexicographers like Kittel and Gundert and Denys Bray continued the work of Caldwell by instituting comparisons among the various Dravidian languages in their roots, affixes and vocables. In the meanwhile, in addition to the grammars of the various Dravidian languages (the most recent being those of the uncultivated speeches of the family—Kui, Gondi, and Brahui), the inscriptions in Tamil, Malayalam, Kannada, and Telugu as well as the earlier classics in these languages were being published, and in this way a mass of material was accumulated to which the 'linguistician' or philologist could turn. The number of scholars who felt attracted to Dravidian Linguistics, however, remained small: European curiosity inspiring research could not feel so very much interested in Dravidian as in Indo-Aryan as an important branch of Indo-European, and the number of European (and American) workers who made definite contributions to Dravidian Linguistics remained small: we can mention (in addition to the inaugurators and workers of the first two generations, viz. Caldwell, Gundert and Kittel) Sten Konow, F. Hahn, Mark Collins, Julien Vinson, Jules Bloch, M. B. Emeneau, and E. H. Tuttle, besides a few others. It appeared that no great advance in the subject could be expected until Indian scholars themselves, speaking Dravidian languages, entered the field, with the requisite scientific curiosity

and training: the special interest, of course, will always be there, affecting as it does their own speeches and their development.

During the first decade of the present century, we have the inauguration of studies in Dravidian Linguistics among South Indian scholars, and probably the first noteworthy paper on the subject is a brilliant essay to formulate a comparative and historical phonology of Dravidian by K. V. Subbaiya, which appeared in the *Indian Antiquary* for 1909. The change of orientation in our Indian Universities, which, beginning with that of Calcutta, gradually transformed themselves into teaching and research institutions from merely examining bodies, combined with an Indian cultural renaissance which brought home to the people of India the necessity of studying their own languages, has ushered in a new period of study and research in Indian languages which is now being fostered side by side with the study of Indian history in most Indian Universities, besides other institutions of a cultural and educational character. In 1919 the University of Madras published three numbers of *Dravidian Studies*, by C. P. Venkatarama Ayyar, M.A., L.T. ('the Demonstrative Bases'), by K. V. Subbaiya, M.A., L.T. ('the Pronouns and Pronominal Terminations of the First Person in Dravidian'), and by S. Anavaratavinayakam Pillai, M.A., L.T. ('the Sanskritic Element in the Vocabularies of the Dravidian Languages'); and Prof. K. Ramakrishnaiah, M.A., of the Telugu Department in the Oriental Research Institute of the University of Madras, published in 1935 from the University his *Studies in Dravidian Philology*, which gave an able general résumé of the subject. Among individual scholars whose papers are regularly appearing in the different journals, Prof. L. V. Ramaswami Ayyar, M.A., B.L., of the Maharaja's College, Ernakulam, Cochin State, is specially to be mentioned: he has made the field of Dravidian Linguistics his very own by contributing a large number of valuable articles on various aspects of the subject, and one of his complete works—*The Evolution of Malayalam Morphology* (Ernakulam, Cochin Government Press, 1936)—is a very well-documented historical grammar of the language of Kērala, incomplete in so far as the phonology and syntax have not been treated in it. The late Professor P. T. Srinivasa Ayyangar's *Pre-Aryan Tamil Culture* (Madras University, 1930) should also be mentioned—although the work, strictly speaking, is not on Linguistics, but on what may be called Linguistic Palaeontology for Early Tamil (and Dravidian), and is very significant in many ways.

And now the latest important work in this domain is Dr. Narasimhiah's book. The oldest authentic specimens of Kannada are in the inscriptions as selected by Dr. Narasimhiah in this work, and they all are prior to 700 A.D. The highly developed state of the language shows that there was considerable literary culture of it from very early times. We have a litera-

ture from the ninth century onwards in what has been called *Paḷe-gannaḍa* (or *Haḷe-gannaḍa*), i.e. 'Old Kannada', as opposed to the later phase of the language called *Hosa-gannaḍa*. The language treated in Dr. Narasimhiah's work is what has been called *Pūrvada Paḷe-gannaḍa* or 'Archaic Old Kannada'. As the specimens are from contemporary documents, they are more valuable for phonetic and other standpoints than MSS. which are generally much later than the date of composition of a work. Dr. Narasimhiah has fully discussed the value of his materials, and at the end of the grammar he has given the text of the 66 inscriptions utilised by him. All these are rather short ones. They are given in Roman transcription, for which we are grateful—Kannada and other words have throughout been written in this international script, so convenient in philological work—but unfortunately translations have not been given, whether in this appendix or in the body of the work when words and forms are quoted. This is a rather unfortunate omission for students of language who are not specialists in Dravidian and have no acquaintance with Kannada in the ordinary way. I hope this will be rectified and the value of the work thereby considerably enhanced when a second edition is called for. We wish Dr. Narasimhiah had discussed in detail the supposedly ancient Kannada lines found in the fragments of a Greek drama discovered among the Oxyrrhynchus papyri of the second century A.D. from Egypt: we have been accustomed to look upon them as the oldest specimens of Kannada, following the late Dr. Hultsch.

Dr. Narasimhiah first discusses the inscriptional material, and then in the Phonology section he makes only a restricted study of a few problems—confining himself to 'the history of the O.K. *p*, *r*, *v*, and *l*, with a descriptive account of the O.K. consonant groups and long consonants'. There is a wealth of dated forms showing clearly the line of development for these sounds. The change of *p* > *h* is a phenomenon paralleled in other speeches (e.g. Chittagong Bengali *p* > *φ* [bilabial spirant] > *h*, Japanese *p*-, *-p*- > *φ* > *h*: in fact, the Japanese language still shows *φ* in transition to *h*), and it need not have been induced by the sound changes *v* > *b* and *-p*- > *-b*-. The real reason is given by Dr. Narasimhiah himself at p. 12 of his book. The *r* discussed is the so-called 'palatal' *r* (*r*' = *ṛ* of Tamil), which still survives in Tamil and Malayalam, and the *l* is the voiced retroflex fricative, *ḷ* (= *ḷ* of Tamil), transcribed from Tamil and from Malayalam (where they still occur) respectively as *ḷ* and *zh*. The sound changes of *p* > *h*, of *v* > *b*, and of *ḷ* to *r* and *l* were about a thousand years old, while *r*' continued down to the seventeenth-eighteenth centuries. Kannada did not possess a very large variety of consonant conjuncts, a nasal or *l*, *ḷ*, *y*, *r*+consonant being the characteristic combinations, except in Sanskrit loan-words. Long, i.e. double consonants are found in suffixes—

between vowels, and after *r*. All these special aspects of Old Kannada Phonology have been historically treated.

Old Kannada Morphology has been discussed in great detail, utilising most of the forms, but the paucity of material here has been a great handicap for a full treatment. For a full grammar, *Pale-gannada* literature must be requisitioned, although this is later in time. Unless the Kannada speech of the eighth to fourteenth centuries is not very different from the Kannada of the inscriptions treated in this book, we shall be very glad to have from Dr. Narasimhiah a fuller grammar of Old Kannada up to say 1400 A.D. with full comparisons with the other Dravidian languages, wherever these will be helpful in arriving at the situation in Primitive Dravidian. A few selected texts in addition, with translation and linguistic commentary, will make such a work a *desideratum*. The final aim should not be lost sight of—to find out what the Prehistoric Source-Speech of the historical Dravidian languages, what may be described as the *Ādi-Drāviḍa-bhāṣā*, or *Ūr-Drawidisch* (or, to suggest a daring hypothetical form, **Dramiz-col*), was like. The importance of this not only for the student of language but also for the history of culture in India, and possibly outside India, is patent to everyone.

Dr. Narasimhiah has not omitted to treat the Syntax of the language as well. There is a very useful Word Index, forming a full Old Kannada-English Dictionary of all the words in the inscriptions. In the Appendices there are studies of the Proper Names, of the Metre and *Alankāra*, and of the Indo-Aryan Loan-words.

The work is thus quite a valuable one in Dravidian Linguistics. I only wish that the typography were better: the lettering and general arrangement are capable of much improvement. A careful and painstaking work of this type should have had better arrangement, and it deserved better printing. These embellishments apart, we feel sincerely appreciative of Dr. Narasimhiah's study, and we hope this will be followed in due time by a complete historical and comparative grammar of the ancient and graceful Speech of the Land of the Black Soil,—which undoubtedly came in contact with our Bengali Speech in its formative period, when Karnāṭa Kshatriyas came and settled in red-soil land of West Bengal and the alluvial plains of the delta and gave to this part of India its glorious dynasty of the Sēna Kings during whose rule the Bengalis became fully characterized in their language and in the bases of their culture.

SUNITI KUMAR CHATTERJI.

A PILLARED HALL FROM A TEMPLE AT MADURA, INDIA, IN THE PHILADELPHIA MUSEUM OF ART. By W. NORMAN BROWN. University of Pennsylvania Press, Philadelphia, 1940, pp. 84. Price 12s.

In 1912 Miss A. P. Gibson purchased, in an auction sale at Madura, a number of pillars and other architectural pieces belonging to one or more old temples which were lying about in the compound of the Madana Gopala Svami Temple. Miss Gibson died in France in the military service during the last Great War on January 10, 1919, and the pieces were presented to the Philadelphia Museum in her memory. It was believed for a long time that these pieces were originally part of the Madana Gopala Svami group of temples. Mr. Norman Brown, the author of the book under review, was sent to India in 1934-35 to examine the site from which the pieces came with a view to assisting the Museum authorities in their installation at Fairmount Hall. Mr. Brown learnt on inquiry that the majority of the architectural pieces came from a subsidiary temple dedicated to Lakshmi in the neighbouring group of temples known as Perumal temple, which was probably erected in the first half of the sixteenth century A.D.

The main theme of the author is the description of the architectural pieces with an explanation of their significance, both historical and architectural. He has done this more elaborately than is usual in a Museum guide book by adding two preliminary chapters dealing with the history of Madura and the general evolution of the South Indian Temple Architecture. He has then described the architectural pieces, particularly the columns and the frieze, with a full discussion of the sculptures engraved on them. As the author himself admits, the identification of the reliefs is not always certain and free from doubts, but he has done his task with painstaking thoroughness. The author has not only succeeded in arranging the archaeological pieces as definite parts of an ordered whole, but has also put a fresh meaning and significance into them by co-ordinating the reconstructed Mandapa to the general architectural evolution of South Indian temples. The visitors to the Philadelphia Museum will now see in those isolated pieces of stone the culmination of a long evolution of architectural style extending over two thousand years, on the background of a civilization whose antiquity goes still further back.

R. C. MAJUMDAR.

ADAM'S REPORTS ON THE STATE OF EDUCATION IN BENGAL, 1835-1838. Edited by ANATH NATH BASU, Head of the Teachers' Training Department, Calcutta University. Calcutta, 1941. Pp. lxvii+578. Price not stated.

The Reports of Adam on the state of education in Bengal in the early decades of the last century have been the most authentic source of detailed information on the subject. Every writer on the educational developments in this country has had to consult this authoritative and invaluable document when discussing educational problems of India. The original edition has however been out of print for nearly a century. A somewhat abridged edition was brought out by Rev. J. Long, in 1868. Some of the sections in Adam's reports were considered less important and left out in that edition. A statistical appendix was also omitted. Long, however, added a brief summary of the educational work done between 1838 when Adam submitted the last of his series of reports, and 1868, when Long brought out the abridged edition.

The University of Calcutta have very recently brought out a complete edition of the Reports, including the summary of Long. An introduction, which includes a biographical sketch of Adam, a review of the reports and a résumé of the later developments have also been added, by the editor. They are very helpful to the reader in forming an idea of the background against which the work was done and the personality of the writer of the reports. They convey also a clear picture of the failure of the official mind, even when there were brilliant men like Macaulay in the bureaucracy, to appreciate the real educational needs of the people of our country.

Although a foreigner, and working in a period when a careful survey was extremely difficult to make by reason of paucity of earlier reports, Adam carried out successfully what was really a stupendous task. Adam collected in his first report the available information from the authentic sources accessible to him. He supplemented these details also by enquiries from reliable educational workers. After thus bringing into 'a methodized form the information previously existing in detached portions' in various works, Adam collected actual samples by intensive work in a single thana in Rajshahi District. The results of this survey are incorporated in the second report. Adam next toured through several districts of Bengal and Bihar, collecting statistics on education, by an extensive survey. These details are noted and discussed in the third and final report. It is in this report that Adam clearly states his views regarding the promotion of general education in Bengal. He advocated that full use should be made of the existing institutions of indigenous education, with suitable modifications to improve the method and content of the teaching. He opposed strenuously though

vainly Macaulay's advocacy of the system which subsequently resulted in a topheavy structure of education, based on English as the medium of instruction. From the report of Long, printed as an appendix in the present edition, it appears that while Adam's work did not bear fruit in Bengal, it was proved to be on the right lines by the efforts of Mr. Thomason, Lieutenant Governor of the newly separated North Western Provinces. He organized schools which used the language of the people, as the medium and also libraries to distribute books in these languages among the village schools. A portion of Adam's third report was reprinted and circulated among Government officials. Thomason's personal interest and care made the experiment a success. On the death of this educationist and administrator in 1853, Lord Dalhousie, expressed in a minute his appreciation of the work done and recommended 'the extension of the scheme of vernacular education to all the districts within the jurisdiction of the North Western Provinces'.

In a brief review like this, it is not desirable to include further details. The summary noted will however, it is hoped, bring before the general reader interested in Indian education the value of the reports which the University of Calcutta have made accessible to the general public. The University authorities and the editor in particular are to be congratulated on their completion of this work at the present difficult time.

K. P. CHATTOPADHYAY.

HAIDAR ALI, VOLUME-I. By DR. N. K. SINHA.

Dr. N. K. Sinha's Haidar Ali is not only a book by a scholar for scholars but it is also very agreeable reading for the layman. The author has utilized the contemporary Marathi, Portuguese, Dutch and French sources—original sources which Wilks, in his standard work on Mysore, could not tap. He has also drawn freely on the Madras records which contain detailed information about Haidar Ali.

Haidar Ali and Ranjit Singh were the two most remarkable Indians in the century after Plassey. Dr. Sinha has discussed both these careers in separate books. The policies of these two great leaders were diametrically opposite. Ranjit Singh desisted from a collision with the English. Haidar Ali persisted in his anti-British policy. In the circumstances of that period Ranjit Singh succeeded (at least in his lifetime) and Haidar Ali failed. It is in the fitness of things that Dr. N. K. Sinha should have dealt with both these remarkable careers.

In this work, besides Haidar Ali, we come in contact with other historic personalities. Madhava Rao, one of the greatest of the Peshwas, and Raghunath Rao, the worst of them, both figure in prominent rôles. The local politics of Madras, Bombay, Pondicherry and Goa make very interesting reading. Especially the bungling policy of the Madras authorities comes in for well-deserved criticism by the author.

In a language free from verbosity Dr. Sinha has done full justice to a period which saw the rise of the British power in India. We are eagerly looking forward to the second volume which will complete the life-sketch of Haidar Ali.

B. R. CHATTERJI.

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A few Types of Sedentary Games prevalent in the Khasi and Jaintia Hills District in Assam.

By CHARU CHANDRA DAS GUPTA.

The object of this short note is to describe four types of sedentary games not noticed previously by any scholar and collected by me in the Khasi and Jaintia Hills district in Assam. Among them the name of one cannot be traced out while the other games are known as *Pam pait*, *Bam blang beh khla*, and *Tule paid*

Game No. 1.

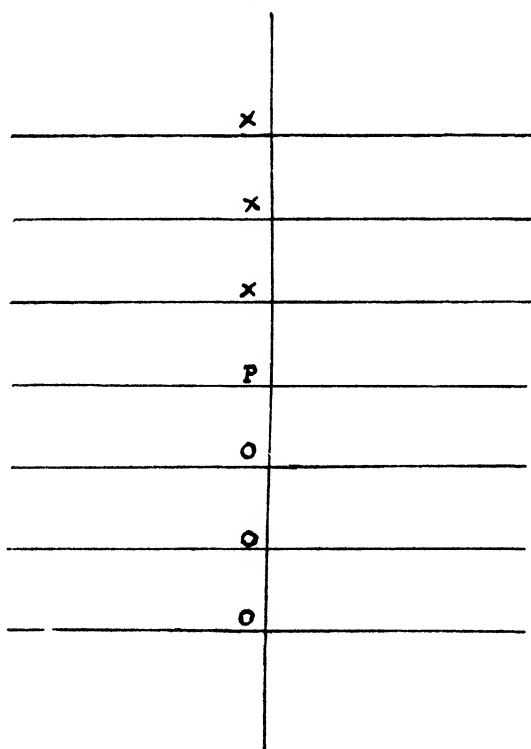


FIG. 1.

The game No. 1 is learnt at Mawryngkneng, a place approximately sixteen miles away from Shillong. Its rule is as follows. It may be played by one man or more than that number. If one man plays it, then it forms a kind of *solitaire*. It is played by six ballets, three belonging to each type. Thus two types of ballets are required for playing it. At the beginning of the game three ballets of each type are placed in the cross-points marked X and O and the central cross-point marked P is kept vacant. Then one of the two ballets belonging to two different types and which are nearest to the central vacant cross-point marked P is shifted to this vacant cross-point. In the movement one ballet belonging to one type is shifted to a cross-point by jumping over a cross-point occupied by one ballet of another type or may occupy the next cross-point if it is vacant. Ballets of two different types are alternately shifted. The whole idea of playing this game is to shift the ballets originally placed in the cross-points marked X to the cross-points marked O and also the ballets originally placed in the cross-points marked O to the cross-points marked X. In this way the player who can shift three ballets of one type originally placed in the cross-points marked X to the cross-points marked O and *vice versa* wins the game.

If this game is played by more than one man, then it is decided before the beginning of the game the number of times

Game No. 2. *Pam pait*.¹

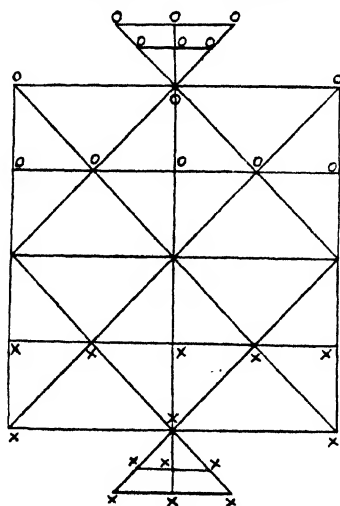


FIG. 2.

¹ The literal meaning of the term *Pam pait* is 'to cut a crowd'.

for which the ballets should be shifted. The player who shifts the ballets the required number of times wins the game.

The game No. 2 which has been learnt at Jowai is played by two men, each holding 14 ballets marked X and O in his possession. The rule of this game is as follows. One player starts the game and moves one of his ballets from one cross-point to another and takes hold of the ballet of the other man if the cross-point next to it is vacant. In this way the player who can capture all the ballets of the opponent wins the game.

There is similarity between this game and another game known as *Ahtarah gutti* in the United Provinces,¹ as *Atharagutiala teora* in the Central Provinces,² as *Lum Pusri* or *Sipahi Kat* in the Teesta Valley below Darjeeling in Bengal,³ as *Mughal-Pathan* in the Twenty-four Parganas, Howrah and Hooghly districts in Bengal,⁴ and as *Sholaguti Mangalapata* in Vikrampur in East Bengal⁵ so far as the rule of the game is concerned; but the main point of difference for which this game is considered

Game No. 3. *Bam blang beh khla*.⁶

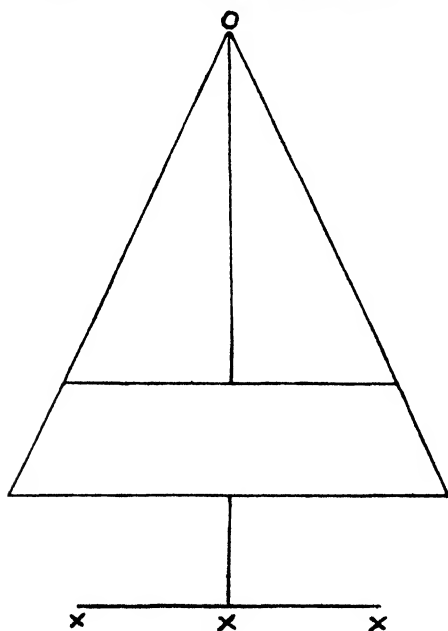


FIG. 3

¹ *Journ. Proc. Asiat. Soc. Bengal*, New Series, vol. II, pp. 121-22.

² *Ibid.*, vol. XX, p. 164.

³ *Ibid.*, vol. XXIX, p. 10.

⁴ *Ibid.*, vol. XXIX, pp. 168-69.

⁵ *Sāhitya-Parishad-Patrikā*, vol. XIV, pp. 239-40.

⁶ The term *Bam blang beh khla* literally means 'to eat goat, to drive tiger'.

as a new type is that the diagram used for the game under description is different from that of the game mentioned above.

The game No. 3 is also learnt at Jowai. Its rule is as follows. It is played by two men, one having the ballet marked O and called *khla* (i.e., tiger) and the other having three ballets marked X and called *blang* (i.e., goat). Thus altogether four ballets are required in this game. At the beginning of the game one of the players moves his ballet. In this game the player holding the ballet marked O captures the ballets marked X of the opponent player or the player holding the ballets marked X imprisons the ballet marked O. In other words, either the tiger eats the goats or the tiger is imprisoned by the goats. In this game the tiger can capture the goats if the cross-point next to one cross-point occupied by a goat is vacant. It is a unique type of game as no game of the tiger and the goats variety which has been described up till now has a diagram like that used for this game.

*Game No. 4. Tule paid.*¹

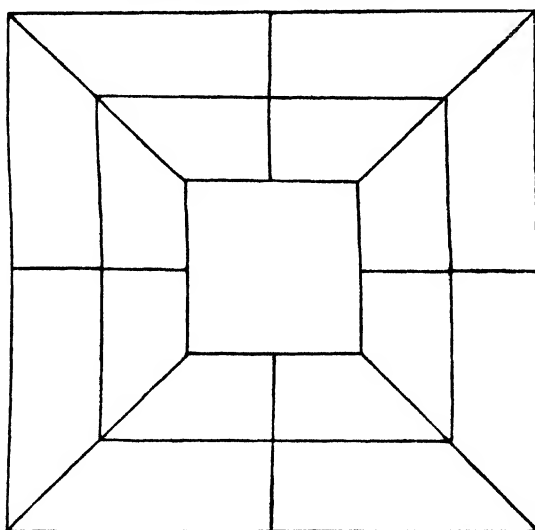


FIG. 4

The game No. 4 is played by two men, each having 12 ballets in his possession. It is also learnt at Jowai. Each player alternately puts one of his ballets on the cross-points, trying to get three pieces along one line while preventing his opponent from doing so. Whenever a player is successful in making three of his own pieces in one line, he captures one of the pieces belonging to his opponent. After all the pieces have been put

¹ The term *Tule paid* means 'to put ballets along ballets'.

on the cross-points, the players begin to move their pieces alternately and along the lines, having always in view the two-fold object outlined above. The player who captures all the pieces of his adversary wins the game.

The rule and diagram of this game is similar to a game called *Bara-guti-pait-pait* prevalent in Vikrampur in East Bengal.¹ This shows that a similar game is prevalent in Bengal and Assam under different names.

¹ *Sāhitya-Parishad-Patrikā*, vol. XIV, pp. 241-42.



**A Thousand Tibetan Proverbs and Wise Sayings
with short explanations of obscure Phrases. .**

By REV. J. GERGAN.

English Translation by REV. WALTER ASBOE.

(Communicated by Dr. S. K. Chatterji.)

གཤམ་དཔེ་དང་དོན་འབྲེལ།

ཨུ་གུང་མ་
Serial
Number

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༡ ག་ཙོན་འཕེལ་ན། ཟམ་ཚོན་འཕེལ། ཞེས་པ་ནི། མཛུང་མེར་ག་ཙོན་བྱ་བའི་མ་ཁ་འཛོན་
ན་རྟགས་སྐུལ་བ་ཡིན་ཟེར།

1 The larger the sore, the greater the feast. (A sore on the
finger is said to be a good omen.)

༢ གན་ཇ་བས་མགོ་ལ། ཞེས་པ་ནི་ས་བྱ་འགྲུ་ཞིག་གིས་རང་གི་འབས་ཕྱི་གན་ཇ་བྱ་བ་ལ།
སང་ཕྱ་རྡ་བ་མགོར་འགྱོད་གོས་ཡོད་བྱས་པས། དེས་འགྱོད་གོས་པའི་དྲོན་མ་རྩི་བར་
ཕྱ་རྡ་བ་མགོ་མཁར་ལ་སོང་བ་དང་། མཁར་དཔོན་གྱིས་དེ་དྲོན་མ་གྲིས་པར་འངས་པ་
བརྟགས་ཏེ། འོ། བཀའ་སློན་ལ་མིག་མངས་ཀྱི་རྩི་བ་འདི་དགོས་སོ་ཟེར་ནས། དེའི་
སྐབ་ཏུ་མིག་མངས་ཀྱི་རྩི་བ་ལྷེ་བ་དེ་བཀའ་ནས་ས་བྱར་བཏང་བས། དྲོན་ཇི་ཡིན་མ་
གསེས་པར་ལས་སམ་གཏམ་ལབ་བྱས་སྟེ་ཟེར་རོ།

2 Kanja to Basgo.

༣ ཀོར་ཆག་གིས་མི་གསོ། ཡོར་པ་གས་ཆག་གི་སེར་ག་བག་ལེབ་དང་བཟན་ལྷ་བྱས་བཀའ་
དགོས་པས། ཡོར་པ་གསོན་ཏེ་ལས་ཆག་པོ་ཡོད་པར་ཟམ་འཕེབ་ཐོབ་པའི་དཔེའོ།

3 A broken cup nourishes a man.

༤ བཀའ་བཀའ་པའི་སྐྱུགས་དང་། བསྐྱབ་བསྐྱབ་པའི་གཏམ། ཞེས་པ་ནི། བྱིས་ཐག་རིང་
པོར་འགྱོ་མི་ལ་བྱིས་ནས་སྐྱུགས་མང་ཙམ་བཀའ་ནའང་མི་ལྷང་བ་ལྷར། རང་བཞིན་
གྱིས་གསོ་སོ་མེད་པ་ལ་གཏམ་ཙམ་བསྐྱབ་ནའང་དེས་མགོ་མི་ཚད་པའི་དཔེའོ།

4 Much food loaded, much talk exchanged.

༥ བཀའ་འགྱུར་ལ་གྲོག་ལྡན། མི་གས་སྐྱུ་རྩུང་བས་གས་སྐྱུ་རྩུང་བར་བྲིལ་བའམ་རྩྭ་འདྲགས་
བྱས་ཟེར།

5 To patch paper on the Kangyur.

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5 ཀོ་མོང་མ་ཚུའི་འབྲིལ་མ། ཁ་དམན་གཏམ་གྱི་འབྲིལ་མ། རྒྱུ་ཁར་ཚུ་མི་འབྲིལ་བར་ཐག་
ཏུ་ཚུ་འབྲིལ་བ་ལྟར། དབུལ་ལ་ཁ་དམན་པར་སྤུམ་སྤྲད་ཀྱང་། དེས་ལན་སྒོག་མི་ཚུས་
པམ། ཁ་དག་དང་ཁ་དམན་ཐུར་དུས་དང་། ཁ་དམན་ལ་ཚོད་བཅད་དུས་ཟེར།

6 Pits for collecting water, the simple-minded for receiving provocation.

7 ཀྱང་གཞིང་མི་ལ་ས་ལྟན། ཀྱང་མཐེལ་དང་ལྷམ་མཐེལ་བལྟན་ནས་ས་ལྟན་ཅིག། དེ་ནི་གཞན་
ལ་སྤྲད་ཅིང་མིའི་གཞིང་དང་རང་གི་ཀྱང་མཐེལ་འདྲ་འདྲ་ཅིད་པ་ཡིན་སྟེ་དུས་ཟེར།

7 Don't display the sole of your foot to others.

8 ཀྱང་ཐག་གི་བལ་ལྟར། ཀྱང་ཐག་ཏུ་བལ་ལྟར་ཡོད་ནའང་དེ་ལ་སྒྲག་མི་ཀྱབ་གྱི། བལ་ལྟར་
རང་མང་དུ་ལྟར་ལྟར་འགོ་བ་ལྟར། རྟོབས་ལྡན་པས་ཉམས་རྟོབས་ཚུང་བའི་དགྲ་ལང་
དུས་ཟེར།

8 Inferior wool underneath one's feet.

9 ཀྱང་མཐེལ་ལ་ཉེ་མ་མི་གར། ལས་གཞིང་གིས་སར་བཤད་དེ་ཉེ་མ་ལྡེ་ཡོང་མི་འབྱུང་བ་ལ་
ཟེར།

9 He has no time to let the sun shine on his soles.

10 རྒྱན་བྲེ་གང་ཅམ། ལས་མི་བྱང་བ་ལག་ནས་ཡང་ཡང་བྱས་པའི་མཐར་འཁལ་ཆད་པ་ཐོག་
དུས་ཟེར།

10 The measure of his thefts is full.

11 རྒྱན་མ་གཤགས་མགོ་ལ་བེང་ཞེ་གཤགས་བཏང་ཅམ། རྒྱན་ཡོད་པས་རང་གོང་ས་མེད་པ་
ལྟར་བྱས་ཏི། ཁྱིམ་དཔོན་ལྟར་ཡར་ལ་ངར་ངར་གྲགས་གྲགས་གཞིང་བའི་མི་ལ་
ཟེར་རོ།

11 The thieving judge rose to the rank of a Chief Justice.

12 རྒྱན་མ་གཅིག་ལ་ཉེས་པ་བརྒྱ། རྒྱ་མཁན་གཅིག་རང་ཡིན་ཅུང་། རྟོར་གྱི་བདག་པོས་དེས་
མ་བརྒྱས་སམ། ཆེ་གོ་མོས་མ་བརྒྱས་སམ་བསམ་ནས། རྒྱན་མ་ལས་རྟོར་བདག་གིས་
ཉེས་པ་མང་པོ་སོག་པའི་དཔེ།

12 For one theft a hundred people are blamed.

13 རྒྱན་མ་ཁ་ཁ་ཁ་རྒྱུང་ལ་མི་བསད། རྒྱན་མ་སོགས་ལས་ངན་ཅིད་པ་གཡག་རྒྱ་ཆ་དུས་མི་ཡང་
གསོད་པའི་དཔེ།

13 In his perplexity a thief killed the man.

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22 མུང་གི་རྩ་མ་ལྟེ་བཏུམ་མཁན། མུང་གི་རྩ་མ་ཚད་ཚད་ནང་ཕྱེ་མི་འཁད། འཁད་སྤྱིད་
ནའང་དེ་དགུ་བས་འཕོ། དེ་ལྟར་བསམ་མན་མེད་པའི་མི་གཡག་སྐྱ་ལྟོ་རྩ་ཡད་ལ་
ཟེར་རོ། .

23 He wrapped up flour in the tail of a wild ass.

24 མུན་མ་གྱི་སྦྱོན་གྱི། སེན་མོའི་བར་གྱི་གྱིག་གྱི། ཁ་དྲག་ལ་སྦྱོན་མི་འཕྲོག་པར། ཁ་དྲག་
གཉིས་གྱི་བར་ན་ཁ་དམན་འཕམ་དུས་སྤྱིར།

24 The beer pot was not destroyed but the fault perished; the louse died between the nails of two fingers. (When the weak are crushed in the disputes of influential people.)

25 སྦྱིད་ཕྱག་མི་ལ། འཛོལ་པ་གིང་ལ། མི་ལ་ཕྱག་འཕྲོག་དུས་སྤྱི་སེམས་གསོ་ཕྱིར་ཟེར་རོ།

25 Joy and sorrow for man; and knots for trees.

26 སྦྱིད་དེ་ཕྱག་ཏོ་མཁན། སྦྱིད་པོ་ཡངས་ནས་ཕྱག་པོའི་བྱ་བའི་ནང་འཕྲག་པ་ལ་ཟེར་རོ།

26 Whilst enjoying comfort, he bought misery upon himself.

27 སྐར་མ་སྤྲིན་བདུན་ལྟ་ཆགས་ཅན། བྱང་ནས་གར་ཏི་བྱང་ལ་ཀླས།

27 The unlucky Great-bear (star) rises in the north, and sets in the north.

28 སྦྱིད་པོ་རང་གིས་མ་བཅོལ་ན། ཕྱག་པོ་གཞན་གྱིས་སྤྱིར་ཡོང། རང་སྦྱིད་པའི་གྲུ་ལ་རང་གིས་
མ་བྱས་ན། གཞན་མས་མི་ཁྱེད་པས། རང་གྲུ་ལ་ཁྱོས་ཟེར་རོ།

28 He who seeks not his own good, will be troubled by others.

29 ལུགས་གཅིག་ལ་གྱི་ལུགས་བརྒྱ། ནད་དང་རྒྱུ་སྐྱ་ཚོགས་ཀྱིས་གྱི་བ་ལ་ཟེར།

29 One way of being born, and a hundred ways of dying.

30 སྦྱེ་ན་བྱ་གཅིག། ཞེས་ཀྱང་གང། ཕུ་བྱ་ཏ་ལ་ཏོ་ལེ་མང་པོ་བས་ཕུ་བྱ་མགོ་ཚད་གཅིག་
རྒྱལ་བོ་དཔེ།

30 The birth of one son is enough, and one cup of delicious beer is ample.

31 སྦྱེ་གི་གྲོས་ལ་མ་ལྡིང། སྦྱེ་བ་དང་འཆི་བ་དུན་ན་གྲོས་ཅིང་མི་རྒྱས་པས། མ་འབྱུང་བ་དང་
འདས་པའི་གདམས་མ་དུན་པར་གྲོས་ཅིང་དགོས་སྤྱི་པོ།

31 Do not deliberate about birth and death.

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32 རྩེས་ཆད་བྱ་དང་། བསགས་ཆད་ནོར། རིང་བྱ་རང་མི་སྤྱེ་བར་བྱ་མོ་ཡང་སྤྱེ་བ་ལྟར།
བསགས་མཁན་ཐམས་ཅད་ནོར་དུ་མི་འགྱུར་བའི་དོན་ནི།

32 All who are born are not sons; all that is acquired is not wealth.

33 རྩེས་པའི་ཤོད་པ། ཤི་བྱར་ཁྱུང་། ལུང་དུས་ཀྱི་ལོ་ལོ་བས་ཤི་བའི་བར་དུ་ལུས་པའི་དཔེ་ནི།

33 Habits from one's birth follow one to the grave.

34 སྐྱ་གཅིག་ནས་འཐེན་པ། མགོ་གཡོམ། སྐྱ་གཅིག་ནས་འཐེན་ན་མགོ་རྩིལ་པོ་གཡོམ་གཡོམ་ཐེད་པ་ལྟར། མི་གཅིག་ལ་ཅི་ཞིག་ཟེར་ན་དེའི་ཤྱུགས་པ་ཀུན་ལ་འཕྲོག་པས་སོ།

34 The head moves when only one hair is pulled.

35 རྩེན་མ་ཡང་ལོག་གིས་འཕུང་། རྩད་པ་ཟས་ལོག་གིས་འཕུང་། རྩེན་མ་སྤྱར་ཡང་རྩེན་པོ་དང་བས་འཕུང་བ་ལྟར་ནད་པས་འཕྲོག་པའི་ཟས་ཟོས་ནད་ལོག་རྩེན་པོ།

35 A thief is ruined by returning—a patient by wrong diet.

36 རྩེན་སེམས་པ་ལ་ཉེ་རིང་མེད། རྩེན་པོ་ལ་ལ་ཉེ་རིང་དང་རང་གཞན་མེད་དེ་སྤྱུལ་ས་ཐོབ་ཀྱང་རྩེན་པོ།

36 He who desires to steal does not regard near or distant relations.

37 རྩེན་མ་གཡལ་མགོ་ལ་ཞིན་ཏི། ལུག་མགོ་ལ་གཡགས་གཏང་ཅེས། རྩེན་མ་གཡགས་མགོ་ལ་བེད་ལྷོག་གཡགས་གཏང་ཅེས་དང་དོན་འདྲོད།

37 The thief mounted the head of the Yak, and judgement came forth upon the head of the sheep.

ཁ

38 ཁ་ཁར་། རྩེད་ཁར་། ཁ་ནི་ཀར་ལྟར་མངར་མོ་ལ། རྩེད་ནང་གཞོན་སེམས་ཡོད་པའི་ཁ་ཁར་མ་ཟེར།

38 A mouth like sugar, and a heart like a saw.

39 ཁ་ཁོ་མགས་མ་བཅོ། གཏམ་ལ་བ་དགོས་ཡོད་སར་འོག་པའི་མི་ལ། དེལ་ཁྱུག་ལྟར་ཁ་ཁོ་མ་བཅོས་པར་གཏམ་ཅོས་ཤིག་གི་དོན་ཡིན།

39 Don't shut your mouth like a nurse.

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༤༠ སྐྱེ་གང་ཇི་གཏམ་ཟེར་རེ་ལ། གྲུལ་གང་ཇི་མི་ལ་ལྟོས། མི་ཤྲོད་དུ་མི་གཅིག་ལ་ལབ་
ནའང་ཡར་བསམ་མར་བསམ་བཏང་ནས། གཞན་ལ་འཇོག་ཏུ་མ་བརྒྱག་པར་གཏམ་ལབ་
དགོས་ཟེར་བཤོ།

40 Observe the whole row of people when about to utter a mouthful of speech.

༤༡ སྐྱེ་གཅིས་པ་ལ་ཏུ་ཏུ་གྲི། སྐྱེ་ནས་ཏེ་ཏེ་འདྲ་ཅིང་ཅིང་ཡག་ནས་གནོད་སྐྱེལ་བའི་མི་ལ་
ཟེར།

41 Whilst uttering endearing speech, he cut his throat.

༤༢ སྐྱེ་ཆད་དང་བྱ་ཡོན། སྐྱེ་ཆད་བྱས་ཟེན་པ་དང་དེ་ནི་བྱ་ཡོན་འདྲ་བས། སྐྱེ་ཆད་སྐྱེ་
དགོས་ལ་ཟེར།

42 The promise became a debt.

༤༣ སྐྱེ་ཆེ་ལ་གཏམ་དང་ཆགས་ལ་རྒྱ། སྐྱེ་ཆེའི་སྤྱིང་ནང་གསང་གཏམ་མི་འཁད་པའི་དོན་ཡིན།

43 Confiding a secret to a Kashmiri is like pouring water through a sieve.

༤༤ སྐྱེ་ཆེའི་ནོར་ལ་པོ་ལ། གཞན་གྱི་ནོར་ལུགས་མེད་ཟ་དང་འབྲུང་བའི་མི་ལ་ཟེར།

44 To make delicious food with the wealth of a Kashmiri.

༤༥ སྐྱེ་ཏའི་ཀོ་འག་དང་རྩང་ཀའི་ཉིང། ལྷད་མོར་ལྷ་དང་ཆེ་བ་ལ་ཟེར།

45 To go where crows and jackdaws caw.

༤༦ སྐྱེ་ཏིག་ཕེག་མ་མུང་ན། མངར་མུང་ཕེག་མི་ཡོང། བར་དོ་ཞིག་མ་མུང་ན། སྐྱེ་
པོ་ཞིག་མི་འབྲུང་བ་ཡིན།

46 You cannot have the sweet without the bitter.

༤༧ སྐྱེ་ཏ་ག་འབྲེར། འབྲེད་གཏམ་འབྲེར། ཇི་ལྟར་སྐྱེ་ཏ་ལ་ག་ཐོབ་ན་ལེས་ཁུར་འབྲེར་བ་
ལྟར། འབྲེད་ལ་གཏམ་ཞིག་ཆོར་ན། ཁྱིམ་ནས་ཁྱིས་དུ་འབྲེར་ཞིང་འཛོལ་བ་འཛོལ་
ལ་ཟེར་བཤོ།

47 Crows carry off flesh, and musicians are tale-bearers (i.e. musicians being beggars, and liable to carry stories about).

༤༨ སྐྱེ་ཏ་བྱས་ཏིད་ཀར་པོ་མི་ཆ། རྩོམ་ཅན་ཇི་ཅོམ་དུ་རྩོམ་མེད་འདྲ་ཅིད་ཀྱང། རྩོམ་
ཅན་དུ་བྱས་མོ།

48 Wash the crow, but he will not become white.

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༤༧ ཁ་དམན་གྱི་ལྷ་བརྟེན་པོ་ཐུན་ལ། འཁྱུང་མེད་པམ་རང་གི་ལམ་གྲུལ་ཐོན་དུ་ཅེད་དགོས་
ཟེར།

49 The humble are quick to order their affairs for themselves.

༥༠ ཁ་ནམ་སྤྱི་ཏིག་འཁྲུལ་ལེ་རྒྱལ་པ། ཁ་ནམ་སྤྱི་ཏིག་འཁྲུལ་རྒྱལ་པ་ལྟར། ཁ་བཙུམ་
ནམ་གཏི་མི་ལབ་པ་ལ་ཟེར།

50 Hesitate to drop pearls from your mouth.

༥༡ ཁ་བཅད་དེ་རྩ་ལ་ལྟར་པ། ཡན་ཐོགས་པའི་ནོར་ནིག་བཞིག་ནམ་ལན་མི་ཐོགས་པ་ཅེད་ན་
ཟེར།

51 Slicing his mouth, he patched his nose.

༥༢ ཁ་བཅད་ཅུའི་ལྷ་བ་ཡིན། ལག་ལེན་གསེར་གྱི་ཐོགས་པ་ཡིན། ཁ་བཅད་པམ་ལག་ལེན་
ནི་ལྟག་པར་ལེགས་པམ། ཁ་བཅད་དང་མཚུངས་པའི་སྤྱད་པ་སྤྱད་ཅེག་ཟེར།

52 Speech is like froth, experience like beads of gold.

༥༣ ཁ་མི་ཚུགས་ལ་སྤང་མི་ཐོབ།

53 He who cannot restrain his tongue will have nothing to taste.

༥༤ ཁ་མིག་ལ་ཁུ་རྩར། ཁ་མིག་ལ་སྤུལ་ཐུབ་པ་ལྟར་དུ་སྤྱན་མེད་པ་ལ་དབང་ཚོས་གྱིས་
སྤྱན་འགོལ་དུས་ཟེར།

54 To strike one's eyes and face with one's fists.

༥༥ ཁ་རྒྱལ་པ་ལ་བདེ་བ་ཐོབ། ལྟམ་མང་ན་འཛིང་འཁྱུང་འབྱུང་བམ། ཁ་རྒྱལ་བཅད་ན་
འཁྱུག་པ་མེད་པར་ལུས་ཟེར།

55 He gets peace who is silent.

༥༦ ཁ་རྒྱལ་འདུག་ག་མང་ཉུང་མ་སྤར། ཁ་རྒྱལ་སྤུག་སྤར་ནེར་སྤོད་པ་བས་ཇི་ཞིག་ལབ་
པམ་ཟབ་ལེགས་ཟེར་བའོ།

56 Masticate a turnip rather than be silent.

༥༧ ཁ་ལ་ཟ་རྒྱུ་མེད་པར་རྩ་ལ་ཚ་རྒྱུ། ཡན་རྒྱུ་མེད་པའི་མིའི་རྩ་དུ་བར་དོ་འབྱུང་དུས་ཟེར།

57 Nothing to eat, but only pain in the nose.

༥༨ ཁ་ལ་མར་ཁག་ལ་བསྐྱམ་ཀན། ཁ་འཇམ་པོའི་མི་ལ་ཟེར།

58 His mouth is smeared with fresh butter.

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༥༧ ཁ་ཤོར་རེ་ནས་གཏམ་ཤོར་རེ། གམས་གཏམ་མི་འཁད་པའི་མི་ལ་ཟེར།

59 From the cracked mouth issue cracked words.

༥༨ ཁ་ལག་པས་ཉམ་ཏི་མེད་དེ། མགོ་བེག་ཚོ་མི་དགྲ་ཁ་མེད། ཁ་དང་ལག་པ་འགལ་ཏི་
མགོ་དང་ཕུས་ཚོ་ལ་དགྲར་དགོས་བྱུང་བས། བྱ་བ་འཐལ་དུས་སུ་ཟེར།

60 For what one buys with the mouth and hands, one must bend one's head and knees. For what he purchased through speech and deed, he was obliged to go down on his head and knees.

༥༩ ཁ་དམན་ལུས་སྤྱོད། མི་ནོར་མེད་དང་དབང་མེད་ཅིག་ནད་དང་བར་ཆད་སོགས་ལས་ཐར་
ན་ཟེར།

61 The humble are preserved by the gods.

༦༠ ཁ་རྩོན་ཚོ་ལ་སྤྱོད་པ་པོ་གྲང་ཚོ་གཡབ་ཅེས། མི་ཞིག་ལས་མི་ཐོབ་པ་ཤིས་དུས་གཤིར་ན་
ཟེར།

62 To cause someone to blow a cold wind into his warm mouth.

༦༡ ཁང་པ་ལ་གསེར་གྱི་སྒྱི་གུ་དགྲ་ཡོད། དགོས་དུས་སུ་མེད་པར་ངའི་ཁང་པ་ན་འདྲི་སོགས་
ཡོད་ཟེར་ན་དེ་འདྲི་ཟེར།

63 There are nine golden pocket knives in the home.

༦༢ ཁོ་རྩ་ཁོ་རྩ་མ་ཟེར། དྲད་བྱད་ཅིས། དཀོག་རང་ཟེར་གྱི་ཚན་ལ་མ་སྤྱད་པར་ལས་
ཡང་ཙམ་ཟེར་བཞོ།

64 Don't cry out 'Oh God, Oh God', but do your job.

༦༣ ཁོ་ལ་ནོར་ཡོད་ད་དང། བྱི་ལ་ཁོ་ལྷ་ཡོད་ད་ཙོགས། གཞན་ལ་མི་མན་པའི་མི་ཞིག་
ལ་ནོར་ཡོད་ན་ཟེར་རོ།

65 For him to possess wealth is as if a dog had fine fleece.

༦༤ ཁྱར་རྩོན་ཀྱལ་པོ་ལའང་མི་སྤྱད། བག་ལེབ་རྩོན་ཚོ་ཀྱལ་པོ་ལའང་མི་སྤྱོད་པས། བག་ལེབ་
རྩོན་ཚོ་ལ་ཐོབ་དུས་ཟེར་རོ།

66 Even the king could not get hot bread.

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52 ཁང་ཏུ་བྱ་རྒྱུ། གཤུ་རྒྱུ་མར་བྱ་རྒྱུ། ཁང་བྱར་ཐོན་པའི་ལ་མཐམ་ཁང་ཆུང་པ་བྲལ་བྱུང་
མེད་པ་ལ་ཟེར།

67 Huts and cottages are hut of meat and cottage of butter.
(Of old people who according to Ladakhi custom, when
a son gets married, retire to small apartments of their
own.)

53 ཁབ་གྱི་མལ་ལ་འདེབས། ཁབ་བཙུག་པའི་ལན་དུ་འདེབས་འདྲི་གཤམ་པའི་ཚུལ་གྱིས་དགྲ་ལན་
ལེན་ལ་ཟེར།

68 To use an awl instead of a needle.

54 ཁམ་གཤེག་གིས་སྟོག་སྒྲུལ་ཅམ། རང་ལ་གཞོན་པའི་ཁ་ཟས་ཞམ་པོ་ཤིས་ཏི་ཟ་མཁན་ལ་
ཟེར།

69 To lose one's life through taking a mouthful of meal.

55 ཁམ་པ་བརྒྱ་ཤི་ནའང་། ཁམ་ཕྱག་ཤོང་། བརྒྱད་མང་ཡོད་པ་ལས་མི་རེ་ཤི་ན་ཟེར།

70 Though a hundred Khampas die, there are still a thousand
children of Khampas.

56 ཁའི་ནང་ལ་མར་གཏང་ནའང་མི་བཟུ་མཁན། མི་དང་པོ་གཞན་ལ་གཞོན་པའི་ཚོགས་མི་ཟེར་
བ་ལ་ཟེར།

71 Butter would not melt in his mouth.

57 ཁའི་དཔང་པོ་ལ་ཁྱེ། རང་གིས་རང་ལའམ། རང་གི་མིས་རང་ལ་གཞོན་པའི་གཏམ་
ཅིད་དམ་དཔང་པོ་གཏོང་ན་ཟེར།

72 His tongue bears witness against his mouth.

58 ཁའི་ནང་ལ་མི་ཤོང་ཅམ་སེ་ཁམ་བྱ་མ་རྒྱུང་། ཚོད་ལས་འཐལ་བའི་ཏམ་པ་ཆེན་མོ་མ་ཆེད་
ཟེར་བའོ།

73 Don't take a bite (morsel) too large for your mouth.

59 ཁའི་ནང་ལ་ཟན་ཡོད་མ་ཏི། ཁྱེ་དང་འབྲལ་ཅམ། རྟོན་རམ་ལས་ཤིག་ཐོབ་ནས་མི་
དགོས་ཟེར་བ་ལ་ཟེར།

74 He thrust out with his tongue the food which came to his
mouth.

60 ཁའི་མང་མིག་ཆེ། མི་ཏམ་སེམས་ཅན་ལ་ཟེར།

75 His eyes are larger than his mouth.

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༧༥ ཁལ་གཅིག་ལ་ནོན་པའི་ཕབས། གཏམ་ལན་ཚེ་ལ་འགད་སང་ལབ་དུས་སུ་ཟེར།

76 Hops sufficient for a bushel.

༧༧ བྱི་ཁྱ་ལ་མིག་ཡོད་ན། ཁྱལ་བྱ་ལ་ཅི་མ་ལྟ་ལྟ། བྱི་ཁྱས་ཁྱལ་བྱར་ཅི་མ་དགའ་ལྟ་ཅུས་པས།
མ་ལྟ་ཟེར་བའི་ལན་དུ་ཟེར།

77 If pups have eyes they may look at the king to repletion.

༧༩ བྱི་ཁྱ་དང་བྱ་ཁྱ་ལ་ཅུག་བསྐབ། ན་སོ་རྒྱུད་དུས་སུ་ཅུག་སྐབ་ནའང་ཡོབས་སྐབས། ཅིས་
པ་ལ་སྤྱད་ལུགས་སྐབས་ཟེར་བ་འདྲོ།

78 You can teach pups and children anything.

༧༩ བྱི་ཆན་ལ་སྐྱག་རག། བྱི་ཆན་སོ་དུབ་པར་པགས་པ་རྩྱེད་པ་ཐོབ་ནའང་མི་ཕན་པ་ལྟར། རང་
ལ་ཕན་མི་ཐོགས་པའི་རྣམ་མཁོར་སོག་པ་ལ་སྐྱགས་པ་ལ་ཟེར།

79 An old hide for an old dog.

༨༠ བྱི་བྱོད་རང་གི་འཐམ་ཚུལ་མན། རང་ལ་གཏར་ཀ་བཏར་མཁན་ཅོགས་སོང་། བྲག་གཏར་
དགོས་ཡོད་པའི་མི་ཞིག་ལ་བྱིས་འཐམས་པས་དེ་འདྲ་སྐྱས་པས། གཞན་བྱིས་གཞོད་
བསྐལ་བ་དེ་ལྟར་ཕན་ན་ཟེར།

80 Oh dog, it is not reasonable for you to bite me, but it did me good to bleed.

༨༡ བྱི་དཀར་པོ་འདྲ་བྱི། བྱི་ནག་པོ་འདྲ་བྱི། ཚས་བཟང་ཡོད་པའི་ཁ་འཚོས་པ་དང་ཚས་མེད་
པ་གཉིས་གཅིག་པ་ཡིན་པའི་རྣམ་ཞོ།

81 White or black, a dog is still a dog.

༨༢ བྱི་དང་པེ་ལྷ། མི་གཉིས་རྒྱན་དུ་འཛོང་འཐབ་ཅིད་ཀྱིན་ཅུད་པ་ལ་ཟེར།

82 Like cat and dog.

༨༣ བྱི་དང་འགྲན་ན། བྱི་རྒྱག་གའོ་ལ། བྱི་ལྟ་བུའི་མི་དང་འགྲན་ན། རང་གི་ཁྲིལ་ཡང་
སྐར་བའི་དཔེ།

83 If you associate with a dog, he will cast his excrement on your face.

༨༤ བྱི་ཕག་རྩེད་གཅིག། རྩ་ལུག་ཟེས་གཅིག། བྱི་ཁོ་པ་དང་ཕག་ཁོ་པ། རྩ་ཁོ་པ་དང་ལུག་ཁོ་
པ་བྱི་ལུག་ལྟ་འཛོམ་པའི་དཔེ།

84 One bed for a dog and a pig; one manger for a horse and a sheep.

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༡༥ ཁྱི་འཁོན་མོ་དགུ། ཁྱི་མོ་ཚད་མོ་དགུ་ཟེར་བས། ཁྱི་མོ་མིང་བར་དུ་འཁོན་འབྱུང་བ་
དང་། མི་འཁོན་ཅན་ལའང་ཟེར། །

85 A dog's hatred lasts nine years.

༡༦ ཁྱི་ཕལ་ལ་བེར་ག། ཅལ་བེར་ཤོད་པའི་ཁྱི་མ་མི་ལ་འཛོག་པ་ཐེག་ན་ཟེར།

86 To hit a dog when he is lying down.

༡༧ ཁྱི་འབྲུང་མ་ལ་མྱོ་བ་ཁམ་གཅིག། མྱོ་བ་ཁམ་བྱ་གཅིག་གིས་ཁྱི་འེང་པ་ལྟོགས་པ་ལྟར། མི་
ལ་ཁ་ཟས་རྒྱུ་མཛད་བྱིན་ནའང་འཐད་པའི་དཔེ།

87 One morsel of food suffices for a dog.

༡༨ ཁྱི་ལ་དབང་ཚོབ་ན། གོ་ག་ལས་ཚུབ་ཀྱིས་མྱར། མིང་ན་ལ་དབང་ཚོབ་ན། ཅི་མིང་མ་དང་
ཟེར་ཇིས་ཆེན་མོ་འབྱུང་ཟེར་བའོ།

88 A dog which gains the upper hand will cover the hearth with dust.

༡༩ ཁྱི་ལ་ལག་མི་འཁད། མར་མོས་ནས་ཁྱི་ལྟག་པའས། ཁ་ཟས་གིས་པོ་མར་བྱ་ཐེགས་པ་
འཛོག་པའི་མིར་ཟེར།

89 The dog could not retain the grease in his stomach.

༢༠ ཁྱི་ལ་སྒུ་དང་འབེད་ལ་གཤོལ། གང་ལས་ཀྱི་ཚོབས་མེད་པའི་མི་ལ་ལས་དེ་མོ་དུས་ལྟ་
ཟེར།

90 A load for a dog, and a plough for a musician.

༢༡ ཁྱི་ལ་ཆུ་མྱར། ཁྱི་ལྟག་སྒུ་མིང་མིང་གཏོང་བའང་འབྱིག་པའི་དཔེ།

91 To fill the stomach of a dog with water.

༢༢ ཁྱི་ཁྱོད་ནས་འབྱུང་དུ་ཤོགས། བཏགས་པའི་ཁྱི་འབྱུང་པའས། ལས་མི་ལས་པ་ལས་དང་
དབང་ལས་འབྱུང་དུས་ཟེར།

92 Like a dog, he broke away from his chain.

༢༣ ཁྱི་ལྟེ་ལྟེ། ཁྱི་རང་གི་སྐ་ཁྱེ་དང་ལྟག་ནས་མན་པས་མོ།

93 A dog's tongue is his own cure.

༢༤ ཁྱི་མ་ཁྱི་གད་པའི་གཡོག། ཁྱི་རྩ་མ་རྩ་གད་པའི་མེན་པ་ལྟར། རའི་རྩ་ལའང་ཅི་ཆ་
ནའང་མོང་ཟེར་བའོ།

94 Bury dead dogs and foxes at the bottom of a cliff.

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༩༥ ཁྱི་སྐྱོད་དང་ཁྱི་ལྷག་མ། ཁྱི་སྐྱོག་དུས་རང་གི་མཆེ་བས་རང་གི་ཁ་ལྷག་མ་ལ་སྐྱོད་པས་ཕ་
ལྷན། ཁྱི་ལྷག་ཀླན་དུ་འཐབ་ཀྱིན་ཡོད་པ་ལ་ཟེར།

95 A dog's teeth bite into his own lips.

༩༦ ཁྱི་སྐྱོད་ལ། ལམ་རྒྱུ་ལ། རྒྱུ་ལ་མཆེ་བ་ལྷན། ལམ་ཀླན་གཅིག་ལ་གཅིག་ལ་མཆེ་བ་ལ་
འགྲན་ཅིན་ཟེར།

96 The dog calls the fox, the fox calls his tail, and his tail scratches the soil.

༩༧ ཁྱི་སྐྱོད་ལ་ན། ཁྱི་ལྷག་ལྷག། མི་ཞིག་སྐྱོད་ལ་རྒྱུ་ལ་མཆེ་བ་ལ་ན་ཟེར།

97 If a dog gets angry, his soup remains untasted.

༩༨ འབྲུལ་ལོ་མེད་པའི་རི་ལ་འཛེགས་མཁན། རང་གིས་མི་སྐྱོག་མེད་ཀྱི་བར་དུ་མ་ན་ཟེར།

98 To climb a mountain you cannot scale.

༩༩ ཁྱི་མེད་པའི་མི་ལ་སྐྱོག་མཆེན་མོ། ཏང་མེད་པའི་མི་ལ་ཏིང་ཆེན་མོ། ལྷོ་བས་དང་ཡོན་ཏན་
མེད་པའི་མིས་ཁ་ཆེན་མོའི་དབེ་ར་ལ་བ་དུས་སྐྱ་ཟེར།

99 He breathes heavily who has no strength; he makes much commotion who has no character.

༡༠༠ ཁྱི་མེད་དི་ཕྱོག་པོ་ལ་དང་ར་ཆེན་མོ། འབྲུད་མེད་པའི་མིས་ཀྱུ་སྐྱ་ཆེན་མོ་བཏོན་ན་ཟེར།

100 Little brooks make much noise.

༡༠༡ ཁྱོག་ཐོང་དྲག་ལྷོང་། གཞོན་ཀུར་བསམ་པ་དང་སྒྲོ་སྒྲོས་ཀླང་ཟེར་བའོ།

101 Lads are hollow.

༡༠༢ ཁྱ་ག་ཐོས་ཏིན་མ་ལང་མ། ཁྱ་ཏ་ཀྱག་པ་ཐོས་ཏིན་མ་ལང་མ། གཅིག་ལ་ས་བཟང་གིས་ཆ་
ཕྱིད་ཀྱི། གཅིག་ལ་ས་རན་གྱིས་ཆ་ཕྱིད་པའི་དྲོན་ནོ། (ནམ་ལང་མ་པའི་དྲོན་ཆ་ཕྱིད་པའོ)།

102 Kites subsist on flesh, and crows on excrement.

༡༠༣ ཁྱག་དང་ལག་པ་ཁྱུ་ཏིན་ཟན་ཟེར། དཀའ་ལས་འབྲར་ཞིང་ག་འབད་ཁྱག་འབད་བཏང་
མཁན་ལ་ཟེར།

103 He who eats his food after having washed his hands in blood.

༡༠༤ ཁྱི་ལྷག་གི་ལག་ནས་ཀྱུ་པོ་ལ་སྐྱུ་ལ་ཕྱག། ལག་དང་ཀྱུ་བ་ནས་སྐྱུ་ལ་འང་འབྱུག་པས། ལྷན་
རྒྱགས་མ་ཐེད་ཟེར་བའོ།

104 Shake your fist behind the table against the king.

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༡༠༥ བྱམ་དང་དབུ་ལག་པོ་ཆེ་དུ། བསོད་བདེ་དང་བསོད་ནམས་པོ་ཆུང་དུ། བྱམ་དང་སྒྲི་ལག་
འཁོལ་ཇིས་གྲིས་དཀོན་མཆོག་གི་ཕྱིན་རྒྱལ་མ་དང་བྱལ་ས་ཆེ་འབྲི་བའི་དོན་ནོ།

105 Add to yourself lies and cunning, and destiny and fortune will decrease.

༡༠༦ མཁར་རི་རྒྱལ་བ་སོང་རྗེ་བྱ་བཏབ་བ་ཙོག་མ། གཅིག་ལ་རྒྱལ་པོས་གསོལ་རམ་སྒྲི་རྒྱས་ཏུ་ཞིག་
གནང་བ་དང་། དེས་རིང་བྱང་དཔག་ཏུ་རིང་མ་ནས་མཁར་རྒྱལ་ཏུ་བྱ་བཏབ་པས། རིན་
མིང་ཚན་ལ་ཐོབ་པའི་རྣམ་ལ་བཟང་ངན་ལྟ་ཞིང་ལེགས་པ་མི་འདུག་ཟེར་དུས་དེ་ལ་ཟེར།

106 To measure a thing with a cubit (measure) at the rear of a palace.

༡༠༧ མཁར་རི་རྒྱལ་པོ་འང་འཐད། འབྲོག་པ་བྱ་གཙུག་ཡང་འཐད། ལུ་རུ་རྩོང་ངེ་ལ་ཙོག་ཡང་
འཐད། རྩོན་དུས་སྒྲི་དུགས་རྒྱལ་པོ་ཞིག་གིས་བྱ་གཙུག་ལ་ལ་རྩོང་པ་ཞིག་གསོལ་རམ་སྒྲི་
གནང་བས་ཁོ་འཐད་སོང་། ལུ་རུ་རྩོང་དུ་རྩོང་གི་འའི་ར་ལ་ཙོག་པས་ལ་ཡང་
འཐད་པས། གཤམ་འཐད་འབྱུང་ན་ཟེར།

107 The king in his palace, the Dard Kushal, and the foxes of Yuru vale were all pleased.

༡༠༨ མཁར་རྒྱུད་དེ་ཁང་པ་དང་། ཇིང་གཡོག་གི་ཞིང་། དེ་འདྲའི་ཞིང་དང་ཁང་པར་རྩོད་དུས་
ཟེར་རོ།

108 A house within the city wall, and a field beneath a dam.

༡༠༩ མཁར་ལས་ཐུ་བ་ཁ་ལ་ཙོ། ལུལ་ལས་ཐུ་བ་མི་རུ། སྒྲི་དུགས་ནང་མཁར་དང་པོ་ཁ་ལ་ཙོ་
དང་། ལུལ་དང་པོ་མི་རུ་ཆགས་པའི་དཔེ་ལོ།

109 Khalatse possesses the first palace and Miru the first village.

༡༡༠ མཁར་ལེན་མན། བཟན་ལེན་ཡིན། མཁར་ལས་ནང་ནས་བཟན་མང་པོ་ཟེན་ནོ་ཟེར་བ་ཡིན།

110 It is not in the building, but the expending of food-stuff.

༡༡༡ བྲིག་སེའི་མཁར་པོ་འཛིགས་ས། ལ་པའི་ཇོ་མོ་འཛིགས། ཡན་རྩུན་གཉིས་ན་འཛིགས་
པ་འབྲུར་དགོས་ན་ཟེར།

111 To fear the abbot of Trigtse or the nun of Zhapa.

༡༡༢ མཁལ་མའི་རྩན་ལ་གཡག་གསད་ཅེས། མི་གཅིག་གི་རྩན་དུ་རྩོར་མང་པོ་བཞིག་རྗེ་མགྲོན་
ཅིང་ན་ཟེར།

112 To kill a Yak for a kidney.

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༡༡༩ འཁོར་བའི་ལས་ལ་མེད་རྒྱུ་མེད། གཉི་ལུག་གཉིད་ལ་མེད་རྒྱུ་མེད། འཇིག་རྟེན་གྱི་ལས་
དང་གཉིད་གཉེས་ལ་མེད་འཛིན་དགོས་པའི་དཔེ།

113 No end to the endless round of work, and no satisfaction in the sleep of ignorance.

༡༡༥ འབྲུག་པ་ལ་ལན་གསུམ་བཏང་ས་པ། ལུགས་མི་དགྱེས་པ། མི་གཉེས་ཡང་ཡང་འཛིན་
བཏང་བའི་ཐག་རྒྱ། གཉེས་ཀ་མཐའ་བོ་རྟེ་མོ་འགྲོ་སྤྱིད་པའི་དཔེ།

114 Those who quarrel thrice afterwards become intimate.

༡༡༥ ཁ་ཆེ་ལྷོགས་པ་བྱ་ཡོན་དུན། རང་ལ་ནོར་ཡོད་རྒྱུ་ལྱ་ཡོན་མ་རྩོད་པར། རྒྱུ་འགྲུང་ས་
ནས་ནོར་མད་རྒྱུ་ལྱ་ཡོན་རྩོད་ན་ཟེར།

115 When the Kashmiri is starving, he remembers loans.

༡༡༦ སྤྲོམ་བཞེས་ཏི། ལྷད་མོ་ལ། ལས་དང་གོས་ལྷ་བུའི་རྒྱུ་བྱད་ནས་མི་ཞིག་སྤྲོམ་པོར་
ན་ཟེར།

116 To set out to watch a performance when the crowd has dispersed.

༡༡༧ ཁ་སྤྱད་མེད་པའི་ལྷ་སྤྱད། ཁར་ཚུང་དུ་མེད་པའི་ཁ་ཐམ་གྱི་ཕྱི་ལྷ་སྤྱད་ཟེར།

117 Nothing to eat, but a nose to smell. (Reference to savoury food which you are not permitted to eat.)

ག།

༡༡༩ ག་དར་ལ་ལྷ་མཉེས། བྱ་ར་དང་ཚན་ཅིད་པ་ཚས་དང་མི་མཐུན་པ་མིན་པའི་དཔེ།

118 Caution is esteemed by the gods.

༡༡༧ གང་དགྲ་ཡིན་ནའང་མ་འབྲུང། ར་ཆང་བྱག་པ་མོགས་དགྲས་བྱང་ཆོར་པ་གང་ལས་ལྷག་
པར་འབྲུང་དགོས་པ་རྟེ། ཆོར་པ་གཅིག་འབྲུང་ནས་ཡང་མི་འབྲུང་ཟེར་མཁན་ལ་ཟེར་ནི།

119 Though you should be my enemy, you must drink another cup.

༡༢༠ གོ་གའི་ལ་མ་རྒྱབ་ས་མཁན། གོ་ག་མཁའ་ནས་མ་བྲལ་བར་རྒྱལ་ཁམས་མ་འགྲིམ་པ་ལ་ཟེར།

120 He who has not crossed the pass of his own hearth.

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929 གོ་མ་མེད་པའི་སྒྲུང་མེད་ལ། ལུས་པོའི་གཤམ་ལས་དུག་པ་ཆེ། མི་གོ་མ་མེད་པའི་སྒྲིང་གི་ཁ་ལྟེ་བ་ལས་དུང་བ་མན་པའི་དོན་ནོ།

121 Better a stick to a stupid ox than the edict of a king.

932 གོ་མ་གྱི་མུག་ལེབ་ལ་ལ་མི་ཕྱེག་མཁན། འདུག་དུ་མི་བཟོད་ཅིང་ཙབ་ཙབ་ཅིང་དེ་རྩ་ལ་སྒྲིང་གྲོང་ཅིང་པ་ལ་ཟེར།

122 The hem of whose garment does not touch the ground.

933 གོ་མ་མེད་ཅིག་གིས་དབལ་སྒུམ། མཁ་མེད་ཅིག་གིས་ཕྱིད་སྒུམ། གོ་མ་མེད་ན་ཟིལ་འགུང་། མ་རྒྱ་མེད་ན་ཕྱིད་མ་ཐང་ཆད་ནས་འགྲུལ་མི་རུས་ཟེར་བོ།

123 For lack of clothes his splendour declines, and for lack of food the strength of his shin bone fails.

934 སྒྲོད་པ་ལ་ལ་ཆོད་མ་བཟོན། བྱ་མོ་ལྷན་ཆད་སྒྲོད་པ་ཡིན། བཟའ་བརྒྱུང་ལ་ཆོད་འཛོན་ཏི་རུང་ཏུ་ཟེར་བོ།

124 Indiscretion in eating produces all belly above the knees.

935 སྒྲུང་རྒྱན་ཆུ་འགུར། མི་རྒྱན་ཆོར་མང་བཟོན། སྒྲུང་རྒྱན་དང་མི་རྒྱན་ཁྲོན་པོ།

125 An artful ox pretends to drink, a crafty man pretends to extract a thorn (from his foot).

936 གན་ལ་མཁའ་འགྲོའི་སྒྲིང་། མགོ་མཆོད་ཁྲུང་སྒྲིང་། ཁང་གོག་མ་སྒྲིང་། སྡི་ན་དུག་པ་བ་སྒྲིང་། གན་ལ་ལུས་ཀྱི་མིས་གཤེད་མ་པར་གར་ལ་པར་ཟེར་ནོ།

126 Lahoul is a fairy land where women's heads are adorned with a lamp, and where the feet are ornamented with straw shoes. To die in this country is hell.

937 ཆན་པེར་མ་ལ་མི་ལྷག། ཆན་གཏམ་མི་ལ་མི་ལྷག། མི་ཆས་ན་དེའི་གཏམ་ཡང་མི་རྒྱག་པའི་དོན་ནོ།

127 The staff of the aged will not stick in the ground; and the conversation of old people makes no impression on other.

938 སྒྲོང་འི་ཀ་ཁྱི་མག། ར་མོག་རུ་མ་བཟད་པར་མ་ལ་བོར་ཡོད་པའི་ཁྱི་མོག་རུ་མ་རྒྱད་ཟེར་བོ།

128 An unsaddled saddle could not carry a bird.

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128 སྒྲིབ་པ་ཉམས་ཅི་པར། སྒྲིབ་པ་ཉམས་ཅི་པར། བཅོམ་པར་ལམ་ཇོ་བོམ་སྒྲིབ་པ་ཉམས་ཅི་པར།
སྒྲིབ་པ་ཉམས་ཅི་པར་ཉམས་ཅི་པར་(+)འཇམ་པ་སྒྲིབ་པ་ཉམས་ཅི་པར། སྒྲིབ་པ་ཉམས་ཅི་པར་ཉམས་ཅི་པར།
ཉམས་ཅི་པར་ཉམས་ཅི་པར།

129 He is my lord who redeemed my body, the dice which saved my life.

130 སྒྲིབ་པ་ཉམས་ཅི་པར། དཀར་པུང་ཉམས་ཅི་པར་ཉམས་ཅི་པར། སྒྲིབ་པ་ཉམས་ཅི་པར་ཉམས་ཅི་པར། ཉམས་ཅི་པར་ཉམས་ཅི་པར།
ཉམས་ཅི་པར་ཉམས་ཅི་པར། ཉམས་ཅི་པར་ཉམས་ཅི་པར། ཉམས་ཅི་པར་ཉམས་ཅི་པར།
ཉམས་ཅི་པར་ཉམས་ཅི་པར། ཉམས་ཅི་པར་ཉམས་ཅི་པར།

130 Coming in at the door and going out through the windows.

131 སྒྲིབ་པ་ཉམས་ཅི་པར་ཉམས་ཅི་པར། ཉམས་ཅི་པར་ཉམས་ཅི་པར། ཉམས་ཅི་པར་ཉམས་ཅི་པར། ཉམས་ཅི་པར་ཉམས་ཅི་པར།
ཉམས་ཅི་པར་ཉམས་ཅི་པར། ཉམས་ཅི་པར་ཉམས་ཅི་པར། ཉམས་ཅི་པར་ཉམས་ཅི་པར།

131 He smells of garlic whether he eats much or little.
(A fault is a fault whether it be great or small.)

132 སྒྲིབ་པ་ཉམས་ཅི་པར། ཉམས་ཅི་པར་ཉམས་ཅི་པར། ཉམས་ཅི་པར་ཉམས་ཅི་པར། ཉམས་ཅི་པར་ཉམས་ཅི་པར།
ཉམས་ཅི་པར་ཉམས་ཅི་པར། ཉམས་ཅི་པར་ཉམས་ཅི་པར། ཉམས་ཅི་པར་ཉམས་ཅི་པར།

132 He who returns from India in one day.

133 སྒྲིབ་པ་ཉམས་ཅི་པར། ཉམས་ཅི་པར་ཉམས་ཅི་པར། ཉམས་ཅི་པར་ཉམས་ཅི་པར། ཉམས་ཅི་པར་ཉམས་ཅི་པར།
ཉམས་ཅི་པར་ཉམས་ཅི་པར། ཉམས་ཅི་པར་ཉམས་ཅི་པར། ཉམས་ཅི་པར་ཉམས་ཅི་པར།

133 China is spoilt through suspicion, Tibet through hope.

134 སྒྲིབ་པ་ཉམས་ཅི་པར། ཉམས་ཅི་པར་ཉམས་ཅི་པར། ཉམས་ཅི་པར་ཉམས་ཅི་པར། ཉམས་ཅི་པར་ཉམས་ཅི་པར།
ཉམས་ཅི་པར་ཉམས་ཅི་པར། ཉམས་ཅི་པར་ཉམས་ཅི་པར། ཉམས་ཅི་པར་ཉམས་ཅི་པར།

134 China pierces skin and wood. (It is said that there are so many soldiers in China that if they pass a door made of wood-slips or a threshold covered with hides they would be broken.)

135 སྒྲིབ་པ་ཉམས་ཅི་པར། ཉམས་ཅི་པར་ཉམས་ཅི་པར། ཉམས་ཅི་པར་ཉམས་ཅི་པར། ཉམས་ཅི་པར་ཉམས་ཅི་པར།
ཉམས་ཅི་པར་ཉམས་ཅི་པར། ཉམས་ཅི་པར་ཉམས་ཅི་པར། ཉམས་ཅི་པར་ཉམས་ཅི་པར།

135 The sea-serpent envies the foam of the sea.

136 སྒྲིབ་པ་ཉམས་ཅི་པར། ཉམས་ཅི་པར་ཉམས་ཅི་པར། ཉམས་ཅི་པར་ཉམས་ཅི་པར། ཉམས་ཅི་པར་ཉམས་ཅི་པར།
ཉམས་ཅི་པར་ཉམས་ཅི་པར། ཉམས་ཅི་པར་ཉམས་ཅི་པར། ཉམས་ཅི་པར་ཉམས་ཅི་པར།

136 To add the urine of an ass to the sea.

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136 ལྷ་མི་རུ་འགྱིམ་པའི་ཁྱོག་ཐོང་གུར། རྒྱན་དུམ་མུ་དགལ་གཞུང་འཁོར་པ་ཞིག་ཀྱང་མི་རུ་
བར་དུ་ཕྱིན་ནས་ལོག་པོང་དུམ་ཏ་ལས་པས། རྒྱན་དུམ་དང་ད་ལྟའི་མིའི་འགྲུལ་ལྷགས་
ལྟར་དུས་ཟེར།

137 Young man, you have travelled as far as Rgya and Miru.

138 ལྷགས་ཏི་ཆེ་ལ་མི་འཁྱར། ལྷ་དེ་རྒྱང་མི་ཆད། ལྷག་ཏེ་ཐོ་མོ་ཅན་དང་། དལུལ་པོ་མོང་
ནས་ལི་མི་ཆད་ཟེར་བའོ།

138 Through being stout I shall not carry much fat, and through being debilitated I shall not grow tired. (To denote firmness of mind, and indifference to wealth.)

139 ལྷན་དང་མེན་རྟོག་ཆུང་ན་མཛོམ། ལྷན་ཆ་ཉལ་ཉལ་མང་པོ་བས་ཆུང་ཆུང་མཛོམ་ཟེར་བའོ།

139 It is seemly if your ornaments and flowers are small.

140 ལྷབ་པ་སང་སྐམ་པ་བྱ། རྩོམ་ལྷ་བྱ་བ་ན་ཚོད་བྱས་ནས་ལྷབ་པས་མི་རྟོ་ཡང་། འཇིགས་པ་
རྩོན་དུ་ཆེ་བ་ཉན་ཅན་ཞིག་སྐམ་པས། དེ་ལག་ནས་འབྱུང་ན་ལག་འཐལ་དུ་འགྲོ་སྤྱོད་པས།
ལྷབ་ཏུ་ན་ཅེད་པ་བས་ལྷབ་པའི་ནང་ཉན་ཆུང་ཟེར་བའོ།

140 Brandishing is worse than striking.

141 ལྷལ་ཆོས་ལ་རྟགས་པ་མེད། ཨ་ལི་མིར་ཟི་རྟ་ལ་ཞགས་པ་མེད། བུར་ཐག་ཞགས་པ་མེད་
པའི་རྟ་གར་འཐད་ལྷ་བ་ལྟར། མི་ཆེན་ཡང་ཆ་བཞག་མེད་ཟེར་བའོ།

141 A king's temper is uncertain; Ali Mir's pony has no rein.

142 ལྷལ་པོའི་ས་ལ་སྤྱང་པོའི་ཐིག། རྩོར་གྱི་བདག་པོ་ས་ལིན་པས་བདག་པོ་འདྲ་ཅེད་དུས་སུ་
ཟེར།

142 The beggar stretched a line on the king's territory.

143 ལྷལ་པོ་གཉིས་ལུལ་གཅིག་ནང་མི་ཤང། དབང་འདྲོད་ཅན་གཉིས་གནས་གཅིག་ཏུ་མི་འབྱུན་
ཟེར་བའོ།

143 There is no room for two kings in one country.

144 ལྷལ་པོའི་ཞགས་པ་མཐའ་ནས། ལྷལ་པོ་དང་དཔོན་པོས་མཐའ་ནས་རྩད་བཅད་དེ་ཉེས་པ་ཅན་
འཛིན་ཟེར།

144 The lasso of the king encompasses one from afar.

145 ལྷལ་པོའི་བཀའ་དང་ནམ་མཁའི་ཐོག་འདྲ། ལྷལ་པོའི་བཀའ་དབང་ཆེ་ལ་བཅོན་པའི་དོན་ནོ།

145 The edict of a king is like lightning.

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940 ལུ་པོ་ལ་རྩ་དྲུག་ཅེས། རྩ་པོ་ལ་རྩ་དྲུག་ཅེས། རྩ་ཅེས་ཡོད་པའི་རྩ་ཅེས་
པའི་གཏམ་ཅེས།

146 The king's speech has but one meaning: a minister of State's speech is ambiguous.

941 ལུ་མཚན་མི་འགམ། འཇོག་པ་སྒེག་དུས་སུ་བྱིད་ཀྱིས་འདི་མི་འདྲ་ཅེས་ནས་མ་
འཇོག་པ་དང་། རས་འདི་མི་མ་ཅེས་བཤམ་ན་ཅེས།

147 Rgyaltsan does not eat brown flour.

942 ལུ་བྱི་ལྟ་ང། འཕེ་དུས་ཅེས་ཅིང་དཔོན་པོར་ལྟ་ང་གཏོང་བ་ལྟར། ལུ་བྱི་ཁ་མཁ་འགངས་
ཅན་ཅིང་པ་ལ་ཅེས་ང།

148 The daily music of homage (i.e. the usual round of daily meals).

943 ལུ་མ་མེད་གོག་ཐུག་ག། བར་གོ་ལུ་མ་མེད་གོག་མོ་མེད་དུ་སྒྲིབ་ན་ཅེས།

149 A stranger invades the privacy of the best room.

944 རྩང་གྲུལ་མི་སྐྱེས་མ་ལ་རྩ་ལྟར། གྲི་བུག་གི་སྐོམ་པོ་འདྲ་བུད། ཡག་པོ་ཞིག་ལ་ནམ་
ནམ་ལ་བྱ་བ་དེ་ཡང་ལག་པ་ནས་འབྱད་ན་ཅེས།

150 When searching for peas at Sganglas village, he lost the unhusked barley at Spitug.

945 རྩྱད་བུ་གསུམ་མི་བདག་པོ། རྩྱ་བ་རྩྱད་བུ་གསུམ་ལས་མ་གཅན་ནོར་ཅེས་ཅིང་བུད། རྩྱ་
མོ་མི་རྩྱང་བར་རང་མཉན་པའི་མི་ལ་འཇམ་མིས་ཅེས།

151 He is the possessor of three stones to form a fireplace.

946 རྩྱད་བུ་གསུམ་བྱང་ལ་བུག་ཏེ་མ་ནི་ནང་བཙ་མི་ཞིག། ཁང་པའི་འགྲུག་རྩྱ་དང་འབྱད་རྩྱའི་
དུགས་ཚ་ནམ་མོག་གོང་དུ་གཙམ་ལས་མི་ཅིང་པའི་དཔེ་ང།

152 He could not arrange his family affairs until he had hurt himself on the three stones which formed his fireplace.

947 ལུ་མ་ཡིང་མོ། རྩང་བ་ཡིང་བ་གཞིལ་མོ་ཅན་ལ་ཅེས།

153 He who has long bowels.

948 ར་ལ་ང། ར་ལ་ཤོག་པ། (རྩ་ལ་རྩྱ། རྩ་ལ་ཤོག་པ།) གཏམ་རྩུང་བ་ཞིག་ལ་ནམ་
བཏང་ནས་ཅེས་མོ་ཅིང་ན་ཅེས།

154 To attach feathers to a word, and to add wings to feathers.

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༡༥༥ གྲུ་མ་མེད་ན། འགོ་མ་མོག་མེད། བཟ་རྩེ་ནང་མེད་ན་ཟེར་བྱ་དང་ཁྱད་ཁྱུང་གི་འཁྱུང་
གི། ཡོད་ན་ཡོང་བའི་དཔེ།

155 He who is outside the row (of guests) has no one to supersede him.

༡༥༦ དབྱ་རྩེ་བཟའ་ཉི་བཅོད་རྩ་ཅེས། ལྷ་མ་བྱ་དབྱ་ལྷ་བྱ་ཉི་ལྷེད་ཉི་ལྷེད་བཟང་ནས་ལྷ་མ་བྱ་འཛོད་
པའི་བཅོད་རྩ་བ་ལྷར། རིན་ཆོད་མེད་བཅས་ཉི་ཅི་ཞིག་རྩ་ཅེར།

156 He paid the price of nine pieces of cloth, with which to dye one piece of cloth.

༡༥༧ དབྱ་རྩེ་ལོག་ལྷེ་མ་ཟེ་གྲང་གི་ཤར། དབྱར་རྩེ་ལོག་ལྷེ་མ་ཟེ་དྲོད་གི་འབབ། དེ་ནི་དེ་
བཞིན་ནོ།

157 It will not be cold before winter solstice and not warm before summer solstice.

༡༥༨ མགར་ར་འཐད་ན། ལབ་ལྷ་མ་པའི་མགོ་ལ། ལག་ལམ་འཐད་ན་སྤྱིབ་གཅིག་ནང་ལམ་
ཅིད་པའི་དྲན་ནོ།

158 If a blacksmith is satisfied, the needle will be on the tip of his pincers.

༡༥༩ མགལ་གཅིག་ལ་མེ་མི་འབར། ཤིང་མགལ་ནོ་གཅིག་ལ་མེ་མི་འབར་ཅེར།

159 You cannot kindle a fire with but one stick.

༡༦༠ མགོ་ཆག་གི་མགོ་ལ། ལྷ་ད་ནས་ཡོད་མར་ཡང་ཡང་འཇོག་པའི་དྲན་ནོ།

160 On top of the broken head.

༡༦༡ མགོ་མཐོ་བར་པེག་མོ་མ་དགལ། རང་གི་ནང་ནས་མི་ཞིག་ཆེ་བར་བྱར་ནས། རང་གི་མི་མི་
འཐད་ན་ཅེར།

161 The knees do not like the head to be above them.

༡༦༢ མགོ་མ་ཆོས་པར་ཁྱད་པའི་ཟ་རིང་མ། དུམ་ལམ་ཐོན་དུ་ཟ་བར་རིང་མ་ན་ཅེར།

162 To be eager to eat the brains before the head is cooked.

༡༦༣ མགོ་མེད་དབྱང་པའི་དྲག་རྩག། མགོ་མི་ཅིད་མཁན་གང་ཡང་མེད་པར་མིད་རང་འཐད་དུ་
ཅིད་པ་ཡོད་ན་ཅེར།

163 Many rude shoulders without a head.

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༡༣༤ མགོ་ལ་གཡུ་གཞུང་བཏག་པ་བསམ་པའི་མགོ་བོད་ཡིན། མནལ་མ་མནལ་མ་ཟེར་བ་མིའི་
གཡོག་པོ་ཡིན། བག་མར་འགྲོ་བའི་བྱ་མོར་ཟེར།

164 In wearing the best turquoisès she merely deceived herself :
for she was a servant who called herself a bride.

༡༣༥ མགོ་གའི་ལ་ཆ་ཅེས། བགྲིད་པ་སྐར་བའམ་ཡི་ལྷག་ནས་ལས་ཅིང་ཕྱིང་མེད་པ་འགྲོ་བ་ལ་
ཟེར།

165 One's scalp escapes to the hills. (To give up one's
courage.)

༡༣༦ མགོ་གའི་ནང་ལ་ཆ་ཅེས་གཅིག། མ་ཟ་ནང་ལ་ཆ་ཅེས་གཅིག། ར་ལྷག་གི་མགོ་གའི་ཐོས་ཀྱང་
འཁོར་མ་ལ་དུ་ལུས་པའི་དཔེ།

166 The dish is full whether you eat the flesh of the sheep's
head or not.

༡༣༧ མགོའི་ནང་ང་གྲང་མེད། སྤྱིང་འི་ནང་ང་བསམ་མེད། བསམ་སྤྱོད་པ་ལ་ཟེར།

167 No brains in his head; no thoughts in his mind.

༡༣༨ མགོའི་ནང་ང་གྲང་མ་འཁྱར་མཁན། བསམ་པ་མེད་པའི་ན་སོ་གཞན་པ་མགོ་མཁྱུང་བ་ལ་
ཟེར།

168 He carries ice in his head.

༡༣༩ མཁྱུག་མ་མཁྱུག་མ་པ་འཛོ། འཛོ་འཛོ་པ་བཏུ། རིང་མ་པ་ཏང་ཏྲ་བ་ཅིང་ན་མང་དུ་འགོར་བའི་
རྩ་ནོ།

169 Through haste the contents fell on the ground, and through
falling, he collected them again (i.e. more haste less
speed).

༡༤༠ མཁྱོན་པོ་གཅེས་པ་ལ་ནེ་རེ། མཁྱོན་པོ་སོགས་ལ་ཆང་གི་ནེ་རེ་ཞིང་ན་ཟེར།

170 The dregs of beer go to the favoured guest.

༡༤༡ འགྲུང་ན་གྲུ་རམ་ཁན་ཏི། འགྲུང་མ་ན་མངར་བ་ཡང་ཁན་ཏི་མོར་བ་ལ་ཟེར།

171 When you have eaten to repletion, even the syrup tastes
bitter.

༡༤༢ དགོན་པའི་བྱི་ལ་རྩུང་མ་པ། ལྷ་མའི་ལྷག་མ་ལ་ཞོག། བྱིར་བརྩུང་ན་བདག་པོའི་སེམས་ལ་
འཇོག་པས། མིས་གཡོག་པོར་རྩུང་བ་སོགས་ཀྱིས་དཔོན་པོ་ཁྱིམ་ན་ཟེར།

172 Beat the monastery dog, and you will incur the resentment
of the priest.

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༡༧༣ དགུ་བརྒྱའི་ཁ་ནས་ལྷོག་མཁན། གཏམ་སྤྱི་ཉི་མེ་ཉི་ལྔ་ལ་འཁྱིལ་པ་ལ་ཟེར།

173 He who turns the tables at the ninetieth opportunity (i.e. defeating an opponent in argument at the eleventh hour).

༡༧༤ ལྷ་པོ་དགའ་མ་བསམ། གནས་བང་མ་བསམ། ལྷ་པོ་དང་གནས་ལ་ཆ་བཞག་མེད་ཟེར་བའོ།

174 Think not that the king delights in you, or that the sky is clear.

༡༧༥ ལྷ་པོ་ཡོད་ཡིན། ལྷ་ས་གནས་ཏྲང་མ་ཡིན། འབྲུང་པ་ཅན་གར་སྤྱི་བྱང་མགོ་ཚད་ཅིང་སྤྱི་པའི་རྩན་ནོ།

175 Whilst there is a prince, how can the capital be ruined?

༡༧༦ ག་ལག་གི་མི་བཅོ་དུས། རྩན་དཔྱད་གྱི་ལས་དུས་སུ་མི་ལག་དཀོན་པས་ཟེར།

176 The time to make men with clay. (When work is very pressing in spring-time and autumn.)

༡༧༧ བརྒྱ་སྐྱེས་མང་གཅིག་སྐྱར་བུ། སྤུ་གུ་བརྒྱ་སྐྱེ་བ་བས་སྤུ་གུ་གཅིག་སྐྱར་བ་ཤེན་ཅན་ཡིན་ཟེར།

177 One miscarriage is worse than bearing a hundred children. (It is thought that a miscarriage renders a mother incapable of bearing many children.)

༡༧༨ སྤྱད་པོ་ཆེ་དང་ཐེར་མ་གཅིག། སྤྱད་པ་ཆེན་པོ་མཆོ་དུ་ཁ་ཟས་ཐ་ལི་གཅིག་ནང་མ་ཟ། ཟ་ན་ཁྱད་ངོ་ཆ་བར་འགྱུར།

178 Don't share a plate with a glutton. (Otherwise you will be identified with a glutton.)

༡༧༩ གོས་ཆེན་ནི་གུར་ལ་མ་ཆའི་ལྷན་པ།

179 To patch rough cloth on a silk tent.

ང

༡༨༠ ང་ལྷ་གྱི་མགོ་ལ་རང་མཐོང་གི་དུ་ཅ་སྤྱེན། ཤིང་མཁན་མཁས་པའི་མོག་ལེས་གྲང་མི་ཚད།

180 The horn of haughtiness could not be sawn with the saw of a clever carpenter.

༡༨༡ ང་ལ་བརྒྱད་ཅུ། ང་ལ་ཐོང་གིག་ཟེར་གྱིན་ཐུང་པ་ལ་ཟེར།

181 He who says 'give me eighty times' (e.g. an insatiable egotist).

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༡༩༢ རན་པ་དབྱ་འཛོམ། བར་ཆད་རྩ་ཆོག་མ་དུ་གཅིག་ལ་འོང་ན་ཟེར། མོ་གསར་གྱི་རྩ་བ་
བརྩ་གཉིས་པའི་ཆོས་ལའང་རན་པ་དབྱ་འཛོམ་ཟེར། བོད་པས་ལག་དེར་རྩེས་པའི་བྱ་བ་
ལ་བཀྲ་མི་ཤིས་ཟེར་ན།

182 The assembling of nine evils.

༡༩༣ ར་མ་བཅག་ཡོང་མི་འདུག། རྩ་གཏང་ཡོང་ག་ནས། ལས་འདྲིམ་ནང་ནང་ལ་ཡོང་མེད་ཟེར་
བ་ཡིན།

183 If a cow has no time to elevate her tail, how can she drop her dung? (When a man has too much work to do.)

༡༩༤ རྩ་མོའི་འཆོལ་མ་དང། རྩེན་གཅིག་གི་སྒྲིལ་ལ། མི་ལག་གིས་འཆོལ་མ་ཐོས་ཟེན་ན། རྩེན་
གང་ལས་ཕེད་དགོས་ཟེར།

184 Through partaking of breakfast he became a slave for the rest of the day.

༡༩༥ རྩེན་མ་སྒྲག་སྒྱུ་བ་ན། རྩེད་མ་དགོད་མ་གྲོང་། གཞན་གྱིས་འབྱུགས་ན་མ་ཁྲིལ། རྩྱད་བྱང་
འབྱུགས་སྤིད་ཟེར་བ་ཡིན།

185 If the one in front stumbles, do not laugh at him who is behind.

༡༩༦ རྩེན་མ་ཐུད་པ་གྲོགས་གྱི་མཆོག། རྩེད་ཐུད་པའི་མཆོད་གྲོགས་དང་རྩེད་མ་རྩྱེན་གྲོགས་སྒྱུ་བ་
ཡིན་ཟེར།

186 He is your best friend whom you meet first.

༡༩༧ རྩེན་མ་གཤམ་མཁན། རྩེད་མ་ཁྲུག་འབྱང་མཁན། དཔོན་པོ་རྩེན་མ་བས་རྩེད་མ་ཐེབ་ངན་པའི་
ཟེར།

187 The first were cannibals, and their successors blood-drinkers. (Used of corrupt officials.)

༡༩༨ རྩེད་བྱས་སྒྱུ་བ་སྤྱད། ད་བྱ་པར་ཡིན། རྩེད་ཅི་བྱས་སྤངས་ཏེ། ད་ཅིད་དགོས་པ་དང་
འོས་པ་དང་དུ་ཡིན་ཟེར།

188 Cast your former deeds behind you, and take to your bosom what you have to do now.

༡༩༩ རོམ་མི་རོམ་ཤིང་དང། འཕྱར་མི་འཕྱར་ཤིང། རང་གི་མི་རོམ་བྱུང་པ་ལ་རྩོད་དུས་སྤྱད།

189 The stock of pride and the stock of boasting.

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༡༩༠ རྩམ་རྩལ་ཅན་མ་དང་ཡི་མེན་ཏྲུག། བྱད་མེད་ཀྱི་བྱམ་ཐུང་ལ་མཁ་རན་ཅུམ་ཏི་གཏམ་རྩལ་མོ་གཤམ། བྱམ་ཏི་འདྲ་ཅུང་མཁ་པ་ཐུང་མ་པའི་མོ་གཏུ་གཏམ་རྩལ་རྩལ་མེད་ཏུ་འཐུང་ན་ཟེར།

190 The Ladar flower (Convolvulus) has an evil aspect.

༡༩༡ ཐུན་བཟུ་མི་ལ་བཏབ་ན། ཐུན་རྫོང་རང་ལ། གཞན་ལ་ཐུན་བཏབ་ན་རང་ལ་དེ་བམ་ཐེབ་གཞོན་ཟེར།

191 He who curses others a hundred times collects a thousand curses for himself.

༡༩༢ རོ་མི་མོད། མགོ་མི་ཚད། མིའི་རོ་ལ་བཟུམ་ཏི་འཐད་བཟུག་པམ་ལས་གང་ཡང་མི་སྐྱབ་ཟེར།

192 He who cannot refuse (a request) cannot succeed.

༡༩༣ ཏུ་མ་ཏུ་ལ་མམ་སྐྱ་གུ་འང་བེ་བེ་མི་གཏར། རང་ལ་དགོས་པ་ཁ་ནས་བྱས་ནས་མིན་མི་ཐོབ་ཟེར་བོ།

193 A mother does not suckle her child until it cries.

༡༩༤ ཐུང་དཔེ་བྱ་ལས། རང་གི་ཁ་ནས་ཐུང་སྐམ་པ་སྟར། བྱམ་སྐུ་ཡང་རང་གིས་དེ་ལ་ཉན་དགོས་ཟེར་བོ།

194 A man's precepts must become the line of action he follows.

༡༩༥ རན་པའི་འཆར་མ་བཅད་ན། བདེན་པའི་ཡིད་མི་ཆེས། བྱ་བ་བདེ་བ་འདྲོད་ན་ཐུང་རན་པ་ལ་ཆད་པས་གཙོད་དགོས་པའི་དཔེ་ལོ།

195 If evil is not utterly eradicated, there is no assurance of betterment.

ཅ

༡༩༦ ཅ་འི་བང་ང་གང་ང་ཅུ་ཆོན་བྱུག་མཁན། བྱམ་དང་རོ་ཆུ་མེད་པ་ལ་སྤང་དུ་ཟེར།

196 To pour hot water on a binful of bugs.

༡༩༧ ཅང་ཏིའི་དཔར་པོ། མཆོང་པོ་གཉིས་འཆོང་ཅིད་ཏུ་མོང་ནས། ཆར་པ་ཡོང་ནས་བྱང་མའི་ནང་ཏུ་ཅང་ཏི་ཡོང་བས་གཅིག་དེས་གཞན་དེ་བསད་དེ་ཁོའི་ནོར་མིན་བྱིར་ནས། མ་མར་མོག་ཏུ་མི་དེ་རང་གི་ཆུང་མ་མཉམ་ཉམ་ནས་ཡོད་ཏུ་སྐུ་དགོད་ཡོད་བས། མོས་ཡང་ཡང་དེའི་སྐུ་བྱིན་ཕྱིས་པ་དང་། མཐར་དེས་རང་མི་དེ་བསད་ཏུ་སྐུ་ཁོས་དེ་

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དུ་ལྟ་འདྲིར་ཡང་ཅང་ཉི་ཤྱད་བས་སོ་བྱས་སོ། མོས་གཞན་མཆོའ་མོ་ཀུན་ལ་གསུང་
བཤད་པས། ཕྱིས་མི་དེ་ལས་དགྲ་གཡང་ས་ཉི་དེ་ཡང་བསའ་པས་གསུང་དཔེར་བྱས་སོ།

- 197 The witness of a leaking roof. (Once two friends travelling on a trading expedition quarrelled, and the one killed the other when the roof under which they lived was leaking. No one was there to witness the deed. The dying man said: 'You drops of water shall be my witness'. The friend then got all the wealth of the deceased. After many years when he was sleeping with his wife he smiled, and his wife asked him the reason for this, and at last he gave his reason for smiling. He said: 'Just as to-day the roof was leaking when I killed a man, and he called upon the drops of water to be his witness, so this reminded me of the incident.' His wife told her friends about this, and her husband was convicted of murder, and had to pay the penalty of his crime.)

༡༩༩ རུབ་བཅད་པའི་མི་དང་། ཁ་བཅད་པའི་རྩ་མ། ཁ་བགག་ཡོད་པའི་རྩ་མའི་ཅང་ངད་ཅན་འགྲོ་
བ་ལྟར། ཁ་རྩག་པའི་མི་ཡང་དཀན་ཅན་འོང་བའི་རྩན་ནོ།

- 198 A silent man is like a corked bottle. (Liquor kept in a corked bottle is supposed to gain in strength, so a silent man is thought to be good at repartee.)

༡༩༩ ཅོག་ལས་ས་ཀ་གའི་ཅོག་ཅོག། ཀ་ཀ་དང་རྫོ་ཡོད་པའི་ལུས་ལ་ཟེར།

- 199 Choglamsar is full of men of good birth. (When there are many men in a village of high birth.)

༢༠༠ ཅེ་ལ་སྤང་ན། དེ་ལ་མཁས། རྩ་བ་ཅི་ནང་སྤང་ན་དེ་ནང་མཁས་པ་འགྲོ་འོར།

- 200 You become clever in that which you practise.

༢༠༡ ལྷ་གྲུ་དང་སྤྱ་གྲུ་རྩ་ལ་སྤྱོད། ལྷ་གྲུ་རྩ་ལ་སྤྱོད་བ་སྤྱོད་སྤྱ་གྲུ་ཡང་རྩ་ལ་སྤྱོད་བ་
སྤྱོད་སྤྱོད་ཟེར།

- 201 Straighten the saplings, and train a child when he is young.

༢༠༢ ལྷེ་དམར་རྩང་ལ་ཉ་ར་མ་བཅོན། མགོ་རིལ་རིལ་ལ་འོ་བརྒྱལ་སྤྱད་རྒྱུ་རེ། ལྷེ་ལ་ཉ་ར་ཅོས་ཟེར།

- 202 Fail to control his small red tongue, and his round head will suffer sorely.

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༢༠༣ རྩེ་ཅན་ལ་མི་འཐད། རྩེ་འཐད་ལ་ཁྱི་འཐད། མི་རྩེ་པ་ལ་འམ་རྩོག་མའི་གཏམ་ལ་བ་ཅིང་
འཐད་འཐད་ལ་ལ་ཟེར།

203 Men like flatterers, and dogs like those afflicted with dysentery.

༢༠༤ རྩེ་ཁ་ཞིང་མི་མཁན། མི་བརྩན་ཅན་གྱི་གཏམ་ལ་བ་ལ་ཟེར།

204 He who ploughs on his tongue.

༢༠༥ ལྷགས་གཡའ་སྒྲན། ཟངས་གཡའ་དུག། ལྷགས་གཡའ་དང་ཟངས་གཡའི་ཁྱེར་ཟེར།

205 The rust of iron is a remedy, and that of copper a poison.

ཨ

༢༠༦ ཀ་ཀ་འགྲོ་འགྲོ་སྤྱིང་ལ་གཟན། ཅེས་སུ་འགྲོ་ན། ལྷགས་ཁྱིར་བས་སྤྱིང་ལ་གཞོད་ཟེར།

206 Going to and fro is hurtful to a livelihood.

༢༠༧ ཀ་མཁན་ལ་མེ་རིལ་མ་རུག། འདུག་མཁན་ལ་སྐལ་བཀལ་མ་བཅུག། འདུག་མཁན་ལ་
འདུག་པའི་གཡའ་དང་འགྲོ་མཁན་ལ་འགྲོ་བའི་གཡའ་ཅིང་དུ་རུག་ཟེར།

207 Don't let a wayfarer cover the fire, and don't let the one who stays at home, load the animal. (The wayfarer cares little for a fire, and the 'stay-at-home' person dislikes preparing for a journey.)

༢༠༨ ཀང་རིན་མང་ཇུ་རིན་བྱ། ཀང་གི་རིན་བཅད་ནས་ཉི་བས། ཇུ་མ་ཆག་ན་དེའི་རིན་ཀང་མས་
ཇི་བཅད་འཇལ་དགོས་ཟེར།

208 The price of the bottle is greater than that of the beer. (The price of the liquor is fixed, but break the bottle and you will have to pay what the owner demands.)

༢༠༩ ཀགས་ཞོ། མ་ཀགས་དང་། ང་ལུས་ན་ལུས། མ་ལུས་ན་མ་ལུས། ཅི་ཀ་ན་འང་མོང་
ཟེར་བའི་དོན་ཞོ།

209 Coagulated milk becomes curds, and if not congealed it becomes buttermilk. (When a man is in difficulties. It means 'Let happen what will'.)

༢༡༠ ཀག་པོས་གས་པོ་ལ་ཁྲིལ་ཅེས། རྩྭ་མང་ཡོད་པས་རྩྭ་ཕུང་ཡོད་པ་ལྟ་ཁྲིལ་ན་ཟེར།

210 The broken article blamed the cracked one.

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੨੨੦ རྒྱུ་ཞིག་འབེན་ཀླུ་ལ། མི་ཞིག་འདུམ་ན་ཀླུ་ལ། མཐུན་མོར་རྩོད་དུ་ཟེར།

220 It is better to divert a stream, and to be reconciled to another. (Diverting a stream makes it easier to cross.)

੨੨੧ རྒྱུ་ཁྱིའི་མཁན་ཁང་ལ་འཕེན་ཅེས། འདས་ཤིང་བྱད་ཅིན་པ་དག་ཡོད་པ་འདྲ་ཅིང་གཏོ་བྱེད་ན་ཟེར།

221 To draw in one's breath which the water has washed away. (i.e. talking of things which you once possessed).

੨੨੨ རྒྱུ་ཁྱིའི་གྱི་ར་གི། རྒྱུ་འཁྱེར་བའི་མིའི་ལག་ཏུ་རལ་གྱི་ཡོད་ན་སྤྱ་ལའང་མི་ལྟ་བུར་ཀླབ་པ་ལྟར། མི་གཡག་རྒྱ་ཡིས་ཀྱང་རང་གཞན་གང་ལའང་མི་ལྟ་ཟེར་བའོ།

222 As a sword in the hand of a drowning man (i.e. he would strike anyone whom he would encounter. Said of an unscrupulous person.)

੨੨੩ རྩེད་འབྲོང་ཆེ། ལྷ་མེད་ན་བྱིས་མི་ཟ། རྩེད་ཡིན་དུང་ཕྱོད་མེད་ན་སྤྱ་ལའང་མི་དགོས་ཟེར།

223 If a wild Yak is tasteless, a dog will not eat it (i.e. not quantity but quality which counts).

੨੨੪ རྩེད་ན་སྤྱ་དང་དྲད་ཡིན། མ་རྩེད་ན་རྩིལ་དང་ལྷད་ཡིན། ཤ་དང་དབྱ་ལ་བལྟས་ནས་ཟེར།

224 If I cannot chew it with my teeth, I shall masticate it with my gums. (To denote enemy, or when you have to eat tough meat.)

੨੨੫ རྩོས་ཀྱི་དཔང་པོ་དག་འདུན། དཔང་པོ་བདེན་པ་ལ་ལྟས་ནས་ཟེར།

225 The priests are they who bear witness for religion.

੨੨੬ རྩོས་ཀྱི་ཡ་ཏ་རྩིང་ནས། རྩོ་མི་འགྲོ་དུས་སུ་མ་རྩིང་ནས་བར་དོ་དང་ལྷད་མོ་ལྟ་ཅེས་ཡོང་ཡིན་ཟེར།

226 The religious feast comes at the end. (Ironical proverb meaning that the religious feast is the prelude to trouble.)

੨੨੭ རྩོས་བཅོས་ལ་བཅད་དུ། རྩོས་ཅིད་དུས་སུ་འཛོང་འཁྲབ་དང་། ལས་བཟང་ཅིད་སར་དེ་འཛེག་པར་ཅིད་པ་ཞིག་འོང་ན་ཟེར།

227 The devil is on hallowed ground.

੨੨੮ རྩོས་བཟང་ཞིག་གི་སང་། སེམས་བཟང་ཞིག་ཀླུ་ལ། སེམས་བཟང་རྩེད་དུ་ཟེར།

228 A good heart is better than sound belief.

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220 མཚོང་དཔང་བརྟུ་གཏང་ནཔར། འབབ་ཐང་གཅིག། གྱུན་དུ་འཇམ་མཚོང་ཡང་ས་ལ་འབབ་
པ་ལྟར། གཏམ་གྱི་ནང་དུ་རང་རྒྱན་དང་རྟོན་ལས་འཇམ་འཕྱེད་ཡང་། མཐར་དེ་ཀླར་
འབབ་པོ།

229 Though he rise a hundred times, the result is the same.

230 ལྷ་འཕྱོག་འཕྱོག་སྒྲ་མ་མཁྱེན། ལྷ་ཕྱོག་པ་སྒྲ་མ་ཡིད། ལྷ་ཀླུ་དུས་སྤྱུ་ཆད་མེད་པར་སྒྲ་མ་
མཁྱེན་ཟེར་གྱི། ལྷ་ཕྱོག་པ་དང་སྒྲ་མའི་མིང་མ་ལེན་པ་ལྟར། རང་རྟོན་འབྲུག་པ་དང་རྟོན་
མི་དུན་པའི་མི་ལ་ཟེར།

230 When fording a river he cries 'Oh God', but having crossed it, he flees from Him.

231 ཀའི་ཤེད་ལ་སྒྲོར་ར། གཤམ་ལས་གྱི་ཞོར་ལ་ཚས་གྱི་བྱ་བ་ཅེད་པ་ལ་ཟེར།

231 To circumambulate when engaged in the business of walk-
ing (i.e. combining religion with worldly activities).

232 ཆང་མལ་ལ་ཆང་། ཆང་འབྲུང་བས་མགོ་བྲག་འབྲུང་ན། ཡང་ཆང་འབྲུང་ན་འབྲུད་པའི་
རྟོན་ནོ།

232 Wine on the top of wine (i.e. a headache through drinking liquor counteracted by drinking again).

233 ཚེག་པ་ནོར་གྱི་མཚན། ཚེམ་པ་དང་ངོམ་པ་ནི་ནོར་གྱུན་གྱི་མཚན་གྱི་ནོར་ཡིན་ཟེར།

233 A sufficiency is the greatest wealth.

234 རྩུང་ཆུས་ཞུ་ཏེ། ཆེ་འབྲུགས། རྩུ་གྲུ་དང་རྩུ་གྲུ་འབྲུག་པ་བཏང་བའི་རྩུན་གྱིས་ལ་མ་གྲུན་
འབྲུགསོ།

234 Seniors contend for the causes of juniors.

235 ལྷའི་འཁོལ་རྩུན་རང་། བག་མའི་རྩུ་རྩུན། ལྷ་མ་འཁོལ་ཁར་འཁོལ་འདྲའི་སྤྲོད་ཤིལ་ལེ་ལེ་
ཟེར་བ་དང་བག་མའི་རྩུ་བ་ལ་ཟེར།

235 Water pretends to boil, and a bride simulates weeping.
(When speaking of a bride who simulates grief at a wedding.)



236 ཇེ་ཁ་དམའ། ཆང་ཁ་མཐོ། ཇེ་ནི་ཕྱར་པ་མ་གང་འཇམ་དང་། ཆང་ལྷུ་ལྷུ་སྒྲག་དགོས་
ཟེར།

236 Tea lower than the brim, and beer up to the brim of the cup.

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༢༣༧ ཇ་དང་དགེ་ཆུ་ཆ་ན་ཀླུལ། ཇ་དང་སློབ་ན་པོ་ན་གཉིས་པོ་ཆ་བ་ཡོད་ན་ཀླུལ་ཟེར།

237 It is well to have one's tea hot, and one's teacher ardent.

༢༣༨ ཇ་འཛར་པ་སྟོ་པ་རི། གསོལ་དཔོན་འཛར་པ་ཉ་མ་བྱ། ཡ་རབས་གྱི་མལ་དུ་མ་རབས་སློབ་ན་ཟེར།

238 When one's tea is exhausted then use betel nut, when no cooks Nyamaju becomes cook.

༢༣༩ ཇ་རིན་གྱི་གྲ་གྲུལ། ཏ་རིན་ནི་ཉག་ར། རིན་རྒྱུང་བའི་ནོར་ཕྱིར་ནོར་མང་པོ་སྒྲག་དུས་སླ་ཟེར།

239 To build a wall the price of a pony, round a field worth a farthing.

༢༤༠ ཇ་ཐོབ་པོ་གསེར། ལེགས་ལྷོད་ཅི་ལག་ཏུ་སློབ་པ་ནི་གསེར་འདྲ་ཅིས་ཤིག་ཟེར་བོད།

240 What you have already obtained is as gold.

༢༤༡ ཇ་ཇོ་འབྲུག་གྱུ་མའི་འཐགས་ཅོགས། ཇོ་འབྲུག་གྱུ་མས་ལོ་རེ་ནང་བཀའ་རེ་འཐག་གོ་ཞེས་བོད་པས་སེམས་པས། ལས་འབྲུག་ཏུ་འགོར་རྒྱ་ཡོད་པ་ལ་ཟེར།

241 Like the weaving of Jo-Jo Druguma. It is supposed that Druguma, the wife of Kesar, wore some home-spun cloth at which time she crossed her shuttle once in a year, so that the cloth could only be completely woven by the time the world came to an end. So the saying denotes work which is accomplished exceedingly slowly.

༢༤༢ ཇོ་ཇོ་ལྷགས་པ་བྲུ་ལེ་འགས། མི་ཞིག་ལྷགས་ནས་ཟས་ཞེས་མེད་ཟ་ན་ཟེར།

242 Her ladyship eats buckwheat flour when she is hungry.

༢༤༣ ཇོའི་བཟན་ཟ་བ་ལ། བྲན་གྱི་ཆོ་འབྱེར། དཔོན་པོས་གཞན་ལ་བཏང་བའི་ཟན་དང་གསོལ་རས་ལ་གཡོག་པོ་འཛིག་ན་ཟེར།

243 Servants are horrified when someone else eats their master's food. (Denotes jealousy.)

༢༤༤ ཇི་ཞེས་མི་ཞེས་ངས་ཞེས་སང། ཇི་སྤྱིད་མི་སྤྱིད་ང་ལ་སྤྱིད་འདུག། ལག་ལས་རྩ་ཆོགས་ཞེས་པ་ཞིག་ལ་ནོར་མ་ཕྱིར་བར་དབུལ་པོར་ལུས་ཏི། ནང་ཅེད་མི་ཞེས་པ་ལ་ཟེར།

244 I can do all sorts of things but all sorts of want assails me.

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245 རྩ་བའི་ཕྱུ་བའི། ཡན་ཚུན་གཉིས་པོར་བདེ་པུག་ནས་བཟང་གྱིག་ཅེད་པ་ལ་ཟེར།

245 Peace to the fish, and tranquillity to the water.

246 རྩ་འཕྲུལ་དུ་ཁ་མེད་ལ་རི་བྱ་བའི་སྒྲན་སྒྲོད་དགོས་ཟེར།

246 Spice is needed to counteract the smell of fish.

247 རྩ་ལ་བལ་མེད། རྩ་མེད་པའི་མི་དབྱལ་པོ་ནས་ཁོ་མི་འབྱུང་ཟེར།

247 A fish has no fleece (i.e. an indigent person).

248 རྩ་དང་ཉུང་མ། རྩ་དང་ཉུང་མ་སྒྲུ་ནས་བསྐྱེད་ཏེ་ཐ་ན་གནོད་དེ་སེམས་པས། ཡན་ཚུན་འབྲུག་ས་པུག་ནས་རྩ་དང་སྒྲོ་བསྒྲུ་འདྲར་མིག་རྩ་མེས་པའི་གནོད་སྐྱེལ་བའི་མི་འབྲུག་སྐྱེལ་ཅེད་པ་ལ་ཟེར།

248 Fish, turnip, blood, and the contents of the stomach.

249 རྩ་མཁན་ལ་སྐྱལ་ལ་མེད། རྩ་མཁན་ལ་འགྲོས་མེད།

249 There is no portion for the sleeper, and a dead man does not walk.

250 རྩ་མ་ཆས་ནའང་། དམར་ཐག་མ་ཡོལ་ལ་ཡོད། ང་ལ་གྲོགས་ཅེད་པ་གཙོ་ཆེ་བ་ཤིན་པར་དུ་བྱུང་གཞན་རེ་ཡོད། ཞེས་མིས་ཚོད་བཅད་དུ་སྐྱེ་ཟེར།

250 Though the sun sets, its rays play on the mountain (of one who has lost his chief friend but gets others).

251 རྩ་བསད་དེ་བྱི་ལ་བྱིན་བའ། ས་དམན་དབྱལ་པོ་བཙོམ་ནས་མི་རྩོར་ཡོད་ལ་བྱིན་ན་ཟེར།

251 To kill a fish and give it to a dog as an alm (of one who robs the poor and feeds the rich).

252 མི་ལས་བག་ཆགས་རྩ་མ་འབྱུལ་ཅན། རང་གི་བསམ་པའི་བག་ཆགས་བཞིན་དུ་མི་བསམ་དེ་ལ་ཡིད་མ་ཆེས་ཟེར།

252 A dream is only a natural delusion (or illusion).

253 རྩ་མོར་གཉིད་ཡོག་ཞེ། མཚན་མོར་ཤིག་བཏུ་ཟེས། རྩ་མོའི་ལས་མཚན་མོར་ཅེད་པ་ལ་ཟེར།

253 To sleep during the day, and search for lice at night.

254 རྩ་ལ་སྤྱོད་མཁན། མཚན་ལ་ཁྱུ་མཁན། དེ་འདྲའི་སྤྱོད་པ་དང་ཁྱུ་པའི་སྤྱོད་མོ་པ་ལ་ཟེར།

254 A beggar during the day, and a thief at night.

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༢༥༥ རྩེ་ཁ་ཤིང་ཡིན་པ། རྩེ་ཁ་ཤིང་ཡིན་པ་ལྟར་ཤིང་ཡིན་པ་ལྟར་ཤིང་ཡིན།

255 When suffering from diarrhoea, he became torpid. (One suffering more than one malady at the same time.)

༢༥༦ རྩེ་ཁ་ཤིང་ཡིན་པ། རྩེ་ཁ་ཤིང་ཡིན་པ་ལྟར་ཤིང་ཡིན་པ་ལྟར་ཤིང་ཡིན། རྩེ་ཁ་ཤིང་ཡིན་པ་ལྟར་ཤིང་ཡིན།

256 Steal not during the day, for the mountains are eyes; utter no secrets at night, for the crevice in the walls are ears.

༢༥༧ རྩེ་ཁ་ཤིང་ཡིན་པ། རྩེ་ཁ་ཤིང་ཡིན་པ་ལྟར་ཤིང་ཡིན་པ་ལྟར་ཤིང་ཡིན། རྩེ་ཁ་ཤིང་ཡིན་པ་ལྟར་ཤིང་ཡིན།

257 CROSS a pass after eating turnips. (They are indigestible, so exercise is necessary.)

༢༥༨ རྩེ་ཁ་ཤིང་ཡིན་པ། རྩེ་ཁ་ཤིང་ཡིན་པ་ལྟར་ཤིང་ཡིན་པ་ལྟར་ཤིང་ཡིན། རྩེ་ཁ་ཤིང་ཡིན་པ་ལྟར་ཤིང་ཡིན།

258 The smoke from burning straw for those who fetch the bride.

༢༥༩ རྩེ་ཁ་ཤིང་ཡིན་པ། རྩེ་ཁ་ཤིང་ཡིན་པ་ལྟར་ཤིང་ཡིན་པ་ལྟར་ཤིང་ཡིན། རྩེ་ཁ་ཤིང་ཡིན་པ་ལྟར་ཤིང་ཡིན།

259 To be spiteful after an intimate friendship, and to vomit after much eating.

༢༦༠ རྩེ་ཁ་ཤིང་ཡིན་པ། རྩེ་ཁ་ཤིང་ཡིན་པ་ལྟར་ཤིང་ཡིན་པ་ལྟར་ཤིང་ཡིན། རྩེ་ཁ་ཤིང་ཡིན་པ་ལྟར་ཤིང་ཡིན།

260 Intimate confidences are like the links of a chain.

༢༦༡ རྩེ་ཁ་ཤིང་ཡིན་པ། རྩེ་ཁ་ཤིང་ཡིན་པ་ལྟར་ཤིང་ཡིན་པ་ལྟར་ཤིང་ཡིན། རྩེ་ཁ་ཤིང་ཡིན་པ་ལྟར་ཤིང་ཡིན།

261 The heart is enveloped in fat (of a successful person enjoying peace of mind).

༢༦༢ རྩེ་ཁ་ཤིང་ཡིན་པ། རྩེ་ཁ་ཤིང་ཡིན་པ་ལྟར་ཤིང་ཡིན་པ་ལྟར་ཤིང་ཡིན། རྩེ་ཁ་ཤིང་ཡིན་པ་ལྟར་ཤིང་ཡིན།

262 Oh Silding you dog, if one is free of sorrow, can one shed tears? (i.e. a happy person cannot enter into the sorrows of others).

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༢༥༣ གཉིད་མ་ལོག་གཉི་ལམ། རྩོན་རྩོན་དུ་གཅང་བསྐྱལ་བྱས་ནས་ཕྱིས་དེ་བཞིན་དུ་འབྱུང་དུས་
སྟེ། ཟེར།

263 To dream before sleeping (of a person who gets a premonition of some future event).

༢༥༤ གཉིད་ལོག་པ་ལ་སྐལ་ལ་མེད། གཉིད་ལོག་ཡོད་པ་ལ་ཟམ་སྐལ་ཁྱེན་མི་བྱུང་ཟེར་བའོ།

264 There is no portion for the sleeper.

༢༥༥ གཉེན་བཟང་ནའང་རྟོ་སྒོར། ཞིང་ངན་ནའང་རྒྱབ་བྱར། གཉེན་བཟང་པོ་བས་ཞིང་ངན་པ་
ལས་ལན་ཆེ་ཟེར་བའི་དཔེའོ།

265 From a good relative a cake; from a bad field a load.
(A bad field produces more than good relatives do.)

༢༥༦ གཉེན་གྱི་མཐའ་རྒྱས་ན། སྤྱོད་མཚོ་རྫོལ། གཉེན་མང་ན་ན་མཐའ་མང་བས་སྤྱོད་ཀྱི་འབྱུང་
ཟེར།

266 Possess many relations, and the sea of famine will flow upon you.

༢༥༧ གཉེན་རྩིས་མེད་པའི་ཕྱིན་རྩིས། ད་ར་སྐྱར་མའི་མགྱོན་ཤོས། ཁ་ནས་གཉེན་རྩི་ཞིང་ལག་
ནས་དར་བ་ལྷ་བྱ་ཞིག་ཁྱེན་ན་ཟེར།

267 Let him who regards his relations as the wind, prepare a meal of buttermilk.

༢༥༨ མཉམ་པོ་འདུག་ན་སྤྱོད་མ་ལ་ཁྱོད། མཉམ་དུ་དུས་མང་ཙམ་ཐོད་པར་ཁྱི་རྩེ་མི་འབྱུང་ཟེར།

268 Through familiarity with his own priest, he used the term 'Thou'.

༢༥༩ ཉི་མ་ཤིག་གི་ཐོ་གང། དགུན་གྱི་ཉི་མ་བྱང་བ་ལ་ཟེར།

269 The days are as short as the span of a flea.

༢༦༠ ཁྱིང་གཏམ་མ་བཤད་ན། གྲོགས་ལུགས་མི་ཟེངས། ཁྱིང་གཏམ་མ་བཤད་པར་མཛུགས་
མི་འབྱུང་བའི་དོན་ནོ།

270 Unless you exchange confidences, you cannot be a real friend.

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༢༧༡ ཉི་ཁྱེ་བླ་གང་པོ་ཡང་ལ་བཏང་ན་ཡང་ང་རང་འཐད། མང་ལ་བཏང་ན་ཡང་ང་རང་འཐད།
ང་རྒྱ་ལ་རང་འཐད་ཅེད་ཆག་ཟེར།

271 It is my own pleasure whether I turn the flaps of my cubit long hat upwards or downwards.

༢༧༢ ཉི་ཅས་མ་ཞིང་བཅས་ཉི་བག་མ་འཁྱེད་ཅེས། བུ་མའི་སེམས་སྤྱ་ཅི་ཟེར་གང་ཡིན་ཟེར་བའི་
དཔེ། ཉི་ཅས་ནི་བླ་དག་སྤྱལ་པོའི་མ་ཞིང་ངོ།

272 To take a bride by pretending that Tetses is his chief field. (Tetses was the largest field belonging to the King of Ladakh, now it is the Leh bazar. This saying means that a man can deceive a woman by pretentious talk in order to marry her.)

༢༧༣ རྩ་གཡོག་ནས་རྩ་མ་འབྱུངས། མི་གཡོག་ནས་བཟན་མ་ཐོས། མིའི་གཡོག་གས་གཞན་གྱི་
ཐུངས་ཀྱིས་བཟན་མ་ཟ་བར་གཞན་དྲིན་མི་འཁྱར་བའི་མིས་རང་ཟན་ཟ་བ་ལ་ཟེར།

273 I have not drunk water beneath a pony, nor ate my food under another man. (Used when a man declares his independence.)

༢༧༤ རྩ་ཆུ་ལ་བཅོ་བ་བཅོ་ཅེས།

274 The aged horse simulates a young colt.

༢༧༥ རྩ་ཆུ་ལ་ཡོར་ག། རྩ་སོ་ཡོལ་ནས་ཆུས་ཁར་ཡོན་ཉན་བསྐབ་ན་ཟེར།

275 The old horse learns to trot.

༢༧༦ རྩ་གཟེག་ལ་སྒྲ་གཉིས། མི་ཞིག་ལ་ཁྲལ་ལས་ལས་ཀྱི་གཉིས་ལྡབ་བཀལ་ན་ཟེར།

276 Two saddles on one horse. (When a double share of work is demanded.)

༢༧༧ རྩ་ཆས་ལ་ཞོན་ཉི། བོང་ཆས་ལ་བཀོལ་ཅེས། ཅི་ཟེར་ལ་ཉན་པའི་མི་ཁྱེ་འཕོལ་མོ་རྩ་
འདྲར་ཞོན་པ་དང་བོང་བྱ་ལྟར་བཀོལ་ཉན་པ་ལ་ཟེར།

277 To be ridden on as upon a horse; and to be used as if one were a donkey (of servants who act the rôle of 'the willing horse').

༢༧༨ རྩ་ཐོག་ག་ལྗེང་ཞེ། མི་ཐོག་ག་འཁྱེད་ཡིན། རྩ་ཞོན་ཉི་མའི་དཔོན་པོ་བྱས་པ་ཡིན་ཟེར་ཞིང་
རང་སྟོང་ཅེད་པོ།

278 I rode on horses, and was glorious in the eyes of the people (a boast).

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277 རྩ་བསམ་པ་དང་གཡག་བསམ་པ། བོང་བུའི་བསམ་པ་ཕྱེད་ལ། རང་གི་སེམས་དང་པོའི་གཏམ་ཅིད་པ་དེ་གཞན་གྱིས་ལོག་པར་དུ་ཉ་གོ་ན་ཟེར། (རྩ་དང་གཡག་གི་བསམ་པ་དང་ཡང་བོང་བུའི་བསམ་པ་ལོག་པར་ཅན་ཟེར་བའོ།)།

279 The mind of a horse, or yak, is not as crooked as that of a donkey.

280 རྩྭ་ག་འཁོར་ན་ཀུན་འཁོར། གི་འང་ཐང་ན་ཀུན་ཐང། རྩི་པས་གནས་ཐང་འཁོར་གྱི་རྩྭ་ས་སུ་ཟེར།

280 If it is cloudy at Stok, the sky will be cloudy everywhere, and if it is clear at Piang, it will be clear everywhere.

281 རྩྭ་ག་ལྷག་ལ་སྒྲ་འབེར། འབེར་དགོས་པའི་ལུ་བ་མ་འབེར་བར་རྩྭ་ག་ལྷག་འབེར་བ་ལྷར། རྩལ་མོད་པའི་མི་ཁྲིམ་ན་ཟེར།

281 The head of the mattock vibrates.

282 རྩ་མེད་དེ་ལུ་ལ་ལོང་བུའི་སང་རག། རྩ་ཆ་ལ་ཅན་མེད་པའི་ལུ་ལ་ནང་མི་ལོན་རྩ་མེད་པ་ལ་རྩྭ་གས་འབྱུང་ན་ཟེར།

282 Donkey races are held where there are no horses. (When a fool becomes influential among fools.)

283 རྩ་ལྷག་གི་ཁ་ཁྱ་བའི་ནང་ལ། བུ་བ་ངན་པའི་ནང་ལ་རུང་ཟད་འདྲིས་ཀྱང་མང་པོ་འདྲིས་པ་དང་ཁྱད་མེད་པའི་དམོན།

283 The tip of the whip in the juice.

284 རྩ་བུའི་བདག་པོ་རྩ་ལྷག་མི་ལ་རེ། ཅེ་ཅེས་ལྷག་ཀྱང་གཞན་ལ་རེ་དགོས་དང་གཡམ་དགོས་འབྱུང་བ་ལ་ཟེར།

284 The owner of a hundred horses borrowed a whip. (A wealthy man dependent on other people's help.)

285 རྩ་ཚད་མི་ཚད་གོས་བདུན། མི་དང་རྩ་སྟགས་ཀྱི་བཟང་ངན་མཁྱེགས་པར་གཤམ་པ་སྤྲུམ་ཟེར།

285 Seven paces suffice to test a man and a horse.

286 རྩའི་བྲེས་ལ་བོང་བུ་རྩྭ་བ་ཅེས། མི་ཉམས་རུང་བ་རྩྭ་བས་བོ་ཆེ་དང་འགྲན་ན་ཟེར།

286 A donkey attempts to reach up to the horse's manger.

287 རྩ་ལ་མིག་པ་རྩལ་བ་མཐོང་ཞེ། བོང་བུས་ར་སྒྲི་རྩན་འདུག། མི་འཁྱུད་མེད་ཅིག་གིས་འཁྱུད་ཅན་གྱི་ལད་མོ་ཅིད་དུས་སུ་ཟེར།

287 The ass shows his hoof when watching a horse being shod.

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287 ཏ་ག་མོས་ཏི་ཁ་མཆུ་ལོག་ནའང་ལོག། རང་གི་འདྲིང་པ་གྲུབ་ནས་གནོད་པ་འབྱུང་ནའང་
འབྱུང་ཟེར།

288 If my bill gets blunt, let it become so through pecking at the flesh of a horse.

289 ཏ་སྒྲིབ་བོང་སྒྲིབ་མཉམ་དུ། ཏའི་རྗེས་བཞིན་བོང་ཕུའང་སྒྲིབ་པ་ལྟར། མི་ཤོགས་ཀྱི་སྒྲར་
བུལ་བོའང་མོན་བའི་དཔེའོ།

289 The pony and the donkey arrived together (i.e. the donkey follows in the steps of the pony).

290 ཏ་རིན་བང་དང། གཡུ་རིན་མདོག། ཏའི་བང་དང་གཡུའི་མདོག་བཞིན་རིན་འབྱུང་ཟེར།

290 The price of a horse depends upon its paces, and that of the turquoise upon its colour.

291 ཏགས་ཅིའི་ཏགས། མི་བརྗེད་པའི་ཏགས། ཏགས་ནི་མི་རྗེད་པའི་ཏགས་ཡིན་པས། རིན་ཅན་
མེད་ནའང་འགྲིག་ཟེར་བའོ།

291 What does a gift indicate? It indicates remembrance.

292 ཏས་འཕང་མྱོང་ང། དཔོན་བོས་བཞུན་མྱོང་ང། ཏས་འཕང་དུས་དང་གཡོག་བོར་ཁ་འཕྲོག་
དུས་སུ་ཟེར།

292 I suffered a fall from a horse, and a rebuke from my master.

293 ཏས་བང་བརྟང་བ་ལ། ཡན་ལག་གད་པ་ལ་འཁད། ལས་ཅིད་དུས་དང་འགྲུལ་དུས་སུ་
གོགས་ཤིག་འབྱུང་ན་ཟེར།

293 As the horse was galloping, his course was arrested by a precipice.

294 ལྟད་མོ་མིག་གི་ཡོངས་སྤྱད་ཡིན། ལྟད་མོ་མིག་འབའ་ཞིག་གི་ཡོངས་སྤྱད་ཡིན་ཟེར།

294 A performance is the joy of the eyes.

295 ལྟ་རག་ལ་ཐ་གྲུ་གང་ཅོར་ན། ཕྱག་པོ་ལ་ནམ་མི་ལངས། དབུལ་བའི་རྗེར་ལ་ཕྱག་པོས་
ཕྱག་རྒྱ་ཅིད་ན་ཟེར།

295 If the poor obtain a cubit length of rope, the rich cannot sleep.

296 ལྟ་རག་ཕྱག་པོ་ཆ་ན་མི་མཐོང། ཕྱག་པོ་ལྟ་རག་ཆ་ན་གནས་མི་མཐོང། རྗེར་ལས་
སྤྱབས་པ་དང་རྗེར་ཟད་པ་ལས་སྤྱབས་པ་ཤིར་ཟེར།

296 If a pauper becomes rich, he cannot see the ground, and if a rich man becomes poor he cannot see the sky.

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२७७ ལྷོ་ཁྱུང་ཐོག་པའི་མ་ཁང་། དང་ལྷོ་མ་ནས་ལྷོ་པ་བཅད་དེ་ཁྱུང་ཐོག་པའི་མ་ཁང་དང་འབྲེལ་
ཆེ་བ་ཡོད་པའི་རྩ་རྩ་ཅེར།

297 The home where blood from my navel has fallen.

२७८ कृष्णऋषिप्रियं द्रुवाग्रजम् । अद्रुवाग्रजस्यैव प्रोक्तम् । नृणां च त्वत्पुत्रे
विद्यमानं विद्यामयं पुत्रं मे ।

298 To carry stones from Zhabuk village on hearing there is a dog at Stagna (i.e. making preparation prematurely).

२१८ झुवागोरेः सोऽथि कस । खीरेः सोऽकद कस । खीरेऽयं नृन किं कद गोक्षं कुषा यिक ।
धियात्रेया प्योत्रे पाके खीरेऽयं नृन स्रक्तैर वधे ।

299 The pattern of the tiger is on the outside, and that of a
man on the inside.

३००. ལྷག་པའི་མལ་ལ་ལྷག་པ། ལྷག་པའི་མལ་ལ་ལྷག་པ། ལའི་མལ་དུ་བྱ་རྩེད་དང་། མའི་མལ་
དུ་བྱ་ཡོད་ཟེར།

300 A birch tree where there was a birch; a cedar where there
was a cedar.

३०७ ལྷན་ཞི་གཞི་གནས་ཀྱི་སྒྲིག་འཛུགས་ཅེས། འཁྱུང་དང་འདྲོང་བའི་མེད་པ་ཞིག་གིས་མི་འཁྱུང་
པ་ཅན་དང་འགན་ཏི་འབར་ཅ་ན་ཟེར།

301 The flea hopped up from under the carpet. (When a man
tries to argue with his betters.)

३०२ ལྷོང་ན་རང་མང་གྲུབ་བས་ལྷོང་། ལྷོང་ན་རང་མང་གྲུབ་ས་ལྷོང་། མི་བཟང་པོ་ས་ལྷོང་པར་
དགའ་བ་དང་རྩ་པས་ལྷོང་པར་དགའ་ཟེར།

302 If you are praised, it will be by one better than yourself;
if you are defamed, it will be by one worse than your-
self.

३०३ ལྟར་པའི་རྒྱ་རིམ་ལས་པ། གཡང་གྲོང་སྤེལ་གླིང་གི་རྒྱ་ན། བདག་པོས་རིན་གང་བཅད་པཇམ
དགོས་པའི་དཔེ།

303 It was an axe made of a diamond which was lost. (When an article is lost, and the owner demands heavy restitution.)

३०८ གཏམ་མཁས་པས་བྱ་ལོན་མི་འཁོར། མཁས་པའི་ཚིག་གི་དདུལ་ཚབ་མི་འཁྱུར་ཟེར་བ་ཡིན།

304 Wise talk does not pay a debt.

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304 གཏམ་པོ་ངོས་ལ། སྤ་ལྟུང་ལ། སྤ་ལྟུང་ཏུ་མཛོམ་པ་ལྟར། གཏམ་ཟེར་དགོས་ཡོད་
པ་མདུན་ལ་ཟེར་བ་ལེགས་པའི་དོན་ནི།

305 Straight forward speech, and one's hair on the back
of one's head.

305 ཏམ་ཏམ་ཏམ་གྱི། རྒྱ་ལྟ་མ་གྱི། རིག་ལའི་པོ་ལ་མ་ཞེ་ན་མི་ཞེས། ར་ལག་མ་མ་ཞེ་
འབྲུང་མི་ཞེས། ཁ་ཟས་ཞེས་པོ་ན་དུས་སུ་ཟེར།

306 Baba Mohammad Shah is peculiar. He knows only how
to eat Pilao, or drink tea from China.

307 གཏམ་གསུམ་མ་ལ་བ་ན། ཡ་དང་བྱའི་བར་མི་འཕྲོད། གོམ་གསུམ་མ་ལྟུང་ན། ལུང་པ་
གསུམ་མི་ཚ་མི་མེད། གཏམ་གསལ་པོ་མ་ཟེར་ན། ཡ་དང་བྱའི་བར་དུ་གོ་བ་ལོག་སྲིད་
ཟེར།

307 If not even three syllables are uttered one could not
distinguish between father and son; and if you do
not walk three paces, one could not recognize the three
valleys.

308 རྩོད་ལ་བོང་བུས་ཀྱང་ནས་ཟ། རྩོད་དུས་དབུལ་པོ་ལ་ཡང་ཟ་གྲུ་མོད་ཟེར།

308 In autumn even the donkeys feed on barley (i.e. in
autumn even the poor are satisfied if they may glean
the fields).

309 རྩོད་དར་བྱི་ལ་མ་བཏང། རྩམ་རྒྱ་བཞིལ་བ་ཡོད་པས་འཕྲག་ཡོང་ཟེར།

309 Don't give your dog buttermilk in the autumn. (In
autumn the milk is specially rich.)

310 གཏམ་ཚང་ཆང་གིས་བཏོན། འིག་ཚང་ཉི་མས་བཏོན། འིག་ཡོད་པའི་གོས་ཉི་མར་བཞག་
ན། འིག་ཚང་གི་ནང་ནས་འཕྱོན་པ་ལྟར། རས་བཟེས་པའི་ཁ་ནང་ནས་གསང་གཏམ་
འཕྱོན་ཟེར།

310 Beer disturbs the nest of speech; the sun stirs up the nest
of lice.

311 གཏམ་མང་འཚལ་བ་ཡིན། ཟས་མང་སྒྲག་པ་ཡིན།

311 Much talk is useless; much food the cause of vomiting.

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312 ཏ་ཅུ་ཏང་ཏང་མེད་ན་རགས་མེད། ཏ་ཁྱེ་ཡང་ཡང་མེད་ན་སྐྱགས་མེད། རགས་དང་སྐྱགས་
སྒྲིབ་པར་ཟེར།

312 No tarutang-tang no tune: no talilanglang no melody.
(These are songs which Ladakhis first begin to learn.)

313 རྩེ་མཚན་ཡེད་དེ་ཟས་མི་དགོས། དབྱར་ཉེན་ཡེད་དེ་གཉིད་མི་དགོས།

313 During autumn you don't need food at midnight: in
summer, you do not want sleep at midday.

མ

314 བག་ལ་ཆད་ན་ཁྲར་པ་ཡང་། གཏི་བག་ཚད་ན་སེམས་ཁྲམས་སང་འགྲོ་བའི་དྲན་ནོ།

314 If the rope snaps the load will be light. (If you can
decide a matter through discussion one's mind feels
lighter.)

315 བསམ་གཅིག་དྲན་གཉིས། བྱ་བ་གཅིག་གི་ནང་ན་ལས་དྲན་གཉིས་འགྲུབ་ན་ཟེར།

315 Two purposes achieved by one method (i.e. when travelling
you see the country and also improve your health).

316 ཐེགས་པ་བསགས་པ་རྒྱ་མཚོ། ཐུང་ཏུ་ནས་སྤྲོད་ན་མང་པོར་འཁྱར་བའི་དྲན་ནོ།

316 Many drops make an ocean.

317 ལྷན་ཨ་མའི་བྱ་གཞུང་ལ་བྱ། བར་དྲོ་འབྱུང་ན་ནང་གི་དྲོ་དམ་པ་ལ་འབྱུང་ངོ་ཟེར།

317 If harm comes, it will fall upon the beloved son (i.e. if
difficulties arise, they will fall on the principal and not on
the worker).

318 ལྷན་རང་རང་འགྲོ་དང་འགྲོ། གནན་ལ་སྒྲད་པའམ་བྲིལ་བའི་གཏམ་དེ་རང་ལ་འཕྲག་རྒྱུ་
ཡོད་ན་ཟེར།

318 If he spits, his spittle will recoil on his own face.

319 ལྷན་མི་བྱ། ལྷན་རང་རང་བྱ། ལྷན་རང་གི་གཉེན་རྒྱུང་དང་རང་མིས་ལྷག་པར་དབྱ་བེད་པ་
འབྱུང་ངོ་ཟེར།

319 Perhaps one's friend will not do one harm; but if he does
so, he will inflict the greatest injury to you.

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320 མོད་པའི་ཁ་མིག་འཁྲུང་མཁན། མི་དར་རྒྱར་ཐབ་ཐོབ་ཅིང་པ་ལ་ཟེར།

320 He has his eyes in his forehead. (To be careless and thoughtless.)

321 མོ་བ་ལ་རྩོན་མེད་ན། ལྷག་མ་ལ་ཟེན་ལངས། དཔོན་པོ་ལ་འཁྱུད་མེད་ན་བློ་ཤེད་ཀྱི་ཁོར་ནང་དུ་
འཁྱུག་པ་འབྱུང་ཟེར།

321 The iron will rise up, if there is not the pressure of the hammer. (Of a weak king or master who exerts no control over underlings.)

322 མོས་ཚད་གསུམ་མན། མཐོང་ཚད་གསུམ་མན། གསུམ་ཚད་མ་ལ་ཡིད་མ་ཆེས་ཟེར་རོ།

322 All that one hears is not speech: all that one sees is not food.

323 མོ་ལག་ཟེར་པ་རྒྱན་མའི་མགོ་ལ། མི་རྩོང་ས་ཡོད་པ་ལ་ཚན་ལ་གསུམ་ཞིག་འཛིག་ན་ཟེར།

323 A thwack on the head of a thief.

324 ཐག་རིང་ཇི་གཉེན་སང། ཉེ་མོའི་དགྲ་ཀྱུལ། དཀག་ལྷག་གི་དུས་སུ་ཐག་རིང་གི་གཉེན་ལས་
མདུན་གྱི་དགྲ་པོས་ཡན་འདྲིགས་སོ་ཟེར།

324 Better a nearby enemy than a relation far away.

325 མོད་པའི་ཁ་ཁྱི་བྲིས་ཀན། བཟོད་བདེ་མེད་པའི་མོད་པའི་ཁར་བོད་ཀྱི་ཁ་ཁྱི་བྲིས་ཡོད་ཅེས་སོ།

325 The word 'dog' is written on his forehead.

326 མཐོན་པོས་བཅད་པའི་དམའ་བཟང་པོ། བློ་མས་དཔོན་གྱིས་བཅད་པའི་འཕམ་ལ་དགའ་ཟེར་བའི་
རྩོན་ཡིན།

326 Abasement is the better policy when it is decreed by a higher authority.

327 མོ་རྩེ་མཁར་རི་ཁ་བོང་ཉེ། ཏམག་ཁོབ་གང་འབྱུང་ཅེས་ཆ་ནང་སོང། ལས་ལྷེ་ཆེན་པོ་
ཞིག་སྤེལ་ཅོས་ཐོབ་ནང་འགྲིག་ཟེར།

327 One pipeful of tobacco suffices, provided I reach the lofty castle.

328 མཐོན་པོ་ནས་རྩེ་མོས་ཉི། དམའ་མོ་ནས་ཆུ་འབྱུང་མཁན། གཞན་དང་འགྲིམ་འགྲུལ་མི་ཅིང་
པ་འཁྱུག་པའི་ནང་མི་འདྲིམ་པ་ལ་ཟེར།

328 He ate herbs on high ground, and drank water on low ground.

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329 མཐོ་ཉེ་ཆ་ན་རྩ་ཚ་ལ་འཛེག་། དམའ་ཉེ་ཆ་ན་རྩ་ཚ་ལ་འཛེག་། གཤམ་ཟེར་བ་ལས་མཐོ་ན་
མི་ཆེན་དང་། དམའ་བར་གྱར་ན་མི་རྩལ་བ་དག་ལ་འཛེག་གྱུ་ཡོད་ན་ཟེར་།

329 If you aim high it will strike the horn, and if low it will hit the base of the horn.

330 མཐོན་པོ་ནས་རྩལ་ས་ལྟ་། དམའ་མོ་ནས་རི་ལ་ས་ལྟ་། བག་རིང་ནས་རི་དང་རྩལ་ས་མཐོང་
ཡང་། ཉེ་བར་ཕྱིན་ནས་མི་ཐར་ཟེར་བའོ།

330 Look not at a river from an elevation, or a mountain from a plain.

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331 ད་རུང་བགྲ་གིས་ལྷན་པོ་གར་། ད་རུང་ཐག་རིང་ཡོད་ཟེར་བའི་དོན་ནོ།

331 Trashi Hlunpo is still far away. (When one's destination is still a long way off.)

332 དུ་ཚ་མགོ་རྒྱལ་། མ་གྲི་གོ་ག་ཡངས་། དུ་ཚ་མ་མེད་པ་ད་རྒྱལ་ཅན་དང་། མ་གྲི་ན་གོ་ག་
ཡང་སངས་སངས་སོང་ནས་། བྱ་གྱུ་རང་འཐད་ཅེད་པ་ལ་ཟེར་།

332 The orphan grew obstinate, and the motherless heart became desolate.

333 དུག་པོ་ལ་གཉེན་མང་པོ་། གོས་རྒྱལ་ཆད་པོ་ལ་གྲིང་དང་ཚར་མ་སོགས་འཁད་པས་དེ་འདྲ་
ཟེར་རོ།

333 Rags have many relations. (Of old clothes which get caught on thorns and other obstacles.)

334 དུག་པོའི་ཐག་ན་རྒྱལ་བའི་སྐྱེ། གོས་རྩིང་གོན་པའི་མི་མཁས་པ་ལ་ཟེར་།

334 The Buddha underneath rags. (The good man who wears old clothes and is not conceited.)

335 རིང་སང་ངེ་མི་དང་རང་འཐག་རྒྱུང་སྐྱར་འདྲ། རིང་སང་གི་མི་ཆ་བཞག་མེད་པ་ཡིན་ཟེར་རོ།

335 The people of today are like a windmill (i.e. changeable).

336 དང་ར་སྐྱ་མེད། ཨ་ནེ་རྒྱག་མེད། རྒྱ་མེད་པའི་བུད་མེད་ལ་བཞུས་ནས་ཟེར་།

336 A stable without a door; a woman without a husband (of an unmarried woman).

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332 དུས་ནམས་མི་འགྱུར། མི་ནམས་འགྱུར། རྟོན་སྤྲོ་མོ་ཡིན།

337 The times do not change; it is men who change.

333 དུག་ཟ་གཅིག་གི། མཉམ་ཟ་བརྒྱ་གི། མནའ་འཁྱར་ན་ཕུ་བརྒྱད་ཀྱི་ལའང་གནོད་པས།
མནའ་ནི་དུག་པས་ཕྱི་རྒྱུ་བ་ཡིན་ཟེར།

338 One man dies through taking poison: a hundred through swearing oaths. (Tibetans think that swearing an oath is more dangerous than taking poison as a false oath re-acts on a man's descendants.)

334 དུས་གཅིག་ལ་ལས་གཅིག། མགོ་རལ་པ་ཅན་ལ་སྤྲོས་གཅིག། དུས་ཀྱི་ཁར་མོ་མོ་ཁྱོ་ལྷག་
ཏུ་འཛོམ་པ་ལ་ཟེར།

339 One deed at a time; and one pillow for hairy heads.

340 རྟོན་མེད་དེ་མི་ལ་དགོས་མེད་དེ་ཁོང་འཁྲོ། ལྷལ་བ་མེད་པའི་མིས་འབར་བ་དང་ཁྲོས་ན་
ཟེར།

340 Needless anger towards him who is unconnected with it.

341 རྩི་མེད་ངེས་མ་བསམ་ན། ཀོར་མིག་གིས་མི་མཐོང། མྱེང་རྩི་རྩི་མ་གྱིས་མ་བཟོ་ན།
མིག་ཀོར་ཀོར་གྱིས་མི་མཐོང་ཟེར།

341 You cannot see with your round eyes, if you do not think with your oval heart.

342 དང་དེ་ལ་སྐག་གྱུབ་ཅེས། མེས་མ་རབ་ཏུ་འཐད་དེ་འགྱུ་ལ་བའི་མི་ལ་ཟེར།

342 To stumble over a pebble (of a man in exuberant spirits).

343 དང་བོའི་བརྟན་པ་ཆུས་ཀྱང་མི་འཁྱྱར། མེས་ཀྱང་མི་འཁྱྱར། མི་ཤིན་ཏུ་དང་བོ་ལ་གནོད་
པ་མི་འབྱུང་ཟེར།

343 Truth cannot be destroyed by water or fire.

344 རྩི་ཆེན་བརྟག་ག་ལ་རྩི་ཆུང་དགོས། མི་ཆེན་བརྟག་ག་ལ་མི་ཆུང་དགོས། མི་ཆུང་ཏུ་མེད་ན་
མི་ཆེན་ཡང་མེད་ཟེར།

344 Small stones to raise large ones, insignificant men to lift up the great.

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345 རྩ་མཁའ་མེ་མེ་འབར། རྩ་མཁའ་མེ་མེ་འབར། རྩ་མཁའ་མེ་མེ་འབར། རྩ་མཁའ་མེ་མེ་འབར།
ཟེར།

345 Wet wood can be burned, though dry stones cannot be consumed. (When a man has to burn wet fuel.)

346 རྩ་མཁའ་མེ་མེ་འབར། རྩ་མཁའ་མེ་མེ་འབར། རྩ་མཁའ་མེ་མེ་འབར། རྩ་མཁའ་མེ་མེ་འབར།
ཟེར།

346 A stone has nine facets (i.e. even the worst stone can be used for building a wall).

347 རྩ་མཁའ་མེ་མེ་འབར། རྩ་མཁའ་མེ་མེ་འབར། རྩ་མཁའ་མེ་མེ་འབར། རྩ་མཁའ་མེ་མེ་འབར།
ཟེར།

347 Meet those who are in trouble, but wait to be called by those in prosperity.

348 རྩ་མཁའ་མེ་མེ་འབར། རྩ་མཁའ་མེ་མེ་འབར། རྩ་མཁའ་མེ་མེ་འབར། རྩ་མཁའ་མེ་མེ་འབར།
ཟེར།

348 He who lives with his face covered. (Of a man who does not return a feast.)

349 རྩ་མཁའ་མེ་མེ་འབར། རྩ་མཁའ་མེ་མེ་འབར། རྩ་མཁའ་མེ་མེ་འབར། རྩ་མཁའ་མེ་མེ་འབར།
ཟེར།

349 Thick-faced. (Of a shameless person.)

350 རྩ་མཁའ་མེ་མེ་འབར། རྩ་མཁའ་མེ་མེ་འབར། རྩ་མཁའ་མེ་མེ་འབར། རྩ་མཁའ་མེ་མེ་འབར།
ཟེར།

350 He has no serum on his face (i.e. shameless and un-faithful person).

351 རྩ་མཁའ་མེ་མེ་འབར། རྩ་མཁའ་མེ་མེ་འབར། རྩ་མཁའ་མེ་མེ་འབར། རྩ་མཁའ་མེ་མེ་འབར།
ཟེར།

351 His face is covered with leather (i.e. shameless and un-faithful person).

352 རྩ་མཁའ་མེ་མེ་འབར། རྩ་མཁའ་མེ་མེ་འབར། རྩ་མཁའ་མེ་མེ་འབར། རྩ་མཁའ་མེ་མེ་འབར།
ཟེར།

352 The beautiful face was burnt with fire (of a beautiful woman who commits evil deeds).

353 རྩ་མཁའ་མེ་མེ་འབར། རྩ་མཁའ་མེ་མེ་འབར། རྩ་མཁའ་མེ་མེ་འབར། རྩ་མཁའ་མེ་མེ་འབར།
ཟེར།

353 He who does not regard that which is becoming and beautiful, can always wear a coarse skin hat.

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362 ལྷུ་མ་ར་ལྷུ་གས་ཀྱི་དོང་མོ། ལྷུ་གས་ས་ལ་སྤྲོམ་མོ། འཕེང་བ་ལ་དཀག་ས་པོ། ལྷུ་མ་ར་ལུ་ལ་
ཆུང་པས། དེར་ཕྱིན་སྤྲོམ་ཡང་འཕོན་པ་དགའ་བྱེར་རོ།

362 Nubra is like an iron pipe; it is easy to enter it, but difficult to get out of it. (A pleasant country from which one is reluctant to depart.)

363 ལྷུ་ག་པོའི་ཁ་སྤྲུག་པ། ལྷུ་ག་བཟུལ་གྱི་ཁར་གཞན་ལྷུ་ག་བཟུལ་འོང་ན་ཟེར།

363 To be bitten by a dog when one is in trouble.

364 རྩ་བ་འབྲུག་ནའང་འབབ། ཀྲ་བྱ་འབྲུག་ནའང་འབབ། ཁྱིམ་སྒྲིག་བཟང་ངན་ཅི་ཆོད་ནའང་
ཆོད་ཟེར།

364 Be it a stone or an apple, let it fall.

365 ལུང་པ་ཅན་གྱི་མི་དྲན་མོ། ལུས་པ་ཅན་གྱི་ག་ཞིས་པོ། ལུང་འབྱུང་ལུས་དང་ལུས་པ་ཅན་གྱི་
ག་ཤ་ལུས་སྤུ་ཟེར།

365 A smoky fire is warm, and meat with much bone is delicious.

366 དེ་རིང་གི་ན་ཆ་ལྷུང་ཡིན། མོ་རེ་གི་ན་ཆ་རིང་ཡིན། འཛོང་འཐབ་གྱི་ལུས་ལ་རང་སྤྲོག་ལ་
མི་ལྷ་བས་ཟེར།

366 If I die to-day life will be short, if to-morrow, it will be long. (When in a quarrel a man is careless of his life.)

367 འདུག་འདུག་ས་པའི་བོང་བྱ་རྩ་མི་ཟ། ལས་ཕེད་ལོབས་མེད་པས་ལས་ཕེད་ནས་ཕྱ་ལྷུག་ལུས་
ཟེར།

367 A lazy donkey cannot even eat grass (of a man who gets tired easily).

368 ལྷུག་ཅན་སྤྲོ་མས་སྤྱབ་མི་བྱུབ། གནག་ཅན་དཔོན་པོས་སྤྱབ་མི་བྱུབ།

368 A priest cannot save the sinner, nor a judge acquit the criminal.

ན

369 ར་མཁན་གྱི་ཁྱོད་ལ་མི་ན་མཁན། གཞན་གྱི་འབྲུག་པ་དང་ཉན་མོངས་ནང་འདྲེས་པ་ལ་ཟེར།

369 A healthy man amongst sick people.

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370 ན་ནིང་ངེ་ལོ་བཟང་པོ། མི་མཁན་ནི་མི་བཟང་པོ། འདས་པའི་ལོ་ཤོག་དང་མིང་ན་པ་ལ་
ལྷོད་ན་ཟེར།

370 Last year was a good year; and the deceased was a good man.

371 ནང་པོ་མུན་འདྲིག་ག་པོར་རྟེ། མཁས་ཤིང་ལ་གཟིམས་ཏིང་། རང་ལ་ཟ་རྒྱུ་མེད་དེ་ལྷིན་པ་
ལྷིན་ན་ཟེར།

371 Leaving his house in darkness, he lit a lamp in the mosque.

372 ནང་ལ་སེང་གེ། ཇི་ལ་སྦ་ཅོ། རང་གི་མི་ལ་དྲག་པོ་དང་ཕྱི་ལ་འཇིགས་མཁན་ལ་ཟེར།

372 Inside his house he is a lion, outside it he is like a fox.
(One who is a terror to his kith and kin, and to outsiders a sycophant.)

373 ནང་མ་མེད་ལ་གཏང་ན། ཆ་མེད་ལ་འཇོག།

373 If you strike at random, you may hit someone unconsciously.

374 ནལ་བྱ་མི་མན། རྩོ་བ་ག་མན། མཆིན་པ་བྲག་མན། ནལ་བྱ་ལ་སྦྱད་དུ་མ་སྦྱེར།

374 A bastard is not a man, the lung is not meat, and the liver is not blood. (When scoffing at a bastard.)

375 ལྔ་སྒལ་ལ་ཁག་ཅིས། མི་ལ་ཁག་ཅིག། ཁ་ཆད་མི་སྤྱད་བའི་མི་ལ་ཟེར་རོ།

375 A sheep-bag has two mouths, but man has one mouth.
(When a man breaks his promise.)

376 རྩོད་ལྷག་པའི་སྒོ་ལ། མི་ལྷག་པོར་རྩོད་ཀྱི་མོར་ཐོབ་དུ་མ་སྦྱུང་ཆོན་ལ་ཐོབ་དུ་མ་སྦྱེར།

376 Wealth comes to the doorstep of the rich. (When a rich man increases his wealth.)

377 ནང་ལ་མཚའ་བོར་རྟེ། ཇི་ནམ་བཅག་བཅའ་ཅེས། རང་གི་ནང་ལ་རྒྱལ་བ་ཞིག་ཡོད་དེ་ཇི་
ནམ་དེ་ལ་མ་བྱ་བ་བཅའ་ན་ཟེར།

377 Whilst having vermilion in his house, he went off to seek red ochre outside. (When a man seeks an inferior thing whilst possessing something superior.)

378 རྩོད་མ་མེད་ན་གཤིན་རྗེ་ཆས་སེ་རྒྱལ་པོ་ལ་ཅི་ལ་འཇིགས་ཡིན། རྩོད་མ་མེད་ན་གཤམ་ལ་འང་
འཇིགས་དགོས་མེད་ཟེར་རོ།

378 If you are innocent, then why should you fear the judge of the dead?

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३१७ ཁོར་མེད་ལ་རྒྱུ་མ་མེད། ཁུར་མེད་ལ་ཐག་པ་མེད། ཁོར་མེད་ལ་ཐག་རྒྱུ་འཛིག་མ་པ་
མེད་ཟེར།

379 No thief to him who is without wealth, no robber of one
who is unencumbered with possessions.

३५० ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय । ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ।
३५१ ।

380 Even earth and sky covet a gem. (When a valuable
article is lost.)

ཐད་ནས་བྱོལ་ཡོད། མི་ཚང་ལྟར་གྲོལ། སྤྱི་ཁྱེད་ཀྱི་ཕྱི་འཇུག་པ་ལྟར་ཞིང་ཕྱི་འཇུག་པ་ལྟར་ཞིང་།

381 Wealth is fascinating: and its owner is ugly (of one who
benefits from riches, but bears malice to him who
provides it).

३५२ རྩ་ལྷན་མན། ཕགས་ལྷན་ཡིན། ཏུ་འགྲོ་མང་ཡང་གི་ནས་ཕགས་པ་ལྷན་པའི་དཔེ།

382 It is not wealth in cattle, but wealth in hides. (When
many cattle die.)

ཅད་ཅ ཞུར་འབེད་ལའང་འཁྱར་ཆེན། ཞུར་ཡོད་པ་འཇིགས་པོ་མཉམ་ཟེར་རྒྱ།

383 Even musicians can acquire wealth. (Musicians are regarded as low caste in Ladakh.)

[illegible]

384 When riches are acquired, the mind is impoverished, and
when the mind is under control, one is without riches.

ཐ་དལ ཞོ་ར་མེད་མང་ཉམས་མེད་ལྟ། ཞོ་ར་གྱི་ཉམས་མེད་པ་ནི་ཞོ་ར་མེད་པ་བས་ལྟ་ཟེར་རྟ།

385 To be inexperienced is worse than to lack money.

ཕ་དུ ཞོར་ཨ་ཁི་ཡོད་ན། ལྷུ་མ་བཟ་མ་འཐད་འཐད། ཞོར་ཡོད་ན་ངེ་དགོ་མ་ཆེར་མ་ཐོབ་ལྷུ་བ་
ཟེར་རྒྱ།

386 For a wealthy man there are many brides. (A man
with money can obtain anything he likes.)

ཐུང་ལ་ བཀའ་མངའ་ལ་གོང་མོ། བདེ་བདེ་ཡོད་དུ་སྐྱེ་ལྷོ་བདེ་བ་རྒྱུ་བཟུང་ན་ཟེར།

387 A ptarmigan on a fine day. (If a ptarmigan flees into a village it is thought to be an ill-omen—Also when a man becomes angry suddenly.)

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387 གནམ་ལ་ཅི་ཤར་མི་ཤར་མ་ཤར་གྱི། མར་མ་དུ་བ་མཆུག་རིང་མ་ཤར་གྱི། མ་ལ་ཅི་
ཞུ་མི་ཞུ་མ་ཞུ་གྱི། དུག་གི་ལོ་མ་མ་ཞུ་མ་གྱི། གནམ་ལ་དུ་བ་མཆུག་རིང་ཤར་ན་
 ལྷ་མ་ངན་བཅི་མ་ཏི་ཟེར།

388 May nothing appear in the sky, neither a comet, nor may nothing grow on the earth, nor even a poisonous plant.

389 གནམ་དང་རྒྱལ་པོའི་བྱ་བ་མི་མི་གྲི། སེང་གི་ཉལ་མ་ལམ་མི་གྲི། གནམ་དང་རྒྱལ་
པོའི་ཚད་འཛིན་མི་རྒྱལ་པོའི་དོན་ནོ།

389 Common people do not understand the affairs of the heavens and the king, nor does the fox know the lion's lair.

390 གནོད་ན་ཁ་ནང་གི་སོ་ཡང་ལུད། གནོད་ན་རང་གི་མི་མ་ཟད་སོ་ཡང་ལུད་ཟེར།

390 If it is harmful, then pull out even the tooth from your mouth. (Don't hesitate to expel an obnoxious relation or child from your house and society if his influence is harmful.)

391 རྒྱུ་རྒྱུ་དགྲ་ལང། རྒྱུ་རྒྱུ་བྱས་ཏི་གནོད་པ་འབྱུང་ན་ཟེར།

391 Doubt rises up as your enemy.

392 རྒྱ་ཁྲུང་ལ་བསེ་བྱ་ཞོག་ཏེ་མ་ནེ་ད་མི་གོ། རང་གི་དུག་མ་ཚ་ན་ཞོག་ནས་རང་ཅེད་ལུགས་ད་
གོ་ཡང་ཟེར།

392 You cannot understand until the cold wind blows upon your nose.

393 རྒྱུ་ལྷག་ནས་མེ་བིང་ཏེ་མས་འདལ་འཛིག་ཅེས། རང་གི་མིའི་ནང་ནས་དགྲ་ལང་མ་ཏི་བྱལ་
ལུད་དུས་ཟེར།

393 Fire issued from his pocket and singed his beard (of friends and relations who give evidence in court against a man).

394 རྒྱ་མེད་འཛིང་ས་ལ་ཆ་ན་ཏི་འདྲོད། རྒྱ་མེད་པས་རྒྱ་མཐོང་ཏེ་ན་ཅེས་འཁད་ན་ཟེར།

394 Being without money, he arrived at the market and wished to buy things.

395 རྒྱ་ལྷག་པའི་དྲི་མ་ཡིན། རྒྱ་ལ་གོད་འབྱུང་དུས་ཟེར།

395 Wealth is the dirt of your hands.

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༣༧༦ ལྷ་བྱེ་ལན་ལ་སྒྲི་ནིའི་ལྷོ། བཟང་ལན་ངན་པམ་འཇམ་ན་ཟེར། ལྷ་བྱེ་གཏམ་དཔེ་ལྷོ་
དགམ་པམ་ཟེར།

396 In return for good, he rendered evil.

༣༧༧ ལྷ་བྱེ་ལ་ཁ་ལེབ་སྐྱུ་བཀའ་ཡིན། མི་མང་གི་ཁ་ལ་ལག་པ་བཀའ་མི་བྱུབ་ཟེར།

397 Who can put a lid on a hundred pots? (Used when many people speak ill of one. You can silence a few, but impossible when there are many excuses.)

༣༧༨ གནམ་ཁོག་ན་མཚུག་གུམ་སྤང་མི་བྱུབ། དབང་ཅན་གྱིས་གནོད་སྤེལ་ན། ཞན་པམ་དེ་སྒོག་
མི་བྱུབ་ཟེར།

398 When the sky falls on you, you cannot lift it up with your fingers. (If the powerful influential afflict you, you cannot do anything against them.)

ཨ

༣༧༩ མནན་དང་ཁྲག་བྱ་བྱག་ཅེས། ལམ་གཉིས་འདྲམ་དུམ་སྤྱེར།

399 The end of the strap met the buckle.

༤༠༠ ཉན་དང་བྱ་ཁོན་ཆུང་དུམ་ཞོས།

400 Cure the disease at the onset, and pay the debt when it is small.

༤༠༡ ཇོ་ལ་སྒྲིང་གཅིག་ལ། བཟན་སྒྲིང་གཉིས། ཁོ་ལག་པམ་བཟན་གཞི་བ་ཁེ་ཟེར།

401 One ball of dough makes two cakes.

༤༠༢ པ་ལེ་མ་ལ་བམ་བཅོ་ན། ལྷ་བྱེ་མ་ལ་བཅོ་འཛོན། དལ་བྱར་ལམ་ཅིང་ན་མགོ་ཆོད་ཟེར།

402 If you arrange the pieces slowly, they will form a square.

༤༠༣ ཇོ་ཁོ་གོང་ཀ་མེད་ན་རུབ་ཤོ་ལ་མེད་ཡིན།

403 Apart from the Polokongka there is no pass in Rupsho.

༤༠༤ དཔེ་ར་ཆང་མ་དཔེར་མེན་ཡིན། རུབ་ཤོ་འགང་འཕྱར་མི་དཔེ་ར་དཔེ་ར་ཡིན། གཞན་གྱི་
གཏམ་ལ་འདྲ་བའི་མི་ལ་ཟེར།

404 All other conversation is worthless, but the speech of Gangjor of Rupshu is worth while.

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༤༠༥ དཔེར་ཅིམ་ལུས་ནའང་མི་རུལ། གཏམ་མི་རུལ་བམ། ལུ་ལེར་ཐག་ཚད་ནའང་མི་རྩེར་ར།

405 No matter how much is left over for discussion, it will not rot. (A decision will be reached at long last.)

༤༠༦ དཔོན་པོ་དང་མཇལ་ན་ཅི་ཁྱ་དང་གང་ལྟ། ལྷ་མ་དང་མཇལ་ན་ཕུལ་དང་གང་ལྟ། གཏམ་

ཡིན་མིན་ཀུན་དཔོན་པོ་དང་ལྷ་མར་ཁྱ་ཟེར།

406 When meeting his master he tells all sorts of stories, and when meeting his priest he offers every gift he possesses.

༤༠༧ དཔོན་པོ་ལ་བརྟུན་སྤྱིང་འགྲོ་ན་ཇ་ལ་འཛོག་ཤིངོ། སྤྱད་བཏག་ནམ་དོན་མེད་ལ་གཡོག་པོ་

མོགས་ལ་ཁ་བརྟུན་ཟེར།

407 If one's master intends to find fault, even the tea will have a burnt smell.

༤༠༨ དཔོན་པོའི་བསང་རབ་དང་། གང་ས་ཀྱི་ཐེགས་པ་འདྲ། མི་ཆེན་གྱིས་གནང་བའི་ཁ་ཐས་ཀྱི་

གསོལ་རས་རྩང་ཟད་ཡོད་ཀྱང་ཟིན་ཅན་ཡིན་ཟེར།

408 The master's gift of food is like drops from ice (i.e. appreciation of a small gift).

༤༠༩ དཔོན་གཡོག་ཤོབ་ས་བཏང་། གཉེན་བྱང་འཛོང་ས་བཏང་། གཏང་ན་མི་འགྲིག་པ་འབྱུང་

ཟེར།

409 Master and servant should not joke together; and don't transact business with your relations.

༤༡༠ དཔྱད་ཉེན་འིང་མོ་ལ་གང་གསུམ་དྲོ་གསུམ། མི་ཆེ་འིང་མོ་ལ་སྤྱད་གསུམ་ལྷག་གསུམ། གང་

དྲོ་སྤེལ་ས་ལྷར་སྤྱད་ལྷག་ཀྱང་སྤེལ་ས་འབྱུང་ཟེར།

410 There are three cold and three warm periods in a spring day; and in a man's long lifetime there are three joys and three sorrows (i.e. joy and misery come in their turn to a man).

༤༡༡ དཔྱད་འབད་དུས་ལ་ས་འབད་ན། རྩོན་རྩུ་དུས་ལ་ཅི་རྩུ་ཡིན། དཔྱད་ཀ་ལ་ལས་ཅིད་དགོས་

ཟེར།

411 If you do not labour in spring, what will you reap in autumn?

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༤༡༢ ལྷ་ཀུ་སྐྱ་ཏི་རྩི་མི་ལྟན། མི་བྱ་སྐྱ་ཏི་རང་བྱ་མི་ལྟན། ལུ་དྲོད་དང་སྐྱ་བྱ་བཟླས་
ཏི་ཟེར།

412 By nourishing a wolf, he will not become a dog; and by adopting a child, he cannot become as one of your own.

༤༡༣ ལྷ་ཀུ་དྲོད་ལ་ལྷ་ལྷ་མ་པར་ལ་ལ་ཏི་མི་ཟེར་ཁ་མེད། མི་དབང་ཆེ་བའང་ལ་ཀ་མ་ཆ་ན་མི་
ལྷ་ལ་བཙལ་དགོས་འབྱུང་ཟེར།

413 When the wolf fell into the pit, he was obliged to say 'please, sir' to the goat.

༤༡༤ ལྷ་ཀུ་མི་ལྷོགས་པ་ཞིག། ལུ་གྲུ་མི་ཤི་ཅེས་ཤིག། བྱིས་མ་ནང་ལན་ཚུན་གཉིས་པོར་སྐྱ་སྐྱ་
པོ་ཙམ་ཟེར་རྟེན།

414 Not to starve the wolf and to keep the lamb alive. (When laws are applied fairly to both sides.)

༤༡༥ ལྷ་ཀུ་ལུ་ལ་བྱི། ལྷ་ཀུ་མི་ལྷོགས་ཏེ་དེར་གཞན་ཞིག་བསྐྱབ་ནས་འཁར་ན་ཟེར།

415 A dog after a wolf. (A wolf carried off a sheep. Soon after a dog came, and the people thinking the dog a thief, caught and killed him.)

༤༡༦ ལྷ་ཀུ་མི་ལྷོགས་པ་ནང་ལ་ལེར་མིང་ས། ལ་མ་ཅེད་པའི་དཀྱིལ་དུ་གཞན་ཞིག་གིས་ཟེང་ངེས་འབྱོར་
ན་ཟེར།

416 Whilst hunting a wolf, he fought with a stick.

༤༡༧ ལྷ་ཏི་ཕིས་མ་ཡིན། མས་མཁུག་ཁུ་ལུ་བཙལ་མ་ཡིན། དྲན་ནི་དེ་ཀ་ཡིན། (ཕིས་མ་
means ལྷ་ཏི་ཕིས་མ་ཡིན།)

417 Spite is but the part property of two masters. It is the legacy of the termination of the Kuna war.

༤༡༨ ལྷུ་ལ་ཤོད་པ་རྩ་དགུ། ཏ་མག་དང་སྐྱ་མག་དང་སྐྱ་མག་ལྷ་ལུ་ལོབས་ངན་མང་པོ་ཡོད་པ་
ལ་ཟེར།

418 A monkey has nine bad habits. (Used of people who smoke tobacco and take snuff and indulge in other vices.)

༤༡༩ དབྱིད་ཉན་མིང་དུ་མིང་དུ། ལ་མའི་རྩ་གོར་ལྷ་ལྷ་དུ་ལྷ་ལྷ་དུ།

419 Spring days grow longer and longer; and mother's bread becomes smaller and smaller (i.e. in spring foodstuffs become scarce).

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༤༢༠ ཡ་ལྷ་མ་མཁན་གྱི་བྱ་རྒྱུ་རྒྱུ་ལ། བཅོ་པ་དང་ལག་ཤིས་གྱི་བཅོ་རང་ལ་མ་ཡན་ན་ཟེར།

420 The shoemaker's son walks barefoot (i.e. the shoemaker's wife is the worst shod).

༤༢༡ ཡ་མགོ་དཀར་ལ་བྱ་རྒྱུ་དམར། རྒྱལ་ཁར་བྱ་འཛོར་ན་ཟེར།

421 The hoary headed father has a child with red legs. (A proverb denoting derision, when an old man marries.)

༤༢༢ ཡ་གོས་བྱ་ལ་འགད་ན། བྱ་ལ་ཁ་བད་མ་བཏང། ཅེ་མི་སང་བའི་བྱ་ལ་རང་ཤིས་ཡོང་
དགོས་ཏེ་བསྐབ་བྱས་མི་ཡན་ཟེར།

422 When a father's coat fits his son, don't give him advice.

༤༢༣ ཡ་མ་ལ་ཅི་དཀགས། བྱ་ལ་མནའ་མ་དཀགས། བྱ་ལ་མནའ་མ་ལེགས་པ་ཐོབ་པ་དཀའ་བ་
ཡིན་ཟེར།

423 What is the difficulty with parents? It is difficult for them to get a wife for their son

༤༢༤ ཡ་མའི་ལ་ཡོགས་ཤིང་བ། རྒྱལ་མ་གྱི་ལ་ཡོགས་མཐུག་གུ། ཡ་མའི་ལ་ཡོགས་མང་ཏུ
བྱག་གི་ལ་ཡོགས་ཤིན་ཏུ་མྱར་པོ་འབྱུང་ཟེར། (ཤིང་བ་དང་མཐུབ་མ་ལ་སྒྲར་བ་སྒྲར་
བའི་ཏུ་ཅེ་བ་དང་འདྲོ།)

424 The retribution of parents is as the circumambulation of Mount Miru and of a married couple as a journey round a finger.

༤༢༥ ཡ་སྐྱུ་བྱ་ལ་མི་རྒྱལ། གཅིག་གི་སྐྱུ་གུ་གཞན་གྱིས་འབྲི་མི་རུས་ཟེར།

425 The son could not write with his father's pen (i.e. you can't write with another person's pen).

༤༢༦ ཡ་ཅན་དན་ལ་བྱ་རྒྱུ་ཤིང། ཡ་ཡ་རབས་ལ་བྱ་མ་རབས་འཛོན་ན་ཟེར།

426 The father of sandalwood got a child of reed (i.e. if a highborn father has a lowbred son).

༤༢༧ ཡ་ཅ་རྩོང་པའི་རང་ལང་སྐྱུ་གུང་མི་བྱུ། རྒྱུད་པ་ལྟོགས་ཤིང་སྐྱུ་གུང་ལས་ཅེད་མི་རུས་
ཟེར།

427 No one can make an empty sack stand upright (i.e. a man cannot work on an empty stomach).

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༤༢༥ བ་ཤི་མང་ལུང་སྐྱུ་མ་བུ། བ་ཤི་དུ་མ་སྐྱུ་ཡང་ཤིང་ལ་མ་ཅིང་དགོས། དུ་མ་ཡི་ལ་ན་མི་རུ་མ་
ཟེར།

428 The carrying of manure is more important than father's death.

༤༢༦ བ་ཤི་མ་ཤི་སེམས་ཀྱིས་བཟོད། ཁྱོད་པ་ལྷོགས་པ་སེམས་ཀྱིས་མ་བཟོད། ལྷོགས་པ་ལྷག་
བཟུལ་ཀུན་པས་ཆེ་ཟེར།

429 One can endure the death of one's parents, but one cannot endure hunger.

༤༣༠ བ་ཤི་མཆེར་པ་ཟ། མ་ཤི་རུ་མ་ཟ། ད་བར་དུ་བོད་པས་མ་དང་མ་གསོན་ཁོར་ཡོད་ན་མཆེར་
པ་དང་རུ་མ་མི་ཟ།

430 When father dies, you may eat spleen, and when mother dies, you may eat udder.

༤༣༡ བ་སྐྱུ་གྱི་རྩི་བ་མ་ལོག་པར་ལ། རང་གི་གཞེན་གྱིས་དབྱ་ཅིང་ཅིང་། གཞེན་མིན་པའི་ལྷོགས་
ཅིང་ན་ཟེར།

431 The ribs of father's lineage are reversed. (When there is enmity against a relative.)

༤༣༢ བག་ཉན་མན། ལྷག་ཉན་ཡིན། བག་ཉན་གཏོང་བའི་མཛིང་ལྷག་ལ་རྒྱུང་ཟེར་རོ།

432 He is not one who listens in secret, but one who overhears.

༤༣༣ བག་ག་སྐ་མས་ནད་རྩིང་པ་སྐྱང། འཛིང་མ་སྐ་མས་གཞན་འཛིང་བའི་གཏམ་ངན་རྩིང་པ་
ཡང་འཛིན་ན་ཟེར།

433 Fresh pork causes the old malady to reappear. (A new quarrel revives an old one.)

༤༣༤ བར་ལ་ལུ་ཟེར་ན་རྩིང་ལ་བུ། གཅིག་གིས་ལུ་ཤིང་གཞིར་པ་མེར་ལུ་མ་པས། དམ་ཆེ་ཤི་
རི་རྩི་སྐྱུ་བྱས་པ་ལ་བརྟེན་ཏེ། བར་བསྐབ་བྱ་བཏང་བའི་ལན་དུ་ཆོག་ངན་ཟེར་ན་ཟེར།

434 If you blow on anything it will spit back upon you. (One who refuses admonition.)

༤༣༥ བལ་ཆེར་ཡི་གེ་གོ་བས་དཀྱིད། ཡི་གེའི་དོན་ལ་ལྷས་ཏི་འདྲ་གཙོད་དགོས་ཟེར།

435 As a rule a letter can be read by understanding the sense (i.e. as regards bad calligraphy).

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༤༣༥ ཇི་ཐོག་ཕྱིན་དམར་འཁོར་ན། ལྷག་པོའི་ལམ་ཐངས་འབྲིག། ཕྱི་དྲོ་ཕྱིན་དམར་འཁོར་ན།
གནས་ཐང་གི་རྟགས་ཡིན་པས། ལྷག་པོས་མང་ཉེན་ཕྱིར་ལམ་གྲུལ་ཅེད་རྒྱས་ཟེར།

436 If the sky is red in the evening, the rich can make their plans.

༤༣༦ ཇི་ཕི་ཙྰ་ཡོངས་ཏི། རང་ཕི་ཙྰ་ཡིངས། རྟིང་ནས་བསྐྱབ་པའི་མནལ་མཐམ་མག་པ་ལྟ་བུས་
ཡ་མ་དང་གཞི་སྒྲོད་ཐོགས་ཕྱིར་འདྲོན་ན་ཟེར།

437 The mouse which was outside came in and drove out the one which was inside. (When a son-in-law is brought into the house, and the old father has to retire to a separate apartment in the house.)

༤༣༧ ཇི་ཐོག་ཨ་བ་བྱང་ཐང་ལ། རྩ་མོ་ཨ་བ་མལ་སའི་ནང་ལ། ཕྱི་དྲོ་མང་ངས་འདི་རྒྱག་དེ་
རྒྱག་བྱའི་ཟེར་ནས། རྩ་དྲོ་མལ་སའི་ནང་གཉིད་ཐོག་པ་ལྟ་བུ་འབྱུང་ན་ཟེར།

438 In the evening father was at Changtang, and in the morning he was in bed.

༤༣༨ ཇི་གཟེག་ནང་རྩལ། རྟོར་དང་ཡོན་ཏན་མེད་པའི་མི་གཟེག་པོ་འདབ་ཅན་ལ་ཟེར་རོ།

439 He is smart outwardly, and rotten inwardly.

༤༤༠ ཇི་ལ་ཐོས་པའི་ཐལ་བ། མེ་སྐྱར་འབྲིམ་པའི་བྱ་དང་བྱ་མོ་ལས་ལ་མི་ཡན་ཟེར་རོ།

440 Dust which is already thrown away. (Of a son or daughter already given away in marriage.)

༤༤༡ ཇིད་ཇིད་ཟེར་ཡིན་ཇི་ལྟ་ལ། རྒྱད་རྒྱད་ཟེར་ཡིན་ནང་ལ། རྒྱང་མ་ལྟ་བུ་རེས་ཕྱིར་འདྲོན་གིང་
རེས་ནང་དུ་འབྱུར་ན་ཟེར་རོ།

441 He made her leave him by saying 'Go away', and call her back by saying 'Come in'. (When a man has divorced his wife and then brings her back again.)

༤༤༢ ཇིའི་ཅང་པའི་སང་ནང་ངེ་ཅང་ཏི་བྱ། ཕྱིའི་འབྲུག་པ་བས་ནང་གི་འབྲུག་པ་བྱ་ཟེར་རོ།

442 The leaking of a roof is worse than the rain outside.

༤༤༣ ལུ་ལ་གངས་འེ་ཡོད་ན། མཛེ་ལ་ཐིགས་པ། མི་རྒྱལ་བ་ཞིག་ལ་རྟོར་ཡོད་ན་དམུལ་བ་ཅན་
ལ་ཡན་ཟེར་རོ།

443 If there is a glacier in the upper part of the valley, drops from it will come to the lower part of it. (Part of the rich man's wealth comes to the poor.)

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༤༤༤ ལྷག་མའི་ནང་གི་རྒྱ་ཁབ། ལུ་ལྷག་མེད་པ་ལ་བྱ་གཅིག་འཛོར་ན་ཟེར།

444 A needle from China in the straw. (Of childless parents who finally get a son.)

༤༤༥ ཐེ་བཀལ་ཉི་གཏང་ན། ལུ་མི་ཐོབ། མི་མགོ་མི་ཚད་པ་ཞིག་ལ་ཟེར།

445 If you send him off with some flour, he cannot obtain water. (Used of a stupid person who cannot manage for himself.)

༤༤༦ ཐེ་ལྷག་མ་ན་བ་ལུ་ལྷག་མ་སྤང་གུང་མི་བཅོ། ལྷག་པོའི་ལྷག་མ་མེན་པ་དབུལ་པོའི་ལྷག་མ་སྤང་གུང་མི་ཕེད་ཟེར།

446 Everybody will take sides with flour, but none with water. (Taking sides with the rich and treating the poor with contempt.)

༤༤༧ ཐེ་ལུར་བོ་འོག་པར་ལ། རང་གི་མིར་ཡན་མ་ཐོག་མ་པར་གཤན་ལ་ཡན་ཐོག་མ་པོའི་གཉེན་ལ་ཟེར།

447 To cast away fine flour in the wrong direction. (Of relations who help others rather than their own home-folk.)

༤༤༨ ཐོ་དང་ལྷུང་གུ་འགྲང་ན་དུ། མི་ཚང་གིས་བཟེས་ཉི་དུ་ན་ཟེར།

448 A man and a wolf weep when they are filled to repletion. (When a drunkard begins to weep.)

༤༤༩ ཐོ་རྒྱར་རྩ་དང། མོ་རྒྱར་བ། མག་པ་གཏན་ན་རྩ་དང་མནའ་མ་གཏན་ན་སྤང་གས་པ་མ་བ་སྤང་གས་ལྷན་དགོས་པ་མ་ཟེར་ན།

449 A pony to divorce a man, and a cow to divorce a woman. (This custom of paying a horse or cow is still in vogue when divorces occur in Ladakh.)

༤༥༠ ཐོ་ཐོག་ལ་ཁབ་ཕྱོར་ན། མིག་ལ་བཅུག་ག་སྤྱིང་ལ་བཅུག། ལུ་གྲ་ལྷ་ལུར་ཅི་ཞིག་ཐོབ་ནས་དེ་ལ་ལག་པ་རྩ་ཡིན་བཤྲད་ན་ཟེར།

450 If a crow gets a needle, he will pierce it into his eyes or heart.

༤༥༡ ཐོ་བརྒྱའི་རྒྱང་ས་དང། མོ་བརྒྱའི་མཛོང་ས། ཐོ་ལས་དང་མོ་ལས་ཚང་མ་ཞེས་པའི་མི་ལ་ཟེར་ན།

451 He who possesses a hundred talents of a man and a hundred attributes of a woman. (The accomplished person.)

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༤༥༢ མོ་ཞིག་འགྲུལ་ན་ལྟལ། མོ་ཞིག་འདུག་ན་ལྟལ། མའི་ལམ་བྱིས་གྱི་ཕྱི་རལ་དང་མའི་ལམ་
ནང་ན་ཡོད་ཟེར།

452 Better for a man to go abroad, and a woman to stay at home.

༤༥༣ མོ་རང་ལོ་གསུམ་འདུག་ན། མ་ལྷོ་བ་གདང་ལ་བཀལ། བུད་མེད་པམ་ཀྱང་མོ་རང་བུད་ག་
ཆེ་བ་འབྱུང་བའི་དཔེཾ།

453 A bachelor for three years, hangs up the clout.

༤༥༤ བྱག་འཆལ་གྱི་མགོ་ལ་སྤུམ་ཀྱང་རྩོད་བ་མི་ལྟལ། ལུས་པ་དང་བབས་མོ་ཅེད་པ་ལ་སྤུམ་ཀྱང་མི་
རེག་ཟེར།

454 No one will stone a man on the head who bows down before him.

༤༥༥ བྱག་པོའི་ངོ་གསོ་ལ། ལྟ་རག་གི་སྤིང་ཅ་ཆད། མི་ནོར་ཡོད་པའི་ངོ་གསོ་ཅེད་དུ་དབུལ་
པོས་གཙང་ཆད་ལས་ཅེད་ན་ཟེར།

455 Through pleasing the rich man, the pauper burst a blood vessel.

༤༥༦ འཕུང་འཕྲོ་ལ་འཕུང། རྩོད་བྱགས་ལ་བྱུ་བྱགས་མང་པོ་ལྟན་ཅིག་ཏུ་འབྱུང་ན་ཟེར།

456 Decay upon decay. (Misfortune following in quick succession.)

༤༥༧ འཕྱགས་ན་འཕྱགས་ན་མཁས་པ་འཕྱགས། མཁས་པ་འཕྱགས་ན་བཙོ་བབས་མེད། མཁས་
པ་འཕྱགས་ན། ཡང་བཙོ་བཙོ་པ་མི་འདུག་ཟེར།

457 The wise man does not err, but if he does err there is no way of mending the matter.

༤༥༨ ཕྱགས་ལ་མི་མེད་ན། སྤྱི་ལ་བཟན་མེད། ཕྱགས་པ་མེད་ན་བཟན་ཐོབ་ཅེས་དཀག་གས་པོ་
ཡིན་ཟེར།

458 If you have no one to take your part, there will be no food in front of you.

༤༥༩ བྱག་གསར་ནས་ཕུ་ཚན་མ་གྱི། བྱག་པོ་སོ་མས་ཚོ་སོ་ཅེད་པས། དེ་ལྟ་བུ་ལས་ནོར་མ་གྱི་
ཟེར་རོ།

459 Don't borrow from the 'Nouvean riche'.

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༤༥༠ ཕྱ་གུའི་རྒྱུ་དྲུག་ | ཡ་མའི་རྒྱུ་དྲུག་ | ཕྱ་ཕྱག་ན་མོ་རྒྱུ་དྲུག་མི་ལག་དགོན་པས་ | ཡ་མ་
ལ་རྒྱུ་པ་འབྱུང་ཟེར་ |

460 When the children are small, then parents become weak.

༤༥༡ ཕྱ་གུ་སྒྱུ་ན་ | ཕྱིན་དང་སྒྱུས་ | ཕྱ་གུ་སྒྱུ་བའི་ཐབས་སྒྱ་མོ་ཡིན་ཟེར་ |

461 If you want to soothe a child, soothe him with the wind.
(Any distraction will suffice to keep a child from crying.)

༤༥༢ ཕྱ་གུ་ལ་ལེ་ནེ་དང་ | བཅུན་རྒྱུང་ལ་ཇུ་ | ཕྱ་གུ་རྒྱུང་བ་ལ་ལེ་ནེ་མི་དགོས་པས་ | དེའི་ལག་
རྟུ་ལེ་ནེ་མ་གཏང་ཟེར་ |

462 Money to children and a shilling to a monk. (Children do not want money, but food and clothing.)

༤༥༣ ཕྱ་གུ་དགུ་སྒྱེས་པའི་ཨ་ནེ་ལ་རྩིང་གཏམ་མ་ཐུག་ | རྟེན་ཅན་གྱི་རྩིང་གཏམ་ནི་ཕུ་དགུ་སྒྱེས་
མཁན་གྱི་རྒྱུང་མ་ལ་འང་མ་བཤད་ཟེར་ |

463 Don't confide a secret to your wife who has borne nine children.

༤༥༤ ཕྱ་གུའི་ཁྲིམས་བདག་ཡ་མ་ | ཕྱ་གུའི་དབང་ཡ་མ་ལ་ཡོད་ཟེར་ |

464 Parents are the judges of their children. (Tibetans got this custom from the Chinese whose judges would condemn a disobedient child to death at the instigation of its parents.)

༤༥༥ རྩ་རོག་གིས་རྟན་བརྒྱུད་པ་སང་ | ཕུག་པའི་མིག་འཕྲུལ་ | གཞན་གྱི་ཐེད་ལྷགས་ལ་འཛིགས་
ན་ཟེར་ |

465 The smacking sound made by the raven against his palate made the owl blink his eyes. (These birds are known to be enemies of each other.)

༤༥༦ ཕྱ་གུ་དང་ལྗང་པ་སྒྱེ་རྩལ་ནས་ནིས་ | ཕྱ་གུ་རྒྱུང་ཅུའི་དྲུག་ནས་ཇི་ལྟ་ཕུ་འབྱུང་ཡིན་ནིས་ཟེར་ |

466 The nature of a child and that of a blade of corn can be ascertained by the way they grow.

༤༥༧ ཕྱིད་ལྷ་ཇི་རང་ | ཕྱིད་ལྷ་ཇི་མི་ | རང་གི་ནད་ཀྱི་ཐབས་ཕྱིད་རང་གིས་ཙམ་ཟེར་ |

467 One is partly one's own doctor and partly a physician to another.

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༤༦༩ བ་ངན་འབྲུག་ཡིན་བཞོ། འཇམ་གྲང་དུ་གཏོང་བའི་བ་ལ་ཁ་བཀྱི་བཞེན་དེའི་འཇམ་འཛོར་བ་ལྟར།

གཅིག་ལ་འབྲུག་གིན་དེ་ལས་ཡན་ཐོགས་ན་ཟེར།

468 Whilst grumbling at her, he milked the cow.

༤༦༩ བ་མ་བཞོ། རྩ་བཞོ། འཇམ་མང་པོ་ཐོབ་པ་ལ་རྩ་མང་པོ་ཐོང་ཟེར།

469 Don't milk the cow, but milk the grass.

༤༧༠ བ་བཞོས་ཏེ་པ་འི་གང་ནའང་གང། ར་བཞོས་ཏེ་པ་འི་གང་ནའང་གང། པ་འི་གང་དགོས།

རང་རྟོན་གང་ལས་འབྲུག་ནའང་འབྲིག་ཟེར།

470 The pot must be filled, whether by milking the cow or the goat.

༤༧༡ བ་ལུ་མེད་པ་མེད་ཐབས་མེད། བསད་ད་མི་ཀུལ་བཀོལ་བ་ཀུལ། ལས་ནང་བྲམ་པ་ཡོད་

པའི་ལས་པ་ས་བསད་པར་ཁོལ་ཟེར།

471 A dwarf is indispensable, so better not kill him but let him work for you. (A hard worker should not be dismissed.)

༤༧༢ བ་གསོ་བ་ལ་ཕུག་རགས་དགོས། རྩང་མ་སྒྲེལ་བར་ནོར་ཟན་དགོས་ཟེར།

472 To feed a cow you need a store of grass. (A man must have money to keep a wife.)

༤༧༣ བ་ཀན་གྱི་བྱ་བ་ཐལ། དུས་གྱི་ལོ་ས་བྱད། ད་ཀས་ནས་ལས་ཅིད་པའི་དུས་ཟིན་ཟེར་རོ།

473 The old man is beyond work, the leaf of time has fallen.

༤༧༤ བག་མའི་ཕུག་ཁྱི་ཁེ་ལ་ལ། བག་མ་སོ་མས་མི་ཆེ་རྩང་ཆོང་མ་མ་ཟད་ཁྱི་དང་ཕྱི་ལ་ལང་

ཕུག་ཅིད་དགོས་སོ་ཟེར།

474 The bride must pay her respects even to dogs and cats. (A bride in Ladakh is obliged to pay her respects to every one.)

༤༧༥ བག་ལས་ཁ་བས་གཅད་ན་ངན། རོ་ལས་ཁ་བས་གཅད་ན་བཟང། བག་མ་དང་རོ་འབྱེར་

བའི་འོག་རྩ་ཁ་འབབ་ན། བོད་པས་ལྷས་སུ་འཛོན་ནོ།

475 Unlucky for the snow to cut off the progress of a bridal party; lucky when the snow cuts off the road to a funeral pyre.

༤༧༦ བག་མ་བའི་མོ་ལ་རྩ་གཡོན་ཏི།

476 The beautiful bride has a curved nose (i.e. a beautiful face or thing with one defect).

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༤༧༧ བེ་ལ་ཙྰགས་ལ་མིག་བཙུམ་ཏེ་ཟ་ཅེས། མིག་གིས་མ་ལྟ་བར་རང་གི་ཁ་ཟས་ཟ་ན་ཟེར།

477 To eat whilst closing one's eyes like a cat.

༤༧༩ བེ་ལ་ཤོར་ཏེ་དཀར་བྱང་བཀག་ཅེས། གནོད་པ་ཞིག་སོང་ཟེན་ཏེ་ག་དར་བེད་ན་ཟེར།

478 To shut the window after the cat has escaped.

༤༧༠ བེ་ལ་འེ་ལག་པ་ལ་ཆེན་པོ་ལ་མཁན། མི་ངན་ནོར་འདྲི་ཅན་གྱི་ལག་ཏུ་ནོར་བཙོལ་ན་ཟེར།

479 He who gives suet in trust to a cat.

༤༨༠ བེ་ལ་གྱི་རྩས་པ་མི་ལ་མི་རྩག། བེ་ལ་ཇི་ལྟར་རྩང་ཡང་མི་འེ་གཟུགས་དོར་མི་རྩག་པས་ཁོ་ལ་
ཟེར།

480 The coarse wool will not prick anyone.

༤༨༡ བྱ་ངན་གསད་ད། ལག་ངན་གཏུབ། རང་ལྷུག་རྩ་ག་པོ་འཕྲོན་ན་ཟེར།

481 May I kill my son, or may I cut off my own bad hand?

༤༨༢ བྱ་འཆར་ན་པང་ལ་མི་ཤོང། བྱ་ཞིག་ཆེ་མིར་ཐུར་ནས་ལ་མས་འཇུན་མི་རྩལ་ཟེར།

482 There is no room for the grown-up son on his father's lap.

༤༨༣ བྱ་ཁོན་མེད་ན་ལག་མི་ལ་འདུག། ཆོར་ཀ་མེད་ན་ན་ཆན་ཆོས། ལག་མི་དང་འཆོང་
མེན་མ་གཏང་ཟེར།

483 If you are not in debt, then become a surety. If free from trouble, buy an old horse.

༤༨༤ བྱ་ཁོན་གྱི་མཆེ་བ་ཐེབས་ན་འབྲུད་ཅེས་དཀགས་པོ།

484 If in the grip of debt, it is hard to get free from it.

༤༨༥ བྱ་ཆོ་ལ་ཤི་ས་མེད། བྱ་ཆོ་ལ་མ་ཁང་མེད། རྒྱུ་ལ་ཕེས་དང་བྱུང་མེད་བཀ་མར་འགྲོ་
དགོས་ཟེར།

485 A son has no place where he may die : and a daughter no home. (A man has to travel to earn his living, so cannot be certain where he will die ; and a daughter, when she gets married, cannot remain in her mother's home.)

༤༨༦ བྱ་གཡོག་ལ་མི་མི་ཤི། རྩ་གཡོག་ལ་འབྲུ་མི་ཤི། བྱ་ཁོན་གྱི་ཡང་མི་གུས་འཁོར་ཡོང་
ཟེར།

486 A man does not die under a load of debt, nor a worm under the weight of a stone.

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༤༨༧ བུ་ཕ་ལུ་ལ་ན། ལག་མི་རི་ན། བུ་ཕ་བས་ལག་མིར་རྒྱུ་ཕ་ལ་འདེད་ལའི་ཕྱིར་ཁར་རྒྱུ་
བ་འབྱུང་ཟེར།

487 The debtor in the city, and his surety in the mountains.

༤༨༨ བུ་ལ་དང་ལག་ལ་འབྲུ་ཅམ། རྣ་རྩ་བྱ་རྣ་ན་ཟེར།

488 To wash one's hands with soda. (When a man loses his wealth or position at his own free will.)

༤༨༩ བེར་ཀར་བེར་ལན་མ་གཏང་ན། བེར་ཀ་མང་དུ་འཛོག། མས་ལ་མས་ལན་མ་གཏང་ན།
མས་ཁ་ཉུང་དུ་ཆ། གཞན་ལ་མ་ཅེས་མ་བཏང་ཏེ་ཕྱག་པོར་མི་འབྱུང་ཟེར།

489 If you don't repay sticks with sticks, the stick will hurt you the more; and if you don't return food for food, you will have so much less to eat.

༤༩༠ བོ་མོའི་གྲོད་པ་དང་མཛོ་མོའི་གྲོད་པ། བུད་མེད་ཀྱི་མ་ཇ་མང་པོ་འབྱུང་ཟེར།

490 A woman's belly is like that of a cow. (Thought that a woman has a larger appetite.)

༤༩༡ བོ་མོའི་རྒྱ་ལབ་དང་། རྩ་མོའི་ཉིན་ལམ། བུད་མེད་གཉིས་དཔེར་གཏང་འཚར་འཚར་ལ།
རྩ་མ་ཉིན་ལམ་གཅེག་གཏང་ཟེར།

491 The conversation of a woman is as long as a day's march on horseback.

༤༩༢ བོང་བྱ་རྒྱ་ལ་མེད་ཅིག་རང་འཕག་གི་རྩོ་ལ། ལས་ལ་དགོས་དུས་སུ་མི་ཞིག་སྤྲིབ་ཆ་ན་ཟེར།

492 A donkey without a load at the door of a flour mill.

༤༩༣ བོང་བྱ་ག་དུ་བཏགས་ཏེ་ཡོངས་པེན། ཁ་མས་ཀྱི་ཁར་འགོར་ཏེ་ཕྱིའི་མི་ཞིག་སྤྲིབ་ན་ཟེར།

493 Having tied up your donkey where have you come from? (When a stranger comes after the meal is over.)

༤༩༤ བོང་བྱ་དང་རྒྱག་པ་ཁ་བྱུག་ཆ་ཅམ། མི་ངན་པ་ཞིག་དང་ཐུད་དེ་གནོད་པ་འབྱུང་ན་ཟེར།

494 To meet a donkey with dung.

༤༩༥ བོང་ཞོན་ལག་ཆག། རྩ་ཞོན་མགོ་ཆག། བོང་བྱར་ཞོན་པ་ལག་པ་དང་རྩར་ཞོན་པ་འགྲིལ་
ན་དེ་འབྱུང་ཟེར།

495 He breaks his arm who rides upon an ass, and his head who rides upon a horse. (Of a man when he falls from a donkey or a horse.)

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༤༩༦ བོང་བྱ་ལ་དམ་ཚམ། ཉ་མི་གོ་བའི་མི་ལ་བསྐྱབ་ཅི་གཏང་ན་ཟེར།

496 Scriptural advice to an ass.

༤༩༧ བོང་བྱ་ལ་ཞོན་ཏེ་བོང་བྱ་བཅོལ་ཅེས། དངོས་པོ་ཞིག་རང་གི་ལག་གམ་མདུན་དུ་ཡོད་པ་མ་
མཐོང་བར་བཅོལ་ན་ཟེར།

497 He looked for the donkey on which he was mounted.

༤༩༨ བོད་ཀྱི་ཤིང་བཅག་མ་ལ་མ་འདུག། ཤིང་ཡར་ཏེ་འཕྲོག་སྤིད་ཟེར།

498 Do not stay where Tibetans are chopping wood. (The splinters might hit you.)

༤༩༩ དབང་པོ་ཆེའི་རབ་པོ་ཀྱི་ན་ལ། དབང་ཅན་གྱི་དབང་ཚམ་ལ་ཟེར།

499 A strong man can roll a stone uphill.

༥༠༠ དབུ་མ་གཏང་ལ་ཡང་སྐ། ལྷ་ཁ་ལ་ལྷ་འཛོང་དུ་འཕྱིར་བ་ལྷ་ཕུའི་འཛོང་ཕེད་པ་ལ། ཡང་ན་
འཇམ་མེད་ཀྱི་ནོར་འཛོང་དུ་རྒྱུང་རིང་དུ་འགྲོ་ན་ཟེར།

500 To take a wooden saddle to Tibet. (Like taking coal to Newcastle.)

༥༠༡ འབྲུ་ཚྭ་ལ་ཤིང་བཅུག་ཅེས། མི་དབུལ་པོ་ལ་འཚོག་པ་སྤྲེག་པའམ་གནོད་ཀྱི་ལ་ན་ཟེར།

501 To pierce a worm with a stick. (Injuring a harmless person.)

༥༠༢ འབྲུ་ལ་མ་ནོར་ཞིག་གྱི་མོག་གི་ཆང་མ་ལ། རྒྱུ་ཆེ་བའི་ནང་ལ་སྤྱབ་ན་ཟེར།

502 The worm, which lost its way, arrived at the ant's nest. (To be visited by calamity suddenly.)

༥༠༣ བོད་ཀྱི་ལག་པ་ལ་ཚན་ཤེ། བོད་ཀྱི་ལག་ཏུ་དངོས་པོ་ཆང་མ་ནོག་མ་སོ་ཟེར།

503 The colour was destroyed in the hands of Tibetans.

༥༠༤ འབྲུ་འགྲུལ་བ་ཏེ་མའི་བཀའ་འདྲིན། ང་ལ་ཁྱེད་ཀྱི་དྲིན་མེད་དེ་གཞན་གྱི་དྲིན་ནོ་ཟེར།

504 The worm wriggles because of the goodness of the sun.

༥༠༥ འབེ་ད་གཅིག་གྱུ། མི་གཅིག་འབེ་ཞིག་གིས་གྲུ་ལེན་ན་ཟེར།

505 One musician singing a solo. (When there is only one musician instead of many.)

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༥༠༦ བྱ་མ་པ་མོང་དུན། མི་མ་པ་རང་ལུ་དུན།

506 An aged bird remembers his nest; and an old man his home.

༥༠༧ བྱ་གཉིད་དུས་དུས། རྒྱ་གཉིད་འཁམ་པ། གཉིད་ཡང་རྒྱ་མོག་རྩ་ཟེར།

507 To sleep for a short time like a bird; and to sleep soundly for one's pleasure.

༥༠༨ བྱ་མོང་མེད་པེན་ན། རྩ་མོང་མེད་ཆུ་མ་ཁྱེར་པ། མི་ཚེ་ཆུང་གི་ཉམ་གཏམ་ལ་ཟེར།

508 If the rock-bird had not been there, the water would have carried away the rock.

༥༠༩ བྱ་གནམ་ལ་འཕུར་ནའང་གྱི་བ་མ་མ་ལ། རྒྱུང་མིང་དུ་ལམ་ཅིང་ཁྱེད་ཀྱང་དེའི་སྐད་ཆ་བཟང་ངན་
ཐོས་པ་ལ་ཟེར།

509 Though a bird flies in the sky, his shadow falls on the ground (e.g. news from afar).

༥༡༠ བྱ་མོང་འཛོད་དེ་མ་ན། བྱ་མོང་འཛོད་དེ་ནམ་མེ་ལང་མ། རྒྱུ་པའི་ལམ་གྱི་མ་མ་གཏོགས་
བྱད་མེད་གྱི་མ་ཆེ་མི་ཕྱིད་ཟེར།

510 Until the cock crows, the hen does not stir herself at dawn.

༥༡༡ བྱ་དགོང་མ་ཤིག་འདུག་ནའང་མོང་ཞིག་དགོས། དགོང་མ་གཅིག་གི་ཕྱིར་ཡང་མི་ལ་བྲང་མ་
དགོས་ཟེར།

511 A bird needs a nest if it is only for a night.

༥༡༢ བྱ་སྒྲིག་ནམ་ལ། བྱ་ཁྲག་མ་ལ། ཁྲི་གཏོར་ལ་ཆ་ན་ཟེར།

512 The bird's feathers are in the sky and its blood upon the ground. (When families or persons are scattered.)

༥༡༣ བྱ་ཡང་མ་འབྲུག་མ་མ། རྒྱ་མོང་མ་འབྲུག་མ་མ། བན་ཚུན་གཉིས་པོ་མ་འབྲུག་མ་པར་
འགྲིག་བརྒྱག་པ་ལ་ཟེར།

513 Without disturbing the bird or the egg. (Making up quarrels between two parties peaceably.)

༥༡༤ ཕི་བ་འདུག་གི་གནམ་མི་འདུག། རྒྱ་རྩུང་དེ་གར་ཆེན། འདུག་པའི་གནམ་མེད་དེ་གནམ་
རྒྱ་བ་ལ་ཟེར།

514 The mouse has nowhere to live. So where will he go when he has dragged off the ladle?

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༥༡༥ བླ་འཕྱར་བའི་ཁར་རྩ་མན། ཁྲིམ་པའི་མིར་ལྷག་པར་སྤོ་དགྲག་ན་ཟེར།

515 To beat the drums when the bird is on the wing. (To provoke a man who has lost his temper.)

༥༡༦ ཅེ་མ་བཅོར་རྟེ་མར་མི་འཛོན། དབུལ་པོ་ལ་ཐུམ་བཞག་གཏང་ན་ཡང་ཡག་སྟག་མི་ཐོབ་ཟེར།

516 You cannot produce butter by pressing sand. (Same as 'you can't get blood out of a stone'.)

༥༡༧ ཅམས་ན་གནས་གྱི་བྱ་ཡང་འཁོར། རྩང་ན་པར་གི་བྱ་ཡང་ཁོར། ཡ་ཤ་དང་རྩལ་པོ་ཅིད་པའི་བྱད་ལ་ཟེར།

517 Birds will gather round him who loves them, and a son will escape from the bosom of him who is severe towards him.

༥༡༨ བྲ་ཟན་ལ་ལྷ་རི། བྲ་བོའི་ཟན་གྱི་ཁར་ལྷ་རི་མི་མཛོས་པ་ལྟར། མི་ཐོབས་པའི་ཁ་ཟས་ལ་ཟེར།

518 To dress buckwheat cake with a piece of meat (i.e. preparing an unsuitable meal).

༥༡༩ བྲག་བར་ལ་མ། མི་བར་ལ་གཏམ། བྲག་སྐབས་ནང་མ་ཉུགས་ན་བྲག་འགྱེ་བ་ལྟར།
མི་བར་ལ་གཏམ་གྱིས་དགྲག་ན་སྟོ་འགྱེ་བའི་དོན་ནོ།

519 Earth between rock, and a go-between amongst men. (Earth in the crevice of a rock tends to split it. A go-between tends to make agreement impossible.)

༥༢༠ བྲག་རྩ་ལྷ་མི་ལྷུར། ལུལ་ཁྲིམས་མིས་མི་ལྷུར། ལུལ་སྒྲོམ་འཛིག་པར་མི་ཅིད་ཟེར།

520 Water cannot move the spur of a rock, and men will not change the customs of their country.

༥༢༡ བྲག་དང་ཅར་ག། དབང་ཅན་དང་ཁ་དམན་འཇབ་ན་ཟེར།

521 A rock and an earthen pot. (When a strong man and a weak one compete.)

༥༢༢ བྲ་གང་ནང་ལ་མེད་པ། ཇི་ལ་ཁལ་ཅིག། ནང་ན་ནོར་མེད་པར་ཕྱི་རུ་ཡོད་ཁྲུང་ས་ལྟོན་པ་ལ་ཟེར།

522 In his house he had not a measureful of flour. Yet he pretended to offer a bushel to an outsider.

༥༢༣ འབྲོག་པ་བརྒྱ་ཤི་རྩེད་ལང། བརྒྱད་རྩ་མང་པོ་ཡོད་ཟེར།

523 If a hundred Dards die, a thousand sons will rise up. (Of one who foreruns a long lineage.)

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ཕ ੨੮ འབྲེག་པ་བྲལ་ལ་མ་བོར། རྩ་རི་བྱར་ལ་མ་བོར། འབྲེག་པ་ལ་རྩི་རྩར་ཅེན་ན་རྩར་ལ་གཞོན་
པ་རྩེ་ལ་ཟེར།

524 Don't put a Dard in the row and don't hang up your axe.
(Used derisively when speaking of Dards.)

ཕ ੨੫ འབྲེག་པ་མི་མན། མས་ཀྱི་ཏ་ཤིང་མན། འབྲེག་པ་ལ་སྤྲད་སྤྲེལ།

525 Dards are not men, the Askuta is not wood.

ཕ ੨੪ ལྷ་མས་སྒྲོང་བཅག་ཆག་ན། ལྷ་མས་བྱ་རྩི་གསལ་ཆག། ལྷ་བ་དཔོན་ཚུ་ལ་བྲིམས་དམ་
པོར་མི་སྤྲད་བ་ལ་ཟེར།

526 If a priest may break an egg, his disciple may kill the
hens.

ཕ ੨੨ ལྷ་མའི་ནོར་དང་གོང་ཀའི་ཐལ་པ། གོང་ཀའི་ཐལ་པ་རྒྱུང་གིས་འབྲིར་ལྷར་སྤྲེལ་མའི་ནོར་ཐོབ་
ན་ཡང་མཁུགས་པ་པར་ཟེར།

527 The wealth of a priest is like the dust on the top of a hill.
As the dust is swept by wind so the wealth of a lama
disappears.

ཕ ੨੧ ལཱ་ཏི་ལ་རྩ་ཐོབ་པ་ཅོགས། ཅི་ཞིག་ཐོབ་ནས་མང་དུ་འཐད་ན་ཟེར།

528 Like a Balti who has got some salt. (Salt is rare in Balti-
stan. A Balti will eat salt as if it were sugar.)

ཕ ੨੦ ལཱ་ཏི་རྩེར་ཅན་ནིས་སྤོ་བཞོལ་བཞོལ་ལ། བོད་རྩེར་མེད་རི་རྩེར་པོ་བཀུས། མེམས་བཏད་
དེ་སྤོ་ལུ་ན་ཟེར།

529 The reserved Balti pretended to be honest, and the heart
of the frank Tibetan was stolen.

ཕ ੧੦ ལྷར་པའི་མཐོང་བཟོལ། རྩི་མིག་གཞལ་ཡས་ཁང། རང་ནོར་དང་རང་ཁང་ལ་ཏ་ལས་
པ་ལ་ཟེར།

530 To a beetle the crack in the wall seems like a mansion.

ཕ ੧੧ ལྷར་པའི་མགོ་ལ་མི་བཏབ་ལྷ་མེད་སྤྲད། བོད་པས་དཀྱིད་ལ་ལྷར་པ་ཐོག་མར་འཕོན་དུས་སྤྲེལ་
དེ་མགོ་ལ་བྱ་གཏོར་བའི་སྤོལ་ཡོད་པས། རྩ་རྩེ་ཅེས་མེད་པ་ལ་སྤྲད་དེ་ཟེར།

531 He has not enough flour even to put on the head of a
beetle. (When Tibetans see a beetle for the first
time in spring they put flour on the head of the beetle.)

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ལ 32 ལྷ་ཁྱི་ངོ་ཚལ། རེས་ཚུང་གི་ཕྱོགས་དང་རེས་མ་རྒྱལ་པའི་ཕྱོགས་ཅིང་པ་ལ་ཟེར།

532 The Balti is rebellious.

ལ 33 དབྱར་དགུན་གྱི་དཔང་བོ་འབྲུག། དཔྱིད་ཀྱི་ཐོག་མར་འབྲུག་མིར་ན་ཟེར།

533 Thunder is the witness of summer and winter. (With the first peal of thunder in spring, summer begins.)

ལ 34 དབྱར་གྱི་གཡལ་ཕྲག་མ་ལ་ཅག་ཅག། དགུན་གྱི་རྩ་མ་ལ་ཅག་ཅག། རུས་རུས་སུ་ཅ་དག་
ཅིང་དགོས་ཟེར།

534 In summer be careful of your metal pots. And in winter of your earthen ones. (Rust will corrode metal in summer; and the freezing of water in earthen pots will crack them—i.e. take due care according to the season.)

ལ 35 སྐུ་མས་དཀོར་མ་ན་བར་མི་འབྲིག། སྤང་ཀུམ་ལུ་གུ་མ་ན་བར་མི་འབྲིག། སྤང་ཀུའི་ན་ཞལ་
ལྷག་ཡིན་པ་ལྟར། སྐུ་མའི་ན་ཞལ་ཡང་ཤི་དཀོར་དང་གསོན་དཀོར་ཡིན་ཟེར།

535 A lama cannot help taking his fee and a wolf cannot help eating a lamb. (A kor is given to lamas for performing ceremonies.)

ལ 36 སྐུ་མ་ལོན་པ། ཉེ་གནས་ལྷགས་པ།

536 The priest is deaf, and his disciple is dumb. (When both teacher and pupil are stupid.)

ལ 37 བེས་སི་ལྷ་བཟང་བོ། ཅེས་སུ་འགྲོ་ན་ཁམས་བཟང་ལུས་པའི་རྒྱན་ནོ།

537 The god of travel is kind hearted.

ལ 38 བོང་བྱ་ལ་གནས་ཅིང་པའི་འཛིགས་པ། མཚན་མོར་བོང་བྱ་མགྲོགས་པར་འབྲུག་བ་ནི་གནས་
ཅིང་པའི་འཛིགས་པ་ཡིན་ཅེས་ས།

538 At night the donkey fears lest the sky drops upon him. (A donkey walks more briskly at night and Ladakh people think this is because the donkey is afraid of the sky falling upon him.)

མ

ལ 39 མ་ལུན་ས་ལ་བབས་ན། གནམ་གྱི་ཕྱོང་ནས་ཐང། ན་བྱན་ས་ལ་འབབ་རུས་སུ་ཟེར།

539 When a fog settles on the ground, the dome of the sky will be clear.

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ལེ། མ་བུ་བུ་ལས་མཐུན་ཆ་ན། འཆམ་མགོ་ཚད་མས་ཆད། མ་ཐུང་ཁ་མཐུན་ན། ཚད་མ་འཆམ་
མ་ལ་ཐོས་ཏེ་འགྲིག་ཟེར།

540 If mother and son agree, the vegetables will be sufficient for breakfast.

ལེ། མ་ཉན་ན་ཐུང་བུ་མི་ལྷོབ་མི་ལ་ལྷོབ་ལྷོབ་ལྷོབ་ཏེ་ཡང་མི་ཉན། ཡ་མས་བུ་མས་པའི་ཐབས་མང་
པོས་བུ་གྲ་བཅུན་ཏེ་མ་ཆུན་ན་ཟེར།

541 If he is disobedient, he will not become obedient through embracing him as a moth hovering over a fire.

ལེ། མ་སྙིང་བུ་དང་བུ་སྙིང་རྩི། མས་བུ་ལ་ཅམས་ཀྱང། བུས་མ་ལ་མི་ཆགས་ཟེར།

542 A mother's heart on her child; a child's heart on a stone.
(Of a child who is incapable of expressing his feelings.)

ལེ། མ་མཐོང་བའི་ཡུལ་པོ་སྤྱད་པོ་ཅན། གཞན་ཡུལ་སྤྱད་རྩི་སེམས་ཤིང་དེར་བྱིན་འདྲད་པ་ལ་
ཟེར།

543 The country you have not seen is a pleasant one.

ལེ། མ་རབས་དང་འགྲོགས་ན་མནལ་མེད་མོ་མོ། ཡ་རབས་དང་འགྲོགས་ན་དཔེ་མེད་དོན་མོ།
མི་བཟང་ངན་དང་འགྲོགས་པའི་མན་གཞོན་ཏྟན་ན་ཟེར།

544 If he keeps company with low-bred people, he takes false oaths, and when he associates with cultured folks, he learns good manners.

ལེ། མ་གཉེན་པོ་ལོག་ཐུགས་ལ། ཡ་གཉེན་པོ་སྤྱོད་པ་ལ། ནང་བདག་མོ་ཡལ་ཆེར་གྱིས་རང་གི་
གཉེན་ལ་ཟོ་རྒྱུ་འབྱུང་འབྱུང་མང་པོ་ཟེར་བ་དང་། ཁྱའི་གཉེན་ལ་དེ་འདྲ་མི་ཅིད་ན་ཟེར།

545 Mother's relations are at the head of the hearth. Father's are behind the door.

ལེ། མག་པའི་མགོ་ལ་ཐག་པ། བག་པའི་མགོ་ལ་མོག་ཀྱིར། བག་མའི་བལ་ཚོད་དང་བག་མའི་
བག་ཏེབ་ལ་བཞད་དག་དུ་ཟེར།

546 A rope on the head of the bridegroom and a straw ring on the head of the bride. (A skit on the wooden turban of the bridegroom and the peculiar hat of the bride.)

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446 མག་པ་མགྲོགས་མ་བག་མ་མགྲོགས། བག་རྩྭ་དུས་མུ་དེ་གཉིས་མེར་མ་གཅིག་གི་ནང་དུ་
འབྲས་ཐྱིན་པའི་ཙེ། མིག་རྩ་ཆེ་ཆུང་ལ་ལྟ་བར་གང་དེས་ལག་པ་ཐྱིན་ཀྱང་ལའི་ཕྱིར་
ཟེར།

547 Who is quicker, the bridegroom or the bride? (When both have to eat rice from the same plate.)

447 མན་ལ་སྒྲན་མེད། མན་རང་ཟེར་ཞིང་མགོ་ཤིང་བ་དེ་ཉན་དུ་འཇུག་མི་ཆུས་ཟེར།

548 No remedy for those who refuse. (An offer.)

448 མར་གྱི་ཤྲོད་ལ་རལ། དངོས་པོ་ལེགས་པའི་ཤྲོད་ན་བྱ་བ་ཤེ་ཡང་འབྱུང་ན་ཟེར།

549 To find hairs in the butter. (When a bad article is found amongst good ones.)

449 མང་ཐོས་མང་གཞོད། ཕྱང་ཐོས་ཕྱང་གཞོད། རང་ལས་ཡན་མང་དུ་ཐོགས་པས་གཞོད་པ་
ཡང་མང་པོ་སྒྲུལ་ལོ་ཟེར།

550 He suffered more who overate, and he who ate little suffered less. (When a friend repays good with evil.)

450 མལ་བྱལ་ལ་དཔེས་ཏི་རྒྱང་པ་རྒྱུང། ཡོང་སྒྲོ་བ་ཞིན་དུ་འབྲད་སྒྲོ་བ་ཤོར་ཆུག་ཟེར།

551 Stretch your feet according to the length of your blanket. (Same as: cut your coat according to your cloth; spend your money according to your income.)

451 མང་ད་ཤི་ལ་རྩ་ལོ་མང། གཅན་ན་ཐོར་ཆུང་གཅིག་གིས་བཅད། དགྲ་པོ་ལང་ལོང་མང་ཡང་
དེ་དག་གཅིག་གིས་འཇོམ་ཆུས་ཟེར།

552 True, there are many polygons on the mountain, but you can cut them down with a small sickle (i.e. many enemies can be subdued by one strong man).

452 མར་དུག་འཇོག་ན་དཀར། དཀར་དུག་འཇོག་ན་མར། མར་གཞོད་པ་ལ་ཞོ་དར་བ་དང།
ཞོ་དར་བ་ཇོག་པ་ལ་མར་ཡན་ཟེར།

553 If butter is poison to you, use curds, and if curds are a poison to you, then take butter.

453 མར་སྤལ་ལ་ཆུ་སྒྲུག་སྤལ། ལེགས་པའི་ཚབ་ལ་བྱ་བ་རྒྱུང་བ་ལ་ཟེར།

554 He poured water into the pot of butter.

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ཕལལ མི་གཅིག་གི་ཀྲང་གྲང་དང་། ཉ་གཅིག་གི་ཀྲང་ཀྲང་། མི་ལག་དཀོས་པའི་ལམ་དེ་མི་གཅིག་གིས་སྒྲུབ་ཏུ་བརྩོན་ན་ཟེར།

555 The talk of one man, and a pony at a stand-still. (When a man attempts to do the work of many people.)

ཕལལ མི་གཅིག་གི་ངོ་ལ་མི་བརྒྱ་ལ་བཟན། མི་གཅིག་གི་ངོ་ལ་བརྒྱ་མ་ཉི་དེའི་འཕྲུལ་གྱི་ན་ལ་ཁ་ཟས་རྒྱུ་ན་ཟེར།

556 Out of regard for one man, he feeds a hundred.

ཕལལ མི་ངན་ཚོགས་གསེབ་ལ་ཆ་ན། ཤིང་ངན་ཏ་ཀྲ་དང་ལུག། མི་ཉེང་ངན་ནགས་གསེབ་ཏུ་ཕྱིན་ཀྲང་ཤིང་དང་པོ་མ་ཁྱོད་མ་ཟེར།

557 If an evil man goes to the forest, he will find crooked sticks (like hockey sticks).

ཕལལ མི་ངོ་རེ་དང་གསེར་ཕྱང་རེ། མི་རྒྱ་གས་ཅན་གྱི་ངོ་ལ་ལམ་སྤྱོད་མིང་འབྲུག་པའམ་འཛོང་ཁྱེ་མོར་ཐོབ་ན་ཟེར།

558 Out of regard for one man, he welcomed a religious musical band.

ཕལལ མི་ཀླུ་པ་ཤིག་གིས་ཚད་བཅད། ཀླུ་པར་སྤུས་ཀྲང་ཚད་གཅད་དོ་ཟེར།

559 Even a louse oppresses a man when he is old.

ཕལལ མི་ཆེན་ཕྱག་ལ་འཁར། མི་ཆུང་ཟན་ལ་འཁར། མི་ཆེན་དང་མི་ཆུང་གི་འཁར་ས་ཀ་ལྟོན་པའོ།

560 The high-born long for salutations, and the insignificant man yearns for food.

ཕལལ མི་ཀླུ་པ་ལོང་དུ། བང་སྒྲུ་ཀླུ་པ་ལོག་ཏུ།

561 A man rises to dignity as he grows old; and an old painting gets a lower place.

ཕལལ མི་དོན་ལ་རང་སྤྱོད། གཞན་དོན་གྱི་ཕྱིར་འཛོང་འཕག་ཅེད་ན་ཟེར།

562 One's life for another (i.e. defending another man's cause and suffering for it).

ཕལལ མི་ཕྱིན་ཞིག་གི་སང་རང་ཕྱིན་ལྟམ། གཞན་མིའི་ཕྱིན་འཁྲར་བ་བས་རང་གི་མིའི་ཕྱིན་འཁྲར་བ་ལྟམ་ཟེར་རོ།

563 Better to seek the gratitude of your own folk than that of another.

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༥༦༤ མི་རྒྱུ་ལ་ཉམ་པ། རང་རྒྱུ་ལ་མེད་པ། གཞན་རྒྱུ་ལ་ཐོབ་པ་འཕད་མཁན་ལ་ཟེར།

564 To covet another man's goods, and to be miserly with one's own.

༥༦༥ མི་ཐབས་ཀྱི་ཀུལ་པོ། བོང་ཕུ་ཕྱེན་གྱི་ཀུལ་པོ། མི་ནི་བོང་ཕུ་མིན་ཏེ་ཐབས་ལ་མཁས་པ་ཟེར།

565 Man is the king of resourcefulness, and a donkey the king of the wind.

༥༦༦ མི་བདེའི་ཚ་ཡོང། རྒྱུ་ཚང་གི་མི་ཞིག་ལ་མ་དགའ་ན། དེས་རང་ལ་ལྟམ་ཏི་ཟེར།

566 The miserable boulder. (When a man is hated by every one.)

༥༦༧ མི་ངན་འབྲུག་མ་ལ། མི་ཞིག་གི་སྒྲོར་ལ་གཏམ་ཅིང་ཚ་ན་མི་དེ་རང་སྤྱི་བ་ཆ་ན་ཟེར།

567 The evil-doer arrives when others are slandering him (i.e. talk about the devil and he is sure to appear).

༥༦༨ མི་ངཏ་ལ་དབང་ཐོབ་ན། ཚུ་ལ་བྲེ་བཏབ། དཀག་མ་པོ་ལྟ་ན་པ་ལ་ཟེར།

568 If an evil-doer obtains power, he bales out water with a measure. (A wood measure like a pail.)

༥༦༩ མི་མགོ་འོ་མང་ཁྱི་མགོ་མཐོ་བ། མི་ཆེ་གྲས་ལ་མ་རྒྱུང་གྲས་གྲུལ་མགོ་ལ་འགྲོ་ན་ཟེར།

569 The head of the dog is higher than that of a man. (When a man of low birth takes precedence over one of higher rank or birth.)

༥༧༠ མི་ངན་ལ་ཁ་གང་ཟེར་བ་མང། ཁོ་གང་བཅས་ན་ཀུལ། མི་ངན་པ་དང་རྒྱུ་ནི་ཕྱིར་འཐབ་པ་བས། དེ་ལ་ཚན་དུ་རྒྱུ་ན་ལེགས་ཟེར།

570 Better to pay one 'zho' than to utter one mouthful of talk. (1 'zho' is worth 4 $\frac{1}{2}$ of a rupee.)

༥༧༡ མི་གཞུས་གྲུབ་པ་འཆམ་ན། བྱམ་ཟེའི་ར་མ་བྱི་ལ་འབྲུས། ར་མ་བྱིང་ནས་འགྲོ་བའི་བྱམ་ཟེལ། རྒྱུ་མ་ལྟ་འགག་སོ་སོར་བཟང་དེ་ལྟས་པ། བྱམ་ཟེ་བྱི་འབྲིད་པ། དེས་རྒྱམ་རྒྱལ་སོ་སོས་ར་མ་ལུད་བཏང་བས་རྒྱུ་པོ་སོ་སོས་སྒྲུང། དེ་ལྟར་དུ་ཁ་འཆམ་ན་ཅི་ཡང་ཆིད་ཀྱས་པའི་དཔེ་ན།

571 If three men are agreed, the Brahmin's goat will become a dog. (Once a Brahmin was about to sacrifice a goat to his god, when five thieves gathered to hold a consultation. Each of them exclaimed, 'the Brahmin is going to sacrifice a dog to his god', whereupon the Brahmin handed the goat to the thieves who at once ate it; i.e. unity is strength.)

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ལ༡༢ མི་གཏམ་དང་མོ་ནམ་འབད་ན། ཡ་རོ་གདང་ལ་བཀལ། མི་གཏམ་ལ་མ་ཉན་པར་རང་ཚོ་ད་
གྱིས་རང་ལམ་ཅོམ་ཟེར།

572 If you cultivate your fields according to the advice of other people, they will say 'Place your father's corpse on a rack' (i.e. don't take notice of other folks' talk but arrive at a decisive theory according to your own observation).

ལ༡༣ མི་རྩ་བྱི་གསུམ་འཛོ་བ་ལ། ཡ་མཐོང་ངོ་མམ་ཅན་གྱི་བྱ་མོ་དགོས། ཤིང་མཁན་བཅོན་འདམ་
ཟེར་བའི་མནལ་མམ་བྱེ་བཅོག་པའི་བཅོག་རོ་རྩ་ཆག་རྩ་བཏང། བྱེ་ལ་བཟན་གཡོས་ཏེ་མི་
ལ་བཏང། བཟན་གྲུལ་བཀུས་ཏེ་བྱི་ལ་བཏང། བྱེ་རྩ་གཅིག་ལམ་མི་རྩ་བྱི་གསུམ་ལ་ལྟོ་
ཅིན་པ་ལྟར། འདི་འདྲ་མཁས་པ་ཅོམ་ཅེས་བྱད་མེད་ལ་ཁ་བཟུང་ཟེར།

573 You need a resourceful father's daughter to look after the men, the horse, and the dog. (This hangs on the following story: 'The daughter-in-law of Tsandas sifted flour and cooked porridge, with the fine flour and the husks she prepared food for the horse. The porridge she gave to the men and with part of the flour she scoured the pot and gave it to the dog. Thus she fed three species of animals with one kind of flour.)

ལ༡༤ མི་མང་གི་རོ་མང་འདུམ་པ། མི་མང་ཡང་ལམ་ཅེད་པ་ཉུང་བྱ་ཡོད་ན་ཟེར།

574 If there are many men, there would be many corpses. (The more workers there are, the more food will be needed.)

ལ༡༥ མི་ནོར་ལ་གར་རྩེ་ཅེས། གཞན་གྱི་ནོར་རྒྱག་ན་ཡང་ན་ཟེར།

575 To dance upon the wealth of others.

ལ༡༦ མི་ཚོ་ལྟན་རིང་ན། བྱ་རྩམ་རྩེང་པོ་ཚད། ཤིང་གི་ཁར་འཁད་པའི་བྱ་རོ་རྩེང་གིས་བསྐྱོད་
པས། དེའི་ཤིག་པས་གདར་ཏེ་རིས་པར་ཤིང་རྩེང་ཚད་པའི་ལོ་ལོ་ལྟར། སུ་ཤིག་
གིས་ཆད་མེད་བརྩོན་འགྲུམ་ཅེད་ན་བྱ་བ་ཆེན་པོ་སྒྲུབ་རུམ་ཟེར།

576 If life is long, you can cut the trunk of the tree with a feather. (According to a Tibetan tale, the corpse of a dead bird got caught on the branches of a tree. When the wind blew, it caused the feathers of the bird to cut through the trunk of the tree. Thus, if one tries hard enough and long enough, one can achieve almost anything.)

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༥༧༧ མི་ཞིག་ཀྱང་ན་ཅ་ཡང་། ཏ་ཞིག་ཀྱགས་ན་ཅ་ཡང་། འདི་ལྟར་འབྱུང་ངོ་།

577 A thin man shows his veins, as also does a fat horse.

༥༧༩ མི་བཟན་པ་ལ་ལྷགས་ཀྱི་འགྲམ་པ་དགོས། མི་ཞིག་གི་གཞོན་ཀྱག་ཏུ་བཟོད་སྙན་ཅེ་བ་
དགོས་ཟེར།

578 To eat another man's food one would need iron jaws. (Of a servant who has a hard taskmaster.)

༥༧༧ མི་བཟོད་བདེ་མེད་ཅིག་སྤྱེ་མའི་ཏྲ་མ་ལ། ཁ་མཁ་ཞིམ་པ་འདྲུམ་སྤྱི་མི་ཞིག་སྤྱོད་ན་ཟེར།

579 The unfortunate man arrived when the lama was eating food. (An ironic expression.)

༥༨༠ མི་ཚ་སང་གཏམ་ཚེ་མིར། ཤི་རྗེ་ཡང་གཏམ་ངན་ལུས་ཡིན་ཟེར།

580 One's reputation outlives one's lifetime.

༥༨༡ མི་མཁས་པས་ཉི་མ་ཀྱབ་ནས་ལྷེ། ཉི་མ་ཀྱབ་ནས་ལྷེ་ན་གཏོང་མི་སྤྱོད་པ་ལྟར་མི་མཁས་པའི་
ཕྱིར་ལྷགས་ལ་ལྷོས་ཟེར།

581 The wise man warms his back by the sun.

༥༨༢ མི་མེད་དི་ལུལ་ལ་སྤྲུག་པའི་ཡོངས་ལྷོད། འདྲར་དེ་མེད་པའི་ཁྱད་ཏུ་མི་སྤྱོད་པ་འདྲ་བ་ལ་
གང་དགའ་ཕྱིར་པའི་སྒྲབས་རྟེན་ན་ཟེར།

582 In a sterile country the partridges enjoy luxury.

༥༨༣ མི་མ་ཤི་བར་ཁྲབ། ཏ་མ་ཤི་བར་འོག། མ་ཤི་བའི་ཐྱོན་ཏུ་འཕྲོག་ན་ཟེར།

583 Before the man died he divested him of his armour, and before the horse died he clipped his mane.

༥༨༤ མི་མང་གི་ལག་པ་ལ་གསེར། མི་མང་མཐུན་ཉི་ལམ་ཕྱིར་ན་ཕྱིན་རྒྱབས་ཅེ་ཟེར།

584 There is gold in the hands of a group of men (i.e. much blessing comes through co-operators).

༥༨༥ མི་ཞིག་ཕྱི་ལ་བཀལ་ན། རང་ཡང་རྟེན་པ་ཚུགས་པ་རྒྱབ་དགོས། གཞན་ལ་གཞོད་སྤྱོད་ན་རང་
ལ་འང་གཞོད་པ་འབྱུང་ཟེར།

585 Throw a man into the river, and you yourself will sink up to the waist in it.

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པ་དེ་མི་ཞིག་ལ་མེད་ནམ་ཟད། རྩ་ཞིག་ཀྱང་ནམ་ཟད། མི་རྒྱུད་ན་གཤིང་དང་རྒྱ་ཟད། རྩ་རྒྱུད་ན་
ར་སྐྱོད་དང་ཇ་མ་ཟད་ཟེར།

586 An old man grows weak from his head downwards, a horse from his feet upwards. (A man's failing strength is first seen in his face, and a horse in the loss of his tail and hoofs.)

པ་དེ་མི་རེ་ཤད་རེ། མི་རེ་ལ་ཡོད་པ་འདྲ་རེ་ཡོད་ཟེར།

587 Each man possesses a bad habit.

པ་དེ་མི་ལ་ལས་ཁྲམ་པ། རང་ལས་ལ་རྩད་པ། གཞན་གྱི་ཕུར་ལས་ཅེད་ཀྱང་རང་གི་ལས་མི་
ཅེད་པ་ལ་ཟེར།

588 He is assiduous for others and careless of his own interests.

པ་དེ་མི་ལ་སྦྱེད་མི་ཐག། ར་ལ་ཚོལ་མི་ཐག། མ་ཞེས་པར་སྦྱེད་པོའི་དུས་སྐབས་ཟེར།

589 A man does not tolerate happiness, nor does a goat carry fat. (When a man does not know when he is well off, e.g. the prodigal son.)

པ་ཇེ་མི་འཕྲོ། གད་པ་འཕྲོ། མི་འདྲང་མཉམ་དུ་དེའི་ནོར་ལ་ཡང་རྩ་བྱགས་འབྱུང་ན་ཟེར།

590 With the death of a man, the cliff also falls on him. (As a falling cliff disintegrates, so does everything belonging to a man when he dies.)

པ་ཇེ་མི་འཕེལ་གདེང་པ་སྤུ་ལ་འང་མེད། འཕེང་དང་མི་རྩག་པའི་སྐོར་དུ་ཟེར།

591 No one can believe that there is no death.

པ་ཇེ་མི་སྦྱང་ལ་གཏམ་དང། གཡག་སྦྱང་ལ་རྩོལ། གཡག་ལ་རྩོལ་བ་འཕྲག་ན་སྦྱང་དུ་འབྱར་བ་
ལྟར། མིའི་སྦྱང་ལ་གཏམ་འཕྲག་ཟེར།

592 Speech hurts a man's heart as a stone hurts the heart of a yak.

པ་ཇེ་མི་ལ་འཚོར་ཆད་མེད། ཁྱི་ལ་སྒྲགས་ཆད་མེད།

593 Man is always in trouble, and a dog is always hungry.

པ་ཇེ་མི་ཤ་སྦྱང་གཟེག། མི་ཤ་དེ་ལ་སྦྱང་ཡིན་ཟེར།

594 For manslaughter a fine of 1,000 pieces of silver.

པ་ཇེ་མི་ཐའི་ཚུལ་དང་དུལ་ཟ། བྱག་ཐའི་འག་ན་བྱག་རྩ་འབྱུང་མཁན། ལས་ངན་པ་མི་ཅེད་པའི་
ཁྲམ་གྱིས་ཅེད་པ་དང། ཁ་ཐམ་དང་ཡག་སྤྱག་མི་ཟེར་གྱིན་པ་མཁན་ལ་ཟེར།

595 Feigning not to eat, he eats offal, and drinks the water under his knee.

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ཕྱེ མི་འབྲུམ་ཡོང་མ་པ་ལུལ་ལ་གནོད། ཁྱི་འབྲུམ་ཡོང་མ་པ་སྤང་ལ་གནོད། མི་འབྲུམ་པོ་མ་
གནོད་སྤྱེ་ན་ཟེར།

596 A vagrant ruins a country, a pariah dog contaminates a street.

ཕྱེ མི་ལུལ་བྲུ་མ་ཤོ། འཇིག་རྟེན་ན་འཛོ་མི་གཅིག་པ་མང་ཤེ། ལུལ་སྤང་ན་ཅིད། ལུལ་དགལ་
རྟེན་ཅིད། ལུ་ན། ལུ་ཁམས་པ་དེ། ལུ་བྱུག། ལུ་དབུལ་བ་ལ་སྟག་མ་འཇིག་རྟེན་བྲུ་པོ་
ཡིན་ཟེར།

597 The world has different colours.

ཕྱེ མིག་མལ་ལ་མིག།

598 An eye instead of an eye. (When a mother bears another son in place of one that has died.)

ཕྱེ མིག་གལ་མ་གཡོན་ལ་བྱད་མེད། རང་ལུག་ཀུན་ལ་བྱད་མི་ཅེད་ཟེར།

599 There is no difference between the right and the left eyes. (When a man loves his children equally.)

༥༠༠ མིག་རྩ་ལ་ལྟམ་ཏི། རུམ་རྩ་ལ་བྲག། མི་ཚོད་བྲང་མ་ནམ་གནོད་པ་སྤྱེ་ན་ཟེར།

600 When testing his courage, he drew his blood.

༥༠༡ མིག་འཚག་ལ་དུ་བས་རྒྱང། མིག་ན་བ་དང་དབུལ་པོ་ལ་དགྲ་ཅིད་པ་འབྱུང་ན་ཟེར།

601 Smoke is an enemy to the secretions of the eyes.

༥༠༢ མིག་བསོད་བདེ་ཅན་ནི་མཐོང་ཤེ། ཁ་བསོད་བདེ་མེད་ལ་མི་སྤྱད། མིག་གིས་མཐོང་ཚད་ཁ་
ལ་མི་སྤྲོབ་ཟེར།

602 That which he saw with his lucky eyes his unlucky mouth could not taste.

༥༠༣ མིའི་བྲིལ་བ། རང་གི་འཕྱང་བ། Or མི་བྲིལ་རང་འཕྱང། བྲིལ་བ་དང་གནོད་པ་འབྱུང་
རུམ་ཟེར།

603 Defamation from men and ruin to oneself.

༥༠༤ མིའི་རྩ་གོར་ཆེན་མོ་མཐོང་ཅེས། མི་གཞན་ལ་ཐོབ་པ་དེ་རང་ལ་ཐོབ་པ་བས་ཆེ་བ་མཐོང་བ།

604 To regard another man's portion of food bigger than that of one's own.

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༥༠༥ མིའི་མགོ་འོ་ཁ་བྱུ། རང་ངོ་མགོ་འོ་ཁ་མི། བར་དེའམ་ཁ་བྱུ་བ་གཞན་ལ་ཡང་མི་དང་རང་
ལ་ཁྱིན་ཏེ་ཆོར་ན་ཟེར།

605 As a bird on another's head and as a mountain on one's own head (i.e. one who regards other people's troubles lightly and one's own troubles seriously).

༥༠༦ མིའི་རྒྱ་ལ་རྩ་མ་པའི་ཐུན། མི་གསོན་དུ་རྩ་མ་པ་དགོས་ཟེར།

606 Bread is the warp and weft of man.

༥༠༧ མིའི་ལད་མོ་ལ་བྱི་གྲོང་གྲོང། མི་ཆེན་གྱི་ལད་མོ་མི་རྒྱུང་གིས་ཅེད་ན་ཟེར།

607 The dog imitates man by standing erect.

༥༠༨ མིས་བསགས་པའི་ནོར་དང། རྒྱང་མས་བསགས་པའི་རྒྱང་ཅི་འདྲ། ནོར་བུ་བཞི་གཞན་
དོན་ལ་བཟུ་བ་འདྲ་ཟེར།

608 Wealth accumulated by man is like honey collected by bees (i.e. it is collected only for someone else to use).

༥༠༩ མིས་ཅི་ཟེར་ལ་མ་ཉན། ཅི་ཅེད་ལ་ལྟོས། དོན་དེ་ན་ཡིན།

609 Don't listen to what a man says, but observe what he does.

༥༡༠ མི་འབར་རི་ཁ་ཤིང་ལྷན་མ། མི་ཞིག་ལ་ཐེབ་སྤྱོད་ཡོང་བཅུག་ན་ཟེར།

610 To pile on wood to a burning fire.

༥༡༡ མི་འཕུ་སར་ས་འཆོག། མགྲོན་ཞིག་གཏང་ན་འབྱད་སྒྲོ་འབྱུང་ཟེར།

611 The earth burns where the fire is alight. (When giving a feast, no expense is spared.)

༥༡༢ མིད་དེ་རྒྱ། ཡོད་དེ་བཞལ།

612 Not possessing anything he stole, but on possessing he had to pay a fine.

༥༡༣ མིད་པའི་སྒྲོ་ལ་བྱི་མི་འཁལ། དབུ་ལ་བཞི་རྩང་བྱི་ཡང་མི་ལུས་ཟེར།

613 A dog is not caught in a house without a door (i.e. in the house of the poor even a dog will not be seen).

༥༡༤ མི་དམར་རི་ནང་ལ་ལག་དམར། ཉེན་ཆེ་བའི་ནང་ལ་མི་འདྲེས་པའི་དོན་ནོ།

614 To thrust a red hand into a red-hot fire.

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༥༡༥ མོ་གྲོ་མ་ཐལ་བ། བུད་མེད་གྱི་གྲོ་མ་ཐལ་བ་འདྲ་ཟེར།

615 The advice of a woman is as dust.

༥༡༦ མིག་བྱན་ན། ཤོ་བྱན་ཡན། མིག་བྱན་ན་མིག་ན་བ་དང། ལུ་བ་དང་མ་ཁ་བྱན་ན་ཡན་པའི་
རྟགས་ཡིན་ཟེར།

616 If the sore itches, this means a cure, and if the eye smarters it means pain.

༥༡༧ མི་ཞན་གྱི་ཁ་ལ་མ་ཉན་ན། བྱ་ཏམ་ཐལ་གྱི་ཁ་ནས་རྟུན་ཞིག་ལང། ཞན་པའི་ཁ་ལ་མ་ཉན་ན་
གནོད་པ་འབྱུང་ཟེར།

617 If you do not listen to the advice of an old man, the bird-tortoise will suffer harm.

༥༡༨ མིག་གི་ནང་རྩལ་མི་ཤོང། ཚམས་ཀྱི་ནང་ལ་རྩལ་མི་ཤོང། རྩལ་དེ་ན་ཡིན།

618 There is no room for dust in the eyes, and no room for fallacy in religion.

༥༡༩ མི་ལུལ་ཆུ་འེ་མང་གྲང། ཆུ་ལུལ་མེ་མང་དྲ། མི་ལུལ་ཐོག་གྲང་བ་དང་ཆུར་ལུགས་ཐོག་
དྲའོ་ཟེར།

619 Colder than water after leaving the fire: warmer than fire after leaving the water. (When leaving a fire one feels colder and after a cold bath one feels warmer.)

༥༢༠ མོན་མིག་ལ་ཐལ་བ། མོན་ལ་མགོ་བསྐྱར་སྒྲོ་མོ་ཟེར།

620 Dust in the eyes of a Mon. (Lahoulis say it is easy to deceive a man from Kulu in a trading transaction.)

༥༢༡ མོས་ན་བྱི་སོ་ལ་འདྲ་འབར། དད་པ་ཅེད་ན་བྱི་སོ་ནས་འདྲ་འཕྲོ་བ་མཐོང་ཟེར།

621 If you trust the teeth of a dog then it will shine. The Buddhists think that trust is more important than the object of one's trust.

༥༢༢ དམག་རྒྱལ་པོ། དམག་ཅིག་ལོག་ན་མཁར་ཞིག་བཞིག། ལུལ་མི་ཐམས་ཅད་གཅིག་ཅེད་ན་
མཁར་ཡང་གཙོག་རྒྱས་ཟེར།

622 The public is the king. If the people revolt, the fort will be destroyed.

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༥༢༣ དམག་ཆ་མ་ལ་བྱ། རྒྱུ་ཆེན་ཡོད་ཀྱང་མམས་ཆད་འགྲོ་མར་རང་གི་བྱ་ཡང་གཏོང་དགོས་
ཟེར།

623. Where the people go, there my son must also go.

༥༢༤ མ་བྱ་ལ་རང་མཐོང་རྒྱ་ཅེས། གོ་ས་ལྟ་བུའི་ཕྱིར་ཚོ་སོ་ཅེད་ཤེས་ཟེར།

624 The peacock grows proud through viewing his own beauty.

༥༢༥ རྒྱན་པ་ཅ་ག་ཅོ་ག། གན་པའི་ག་གན་པ། ཡས་ཆེ་ལྷན་ཀྱིས་ཀྱིས་གན་པ་གསོད་དོ་ཟེར།

625 The ignorant physician is the executioner of his patients.

༥༢༦ མ་ལྷན་པ་བྱས་དོན་ཆེན་གྲུབ་ན། རང་ཆེན་སྲིང་། ལས་དོན་འགྲུབ་ཀྱི་ཡོད་ན་སྲིང་དགོས་
ཟེར།

626 If you can fulfil your purpose without cost, then pause a while.

༥༢༧ མར་ཐ་བ་མར། ག་མཐོང་ང་རྒྱལ། མར་ལས་ག་གཟུགས་པོར་ཡན་ཟེར།

627 Better to look at the meat than eat the butter. (Meat is more nutritious than butter.)

༥༢༨ མ་ལྷང་དགྲ་ལྷང་ལྷང་ཅེས།

628 To collect whatever there is to be gathered together. (A man afflicted with several diseases at once.)

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༥༢༩ ཅན་དན་ནི་རྒྱབ་ནས་བཞག་ཏེ་མཐུན་ལ། དཔོན་པོ་སོགས་ལས་སྐོར་ཙྨ་ནས་དེ་ལས་དཔོན་
པོ་ལ་མགྲོན་གཏང་ན་ཟེར།

629 To hew sandalwood from behind and to place the chips in front of it. (When a servant gives a feast to his master from a present he has already secured from him.)

༥༣༠ ཅན་དན་ལ་ལྷ་མག་གི་རྒྱར་ར། ཅན་དན་ལ་འཇག་མ་སྐོར་བ་ལྟར། མི་ཆེན་གྱི་གཏམ་གྱི་ཁར་
རྒྱར་བས་རྒྱན་མ་བྱ་བྱས་ལུ་ཟེར།

630 To surround a sandal tree with blades of grass. (Used when a servant adds his advice to what his master has already stated.)

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༥༣༡ བཅུགས་པའི་ཤིང་དང་། བསྐྱོམ་པའི་མི། ཤིང་སྐྱངས་པ་ལྟར་ལས་ཀྱིས་བསྐྱོམ་པ་ལ་རྟེན་ཅིང་
ཚུམ་ཅིང་།

631 A tree planted, and a man appointed to a position (i.e. a man thus appointed must be obeyed).

༥༣༢ བཅོམ་པའི་ཁབ་དང་། གཅད་པའི་གྱི། མཐུན་འབྲུག་མཁན་ཁབ་དང་འཛིང་མོ་སྐྱང་མཁན་
གྱི་དང་འདྲ་ཅིང་།

632 A needle with which to stitch, and a knife to cut (i.e. an arbitrator is like a needle to sew a rent in cloth; a man who causes strife among friends is like a knife which cuts).

༥༣༣ བཅོམ་པའི་གལ་ལྷན་ལོག་ཅེས། གཏམ་ཐག་བཅད་པའི་ལོག་ཏུ་ཡང་གཏམ་དེ་ལ་སྐྱོར་དེ་ལོག་
གཏང་ན་ཅིང་།

633 To turn cooked meat into raw (meat). (When a man opens up a disputed subject which has already been closed.)

༥༣༤ རྩ་གྲུ་མངར་མའི་འཛོར་དམ་ལག་བརྒྱན། འཛོར་དམ་ཅན་གྱི་འཛོར་དམ་སྤྱར་པོར་འབྲུང་
ཅིང་།

634 The enjoyment of a sweet kernel lasts seven days. (Like 'a new broom sweeps clean'.)

༥༣༥ རྩ་གྲུ་ལྔ་སྐྱོང་ན་ལྷག་ལྔ་ལ། མིངན་པའི་ཁ་སྐྱོང་ན། ལྷག་པར་གཏམ་ངན་པ་མིན་པ་བཟུང་
པོ་མི་འཛོན་ཅིང་།

635 Search through a rotten wall, and you will find rotten straw. (Moral: Don't go into the details of the causes of a quarrel, but try to reconcile the disgruntled parties.)

༥༣༦ ཚན་དན་ནི་མི་གཞོག་དང་། གོས་ཚན་ནི་ཐབ་ཕྱིས། བསྐོམ་བྱ་མི་བྱང་བ་ཞིག་བསྐོམ་
ཅིང་།

636 To use sandalwood as a fire iron and to wipe the hearth with one's silk clothes.

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༥༣༧ ལྷ་མ་པའི་ཁག་ཐེག་བུལ་གྱིས་བུས་ལྷགས་པས་འབྱེར་ན་འབྱེར་མཉམ། དབུལ་པོ་ཞིག་གི་
འགན་དབུལ་པོ་གཞན་གྱིས་འབྱར་ན་དེ་ལྷར་འོང་བྱེད།

637 If soda is used as a guarantee for roasted barley flour, the wind carries them both away. A bad man cannot give aid to another poor person.

ཚྭ་

༥༣༨ ལྷ་མེད་བྱོ་མེད་ཐ་བ་སང། གར་མེད་ཡང་མེད་ཤོར་བ་ལྟུལ། ཁ་ཐམ་བྱོད་མེད་ཐ་བ་སང་
མ་ཐ་ན་ལེགས་བྱེད།

638 Better to run away than to eat food which is without salt and taste.

༥༣༩ ཚ་ན་མེད་པའི་རོ་འབྱེར་ཅེས། ཚ་ན་མེད་པས་རོ་ལ་ཡ་ག་མི་ཕེད་པ་ལྷར་ལས་རབ་རོ་བ་ཕེད་
ན་བྱེད།

639 To carry off a corpse without sympathy. (When a servant does careless work.)

༥༤༠ རྩལ་མཐོང་ཉེ་ཁ་གསུམ་ཅེས། གཞན་གྱི་ནོར་མཐོང་ནས་ཉིང་འཁམ་འཁམ་ཆ་ཅེས་ལ་བྱེད།

640 His lips cracked on seeing the fat. (Used of a covetous person.)

༥༤༡ ལྷགས་ས་ལ་རྒྱན་དུ་ཅེས། མི་འཚོགས་སར་ཕེད་མི་འོས་པའི་ལས་ཕེད་ན་བྱེད།

641 To slice ones skin to make string in a public place. (When a person does something unseemly in a public place.)

༥༤༢ ཚར་གཅིག་ལ་དྲགས་གོང་ཀ་ལ་མཚན་སོང་བྱེད་ཏེ། ལྷག་དང་མི་ཆ། ཚར་གཅིག་དྲགས་
བ་བྱུང་བ་ལྷར་རྒྱན་དུ་མི་འོང་བྱེད།

642 If it gets dark at Ladaksgonga once, it will not always be dark.

༥༤༣ ཚར་གཅིག་འདུག་མ་ཞིས་ན། ཚར་བརྒྱ་ལང་དགོས། ཅི་ཞིག་བསམ་པ་མ་བརྟར་བར་
ཅེད་ན། ཡང་ཡང་ཅེད་དགོས་སེ་བྱེད།

643 If you do not know how to sit down, you will have to rise up a hundred times (i.e. if a person does his work thoughtlessly, he must do it over again many times).

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༥༤༤ ཚང་པ་དྲུང་མ་ཆུག། ལྷན་མ་རྟོགས་མ་ཆུག། ཚང་པ་དང་ཉེ་མ་དང་ལྷན་མ་དང་ཐག་ཤིང་
ཕྱི་མ་ཟེར།

644 Don't let traders become weary, and don't let a thief become inured to theft (i.e. be friendly towards traders and avoid a thief).

༥༤༥ འཚོང་པ་འཚོང་། ངོ་པ་ངོ་། མི་ངོར་མ་ལྷ་བར་འཚོང་ཕྱི་མ། ངོ་ལ་ལྷ་ན་མིན་མེད་པར་
མོང་ཟེར།

645 A bargain is a bargain, and concession is a concession. (When drawing a bargain you need not consider the bargainer's feelings.)

༥༤༦ མཚན་གཅིག་ལ་མཚན་བརྒྱ་མཐོང་ཅེས། མཚན་མར་གཉིད་མི་འང་བའི་བར་དྲར་ཟེར།

646 One night seemed like a hundred.

༥༤༧ མཚན་འགྲུལ་པ་ལ་ཇུ་ཕྱི་མེད། མཚན་ལ་འགྲུལ་མཁན་ལ་མགྲོགས་འགོར་མེད།

647 For him who travels during the night, it is neither early nor late.

ཇ

༥༤༨ འཛིང་བ་ལྷ་ལུལ་ལ་ཡང། ལུས་པ་ལྷན་ལུལ་ལ་ཡང། བཟང་འགྲིག་ཅིང་པ་ལ་ཟེར།

648 Fighting goes on even in Paradise, and arbitration even in the land of the cannibals. (When compromising a dispute.)

༥༤༩ འཇུ་མ་འཇུ་མ་ཅིང་པའི་ཇི་ཀྱིར་མི་ལྷ་སྐ། ཁྱོད་ཀྱི་ནང་ལྷོ་མི་ལྷ་སྐ་པོར་ལ་ཡོད། རྒྱན་ཀྱི་འབྲིལ་

དུ་ལྷན་རམ་གཅིག་གི་ལྷ་ཁྱིམ་བཞིང་དུ་མ་སྐ་ལྷ་ཁྱིམ་ཁྱིམ་བཞིང་བཞིང་། མ་དང་འཛིང་པ་
ལས་སྐ་འདྲ་ཅིང་པ་མཐོང་ནས་བྱང་མང་དུ་མོང་ནས་ལོག་དུ་མ་སྐ་དེ་ཚོན་ཏི་མ་མཚར་
པོ་བྱས་ཏི་རབ་གནས་ཅིང་པ་དང་ཁ་ལྷན་མོང་བས། དེས་ཡོང་འདྲ་ལྷ་སྐ་པ་དེ་གཏམ་
དམེད་ལུས། ལྷ་སྐ་ཡོད་པ་ལ་ཐོ་སོ་ཅིང་ན་ཟེར།

649 Oh you grinning idol of Likir, I am acquainted with the inside of your belly. (A Balti saw an artist in Likir making a clay idol. When the Balti returned from Changtang to Likir, he saw a crowd gathered for the dedication of the idol when he quoted this saying.—Now the saying is used when a man makes a boast before someone who knows him too well.)

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༥༥ མཇེལ་བོའི་ཁོག་པ་རྩ་ཤིང་དང་གཡག་ཤིང་། རུབ་རྩ་གཏང་ན་ཁབ་དང་ཁུད་པ། རྩེ་དུ་མ་
སྤུ་མཇེལ་བོམ་རྩ་གཡག་གུང་ཕྱིན་རྩམ་གྱི། མ་མཐུན་ན་ཁབ་དང་ཁུད་པ་ཅོམ་ལའང་རྩེ་མ་
ཅིད་ཟེར།

650 In the mind of a friend he will make provision for a horse and a yak, but when doing business he calculates even to a needle and thread (i.e. when a man is friendly he is generous, but when his friendship ceases, he calculates even to a needle and thread.)

༥༥༡ མཇེལ་བོ་རྩེ་ན་ཡང་། ལྷག་ཕྱིག་ལ་ཁ་ཉིག། རྩེ་མོ་ཡོད་ནའང་རང་ལྟར་ལ་རྩ་ར་ཅིད་དགོས་
ཟེར།

651 Though you should have an intimate friend, you should lock up your bag of provisions.

༥༥༢ མཇེལ་བོ་བརྩུ་ཡང་རྩུང་། དགྲ་བོ་གཅིག་གུང་མང། དགྲ་བོ་གཅིག་ཡོད་ན་དེ་ཡང་མཇེལ་བོ་
ཅོམ་ཟེར།

652 A hundred friends are too few, and one enemy is too many. (It means, one should make friends with an enemy, for even a hundred friends could not prevent him from killing you.)

༥༥༣ མཇེལ་བོ་ཅི་ལ་འཁོན། ལྟར་རི་མི་ལ་འཁོན། ལྟར་གྱིས་མཇེལ་བོ་ཡང་དགྲ་བོ་ཅིད་ཟེར།

653 Why do friends bear you malice? Because they count your wealth.

༥༥༤ མཇེལ་བོ་མ་ནི་གྱི་མི་རྒྱ། བྱིས་ནི་གྱི་མི་ཟ། མི་གཉིས་ཅམ་སྤྱོད་ཀླབས་སྤྱི་ལྟར་བས་དེ་
ལྟར་ལྷམ་པ་ཡིན།

654 A friend will not steal my knife and a dog will not eat it. (Once upon a time a man, his friend and a dog went on a journey, and on the way he lost his knife. The friend then made this remark.)

༥༥༥ མཇུག་གྱུ་མ་ནི་དེ་མོ་འཇོང་ཁའི་ནང་ལ་མི་སྒྲིབ། དགོས་དུམ་སྤྱོད་རང་གི་གཉེན་མིན་པ་
གཞན་མི་ཡན་ཟེར།

655 It is not one's elbow, but one's finger which can reach one's mouth. (When in trouble it is only one's relatives, and not others who will help you.)

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༦༥༦ མཚན་གྱི་གཙང་ན་བྲག་མི་ཐེགས། མེར་སྤྲ་ཅན་གྱི་མི་ལ་ཟེར།

656 Even if he cuts his finger, he will not waste the blood (of a miserly person).

༦༥༧ མཛོ་མོ་བྱང་མང་འཁོར་ན་ཡང་། ལྷ་ལོ་བྱ་ཆའི་ལག་ལ། ལྷང་མ་འཛོན་ནས་གང་དུ་བྱིན་
བྱང་ངའི་དབང་དུ་ཡོད་ཟེར།

657 Though the dzomo* should wander to Changtang, her tether remains in the lad's hand. (A married man still has authority over the wife who has abandoned him.)

༦༥༨ མཛོ་ལ་རྩིས་ཏེ་ཞིང་སྤྲ་མཁན། གཤེག་པོ་ལྷ་བྱང་རྩིས་ནས་ལས་ཅིང་པ་ལ་ཟེར།

658 He who ploughs after consulting with his ox.

༦༥༩ རྩ་མ་ལ་རྩ་བྱག། མཉམ་དུ་ཕྱིན་པའི་ནང་དུ་རིས་འཛིང་འཁབ་ཡོང་ཟེར།

659 The earthen pot came in contact with the clay. ('Familiarity breeds contempt.')

༦༦༠ རྩྭ་ཁར་ལེན་ན། རྩམ་རྩང་། རྩྭ་མཐོལ་ན། དེའི་རྩྭ་རྩང་དུ་འགྲོ་ཟེར།

660 To confess a fault lessens its severity.

མ

༦༦༡ ར་ཁ་པ་དང་འགྲན་ན་ཞིང་པ་འཁོག། མི་སྟོབས་ཅན་དང་ང་འགྲན་མི་རྩམ་ཟེར། རྩྭ་རྩམ་
སྤྲ་ཁ་ཁ་པ་ཀྱང་པ་ཞིག་བྱང་བ་ཡིན།

661 To compete with the man from Wakha, one's spine would be dislocated.

༦༦༢ ར་མི་འགྲུལ་འདྲེའི་འགྲུལ་ལྷག། བོད་པས་མཚན་མོར་ཁ་ལ་ལྷ་འདྲེ་ཞོན་ནས་འདྲོད་ན་ཆེས་མ་
པས། མི་དབང་མེད་ཞིག་གིས་གཤེག་མི་ཅིང་ཁ་མེད་ཡིན་ཟེར།

662 The ghost slapped the face of the fox who was then obliged to go on. (Tibetans have the story of a ghost riding upon the back of a fox. Used of a man who must perform a task whether he likes it or not.)

* A dzomo is a hybrid between a yak and a cow.

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༦༦༣ བ་འགྱོ་འགྱོ་མང་ན། བ་ལྷག་མ་དང་འབྲལ། བ་འགྱོ་འགྱོ་མང་ན་ཕྱ་ཁར་མག། Or
ཁྱ་ན་འདྲ་གང་ན་བྱུང། ལན་མང་ཁྱ་བ་འམ་ངན་པ་ཅེད་ན་ལག་ཅིག་འཁལ་ཅེད། .

663 If the fox runs too much, his hide will fall off him; if a bird hops too much he will break his leg. (If a thief or evil-doer persists in his evil deeds, he will be caught one day.)

༩

༦༦༤ ལག་ངན་ལ་འཛིང་ན། ལག་བཟང་ལ་མཐུན། ལུས་དུམ་ལ་ཟེར།

664 If you quarrel on an unlucky day, be reconciled on a lucky one.

༦༦༥ ལག་ཤིག་འབེད་འང་ཇ་སྒྲིལ་ཅེས་ཞིག་འཕྱོར་ཡིན། ལག་ཅིག་ང་ལ་འང་ཁ་ཟམ་ཞིས་པོ་ཐོབ་
ཡིན་ཅེར།

665 The musicians also will obtain one day the wherewithal to make some tea.

༦༦༦ ལག་གསུམ་གྱི་མགྲོན་པོ། མགྲོན་པོ་ལྷན་མགྲོགས་པ་འབྲལ་ཁྱ་ཡོད་པ་ལ་ཟེར།

666 The guest of three days. (Of those who cannot stay for long, i.e. 'A bird of passage'.)

༦༦༧ ལར་ར་ཁང་བཞིག། ལ་པོ་ལུལ་བཞིག། ལར་བ་དང་ལ་པོས་གཏམ་མང་འབད་ཅིང་འབྲུག་
རྒྱལ་ཅེད་ཅེར།

667 The blind man ruins his home, and the lame man destroys his village.

༦༦༨ ཞིང་གྱ་ཆེ་ན་འབྲུང་གྱ་ཆེ། ཞིང་མང་ན་བདག་རྒྱ་ན་མི་འགྲོང་མ་རྟེ་མང་ཅེར་འབྲུང་ཅེར།

668 If the field is too large, the damage will be great. (Of a man who has too many fields to cultivate.)

༦༦༩ ཞིང་མེད་ལ་ལུར་མ་མང་པོ། རང་ལས་མེད་པས་མིས་བསྐོག་པ་ལ་ཟེར།

669 He who possesses no fields has to do much weeding.

༦༧༠ ཞིང་མེད་མང་ཁང་མེད་བྱ། རང་ཁང་མེད་པ་ལ་བར་དྲ་ཡོད་ཅེར།

670 A man without a house is worse off than one without

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༦༦༩ ཐུགས་ཀྱི་མཐུན་པ་ ལག་ཁྱེད་ལ་ གནས་ལ་ཐུགས་ཀྱི་མཐུན་པ་དང་དང་གིས་གོས་ལག་ཁྱེད་ཀྱི་
ཐུན་པ་
ཐུན་པ་

671 Delicious flavour for others, fine clothes for oneself.

༦༧༠ ཐུགས་ཀྱི་མཐུན་པ་ལག་ཁྱེད་ཀྱི་ ཐུན་པ་ལྟར་ཐུན་པ་ལག་ཁྱེད་ཀྱི་ཐུན་པ་ལྟར་ཐུན་པ་ལྟར་ཐུན་པ་ལྟར་ཐུན་པ་
ཐུན་པ་
ཐུན་པ་

672 Husband and wife behaving like a quarrelsome clown.

༦༧༡ ཐུགས་ཀྱི་མཐུན་པ་ལྟར་ཐུན་པ་ལྟར་ཐུན་པ་ལྟར་ཐུན་པ་ལྟར་ཐུན་པ་ལྟར་ཐུན་པ་ལྟར་ཐུན་པ་ལྟར་ཐུན་པ་
ཐུན་པ་
ཐུན་པ་

673 The married couple disputed for the top and the bottom end of the hearth stick.

༦༧༢ ཐུགས་ཀྱི་མཐུན་པ་ལྟར་ཐུན་པ་ལྟར་ཐུན་པ་ལྟར་ཐུན་པ་ལྟར་ཐུན་པ་ལྟར་ཐུན་པ་ལྟར་ཐུན་པ་ལྟར་ཐུན་པ་
ཐུན་པ་
ཐུན་པ་

674 If it is burned in the fire, there will be no smell of burning.

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༦༧༣ ཐུགས་ཀྱི་མཐུན་པ་ལྟར་ཐུན་པ་ལྟར་ཐུན་པ་ལྟར་ཐུན་པ་ལྟར་ཐུན་པ་ལྟར་ཐུན་པ་ལྟར་ཐུན་པ་ལྟར་ཐུན་པ་
ཐུན་པ་
ཐུན་པ་

675 The meadow for grazing, and the rock for resting.

༦༧༤ ཐུགས་ཀྱི་མཐུན་པ་ལྟར་ཐུན་པ་ལྟར་ཐུན་པ་ལྟར་ཐུན་པ་ལྟར་ཐུན་པ་ལྟར་ཐུན་པ་ལྟར་ཐུན་པ་ལྟར་ཐུན་པ་
ཐུན་པ་
ཐུན་པ་

676 The meat was eaten by the crow, but the jackdaw's beak was red.

༦༧༥ ཐུགས་ཀྱི་མཐུན་པ་ལྟར་ཐུན་པ་ལྟར་ཐུན་པ་ལྟར་ཐུན་པ་ལྟར་ཐུན་པ་ལྟར་ཐུན་པ་ལྟར་ཐུན་པ་ལྟར་ཐུན་པ་
ཐུན་པ་
ཐུན་པ་

677 Everyone will eat the remains of food, but who will complete the unfinished task ?

༦༧༦ ཐུགས་ཀྱི་མཐུན་པ་ལྟར་ཐུན་པ་ལྟར་ཐུན་པ་ལྟར་ཐུན་པ་ལྟར་ཐུན་པ་ལྟར་ཐུན་པ་ལྟར་ཐུན་པ་ལྟར་ཐུན་པ་
ཐུན་པ་
ཐུན་པ་

678 To eat food is pleasant, but to pay for it, is difficult.

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༤༦༩ ར་མཁན་ལ་སྤྲོ་མོ། ཤིག་མཁན་ལ་དཀགས་པོ། དཀའ་ལས་ཚང་མ་ནང་གི་དོན་མ་ལ་ས་
འབབ་ཟེར།

679 Easy for those who eat, but difficult for him who provides it.

༤༧༠ ར་མ་ཤིང་ན་ལྟོགས་ཤིང་། ཁོས་ཤིང་ཁོན་ན་འབྲུགས་ཤིང་། མང་དུ་ཐ་བ་དང་ཁོན་པ་ལ་མང་
དུ་དཀོས་སོ་ཟེར།

680 The more you eat the hungrier you will be, the more clothes you put on the colder you will be.

༤༧༡ ར་མ་ཤིང་ཚད་མ། ཁོས་ཤིང་ལྷན་པ། ཚད་མ་ཐ་བ་དང་ལྷན་པ་བཟང་པ་ཁོན་ཟེར།

681 Half of one's food vegetables, and half of one's clothes patches.

༤༧༢ ཅི་མི་མི་མིག་ནས་སྤྱུ་བྱ་བྱིད། སེམས་ཆ་ན་བྱུང་མེད་མི་སྤྲུག་པ་ཡང་མཛུ་སོ་མཛོང་
ཟེར།

682 Through the eyes of Zilim he sees Snun-bu-trid. (If a man loves a woman, her looks do not matter.)

༤༧༣ ཅེར་མཁན་པོ་ཡང་སྤྲོ་མ། བཙོ་མཁན་པོ་ཡང་སྤྲོ་མ། སྤྲོ་མས་མ་ཅིང་ཅིར་གྱིན་ལས་དེ་ཀ་སྤྲོ་
མས་ཅིང་ན་ཟེར།

683 The priest was the speaker as well as the doer. (When a man commits the offence about which he warns others.)

༤༧༤ ཅོར་བ་པོར་ཉེ་ལག་རྩམ། ཤིས་མཁན་ལ་ཅིང་མ་བཟུག་པར་མི་ཤིས་པས་ཅིང་ན་ཟེར།

684 Laying aside his sickle he reaped with his hand. (Of one who replaces a good workman with a bad one.)

༤༧༥ ཅོས་ཅོས་པའི་ཁབ་བྱུང་དང་། ཅུང་བྱུང་ས་པའི་བྱུང་པ། ཁ་བྱུང་པ་དང་བྱུང་པའི་ཁྱར་དུ་
ཟེར།

685 Through continually eating he acquired the habit of eating, and by continually being beaten he got his lesson.

༤༧༦ ཅོས་པ་བྱུང་ནི། འབྲར་པ་འབྲུང་ནི། རང་གི་ཀླགས་ཀྱི་ཁྱར་ལས་ན་ན་ཁྱ་བྱུང་དུ་འགྲོ་
ཟེར།

686 He eats food to repletion, and that which he eats from his load diminished in quantity. (A man's ration for the journey diminishes as he uses up his food.)

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༥༥༧ མཐོ་པ་རང་ནོར། འབྲུང་པ་མི་ནོར། ཁ་ཟས་ཤིང་དུ་བཅུག་ནས་ཤོ་ཟེར།

687 What you eat is your own, what you carry is someone else's property.

༥༥༨ མཐོ་མཐོ་པའི་མྱང་ཁྱ་ཁ་དམར། ལྷན་དུ་ཟ་འོངས་སོང་ཞེ་ཡོད་པས་ཁ་གདང་ངོ་ཟེར།

688 The wolf's mouth is bloody through much eating. (Used in reference to a man who is always wanting something which he formerly enjoyed.)

༥༥༩ ཟ་མི་འཐད་མཁན་སྤྱན་པ་ཡིན་ན། ཞོར་ལེན་མི་འཐད་མཁན་སྤྱན་པ་ཡིན་ནམ་ཟེར།

689 Is he mad who does not care to devour (other people's property)?

༥༦༠ གཟུགས་ཀྱི་མག་གདན་ཆེ་ན་ལྷལ། ཀྲང་པ་ཆེ་བ་ལྷལ་ཟེར།

690 Better to have the base of one's body larger (i.e. better to have larger feet).

༥༦༡ དཔུང་ཁ་འཐལ། ཚོད་ལས་འཐལ་བའི་དཔུང་པོ་ཕྱིར་པ་ལ་ཟེར།

691 To overdo charity.

༥༦༢ དཔུང་གྱི་ཁར་འཇོང། ལས་སེ་ཁར་ཡིད། ཟ་བ་ལ་འོང་བ་དང་ལས་ལ་ཤོར་ཟེར།

692 To be present at a meal, and to flee from work.

༥༦༣ དཔུང་མི་ཞིས། སྤྱག་ཞིས། ཁ་ཟས་ཞིས་པ་ལས་གྲུལ་བའི་བ་ཞིས་པ་ཡིན་ཟེར།

693 Not the food, but the goblet has a good flavour. (Of a person who provides good table service.)

༥༦༤ དཔུང་ཤ་སྤྱན་ལ། མི་སྤྱན་ཉིང་ནས། དཔུང་ཤིང་ཟ་དུས་དང་མིའི་སྤྱན་ཉིང་ནས་ཚོར་ཟེར།

694 The flavour of food in anticipation, the character of a man in retrospect (i.e. a good man's worth not recognised until he is dead).

༥༦༥ དཔུང་སྤྱན་གྱིས་ཁྱེ་གཙོད། ཁ་ཟས་ཀྱི་ངོ་སྤྱང་དགོས་འབྱུང་ངོ་ཟེར།

695 The moist food cut his tongue. (When a man feeds another man, so that he cannot speak ill of his benefactor.)

༥༦༦ དཔུང་དང་མཉམ་པོ་ཟེར། དཔུང་མཉམ་དུ་ཟེར་ས་ཡང་འབྱེར་འདུའི་ལས་ཁེད་པ་ལ་ཟེར།

696 The plate as well as the food. (When a man behaves as one who steals the plate on which he received his food.)

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༦༩༧ བཟན་ངོ་ཁྱིམ་མི་ཡོག། བཟན་ངོ་མི་སྤང་བ་ལ་ཟེར།

697 A dog shows no gratitude for his food. (An ungrateful man.)

༦༩༨ བཟན་ཐོས་ཏེ་ཁ་ཕི་མི་ཤེས་མཁན། སྤྱོ་སྤྱོ་མེད་པ་ལ་ཟེར།

698 He does not know to wipe his mouth after food.

༦༩༩ བཟོ་ཐེ་རེལ་མི་ལ་མ་རྩན། ལས་ཐེ་རེལ་མིས་མཐོང་ན་རིམ་འཛིན་ཀློང་ཡོད་ཟེར།

699 Don't display your unfinished work.

༧༠༠ རྒྱ་བ་རྒྱལ་པ་ཁ་ལ་རང་ཏུ་འཁོར་དུས། ཇི་ལོན་ཐུད་དེ་ཇི་ཟེའི་དུས། དབྱར་དཀྱིལ་མ་རྒྱ་
དཀོན་པས་སོ།

700 July is the time when flies collect round your mouth. It is the time to say, 'what shall I eat?', and not 'what shall I wear?'. (Food scarce in summer, and no need to put on many clothes.)

༧༠༡ རྒྱ་ཁྱིམ་འཁོར་ན་རྒྱ་གཅིག་འཁོར། རྒྱ་ཁྱིམ་འཁོར་ན་ཉིན་གཅིག་འཁོར། དེ་བཞིན་འབྱུང་
དུས་ཟེར།

701 If the moon has a halo, it will be cloudy for a month; and if the sun has a halo, it will be cloudy for one day.

༧༠༢ རྒྱ་གཅིག་ཡང་འཐུར་བ་སང། འག་གཅིག་ཁབ་འཐུར་ན་ལྟལ། ཁབ་འཐུར་བའི་མན་པ་ཆེ་
ཟེར།

702 Better to use a needle for one day than a spindle for one month. (Equivalent to: 'A stitch in time saves nine'.)

༩

༧༠༣ ཐུན་ཐུག་ལ་ཐུག་པ། གཡོངས་པའི་ཤོབ་ནང་ཐུན་ལ་ཐུག་མཁན་ལ་ཟེར།

703 Give soup to him who is exhausted. (Used to aggravate a man who has already lost his temper.)

༧༠༤ རྩ་མ་དང་རྩ་ཕེ་མཁན། ག་གསལ་དྲང་པོ་གཙོད་པ་ལ་ཟེར།

704 He who separates water from milk. (Of a just judge.)

༧༠༥ རྩ་ལྷགས་ཀྱི་ལུ་གུ། གཅེས་ལྷགས་དུགས་མེད་ལ་ཟེར།

705 The lamb well nourished with milk. (Of a child who is well nourished by his parents.)

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༧༠༥ རྩམ་ཅིན་གསེར་གྱི་ཡོད་ནའང་། རྒྱུ་པའི་གཞིག་ལ། མ་རབས་ལ་རྩོད་ཡོད་ཀྱང་མ་
རབས་སུ་ལུས་ཟེར།

706 Though the stirrup is made of gold, yet it is under one's foot (i.e. though a man of low birth becomes rich, yet he remains ill-bred).

༧༠༦ དུག་པའི་ཁ་ནས་དུག་གཅིག། གཏམ་ལ་འགྱུར་འགྱུར་མེད་པར། ཇི་ཟེར་བ་ལ་གནས་དགོས་
ཟེར།

707 From an owl can come only an owl, and there is no adding to what has already been spoken (i.e. stand by what you say).

ཡ

༧༠༩ ཡ་རབས་མ་རབས་ཐོད་པས་ཤིས། རྩོད་ཅིན་ཡིན།

708 You know a well-bred or ill-bred man by his character.

༧༠༧ ཡང་ཡང་སྟེ་པའི་བ་ཤོན་སུ་ལའང་མེད། ཡང་སྐར་སྟེ་པའི་དབང་མེད་ཟེར།

709 No one has any power to be born again and again.

༧༡༠ ཡང་ཚ་བལ་བཀལ་ནའང་། རྩམ་ཏི་རྩ་བཀལ་ནའང་། ཅི་འཇག་ནའང་ཤོག་ཟེར།

710 It does not matter whether you load me with light wool or heavy salt (i.e. impose on me whatever way you wish).

༧༡༡ ཡི་གེ་ཁྱད་ཀྱི་བ་བརྟན་པའི་དགྲ། འག་གསུམ་སོང་བ་རང་ལ་མི་ཁྱེད། ཡི་གེ་ཁྱད་ཏུ་ཤིས་ན་
རང་ལ་གནོད་ཟེར།

711 Badly written letters are the enemy of religion; when he studied them after three days, he could not read them (i.e. the half-educated person is more dangerous than an illiterate man).

༧༡༢ ལུ་རུ་པ་གནས་ཏུ་ལ་ཁ་གདང་མཁན། རང་གིས་ལས་མ་བྱེད་པར་མིའི་ཁ་ཟས་ལ་རེ་བ་བྱེད་
པ་ལ་ཟེར།

712 The people of Yuru wait for the rain. (Of those who will not work, but rely on others to feed them.)

༧༡༣ ལུས་མཐོང་གི་མ་ལ་རྩ་མ་ལ་དགོད་ཤོར། དགོས་པའི་སར་སྟོབ་གིན་ཆང་རྩ་ཆག་པ་ལྟར་
འབྱུང་ན་ཟེར།

713 The earthen pot laughed on seeing the village. (When a thing cannot be found when it is most needed.)

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༧༡༩ ལུང་གྱི་ནམ་ལ་ལུང་གྱི་མཐོ། ལུང་གཅིག་པའི་མག་པ་མནང་མ་ལེན་ཟེར།

714 A local hop for local barley (i.e. a man or woman must marry someone in the locality).

༧༢༥ ཡོང་ཅ་ན་སྒྲོ་དཀར་ཁྲུང་ཅང་མ་ནམ་ཡོང་འདུག། ཅ་ཅ་ན་སྒྲོ་དཀར་ཁྲུང་ཅང་མ་ནམ་ཅ་འདུག།
ནོར་འཛུར་པ་དང་ཅར་པའི་དཔེ་ཡིན།

715 When anything comes, it comes through every door and window; when anything goes it goes through every door and window. (Apropos prosperity and loss of wealth.)

༧༢༩ ཡོང་དེ་མི་དུན། མེད་དེ་དུན། ལུག་མ་ཇེ་ཅན་གྱི་མི་ཡོད་དུ་མ་མི་དུན་མེད་དུ་མ་དུན་ཟེར།

716 Ungrateful when he is with you, and when he is absent you remember him.

༧༣༧ ཡོད་ན་ལུང་བཞིག། མེད་ན་ལུང་སྤོང། མི་འཁྲུག་ལུང་ཡོད་ན་གནོད། མེད་ན་སྤོང་པ་
ཅར་ཟེར།

717 When he was present, he disturbed the village, and when he was absent the village was empty. (Of a crafty man who disturbs the peace of a village.)

༧༣༩ ཡོད་པའི་ཇེ་མོ། མེད་པའི་སྐུ་མོ། ཡན་ཅན་གྱི་ག་བཞིག་ནམ་ཡན་མེད་པར་ཅེད་ན་ཟེར།

718 A useful nun became a useless lay woman. (When a person destroys a useful article.)

༧༣༩ ཡོན་ཏན་པ་དང་གསེར་འཛོང་པ། གསེར་འཛོང་པ་ལྟར་ཡོན་ཏན་པ་ལ་གར་ཡང་ཡིན་པོང་
ཟེར།

719 An educated man is like a trader in gold.

༧༤༠ ཡོན་པདག་འཐད་ན་རན་ཐག་དོ་རྟག་(ཅན་ལ)། བདག་པོ་འཐད་ན་ཅན་ལ་འཐག་འཁྲུག་
ཟེར།

720 If the owner so desires, he can make you grind flour for nothing.

༧༤༡ ཡོད་པ་བཟུ། མེད་པ་སྤོང། ནོར་མེད་མང་པོ་ཡོད་ཟེར།

721 A hundred who have possessions, and a thousand who have none.

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༧༢༢ གཡག་བཀྲམ་ཏི་རྩ་མ་ལ་འཁད། ལམ་རྩུང་ནད་ཅིག་མ་ཚད་བར་འཕོར་ན་ཟེར།

722 When skinning the yak, the hide got caught at the tail (i.e. breaking off work just as it is being completed).

༧༢༣ གཡོག་པོ་ལམ་དཔོན་འབྱུད། གཡོག་པོ་ལམ་དཔོན་པོ་ལ་ཁྲིལ་བ་འབྱོར་ངོ་ཟེར།

723 The wicked servant dragged his master down. (When a servant brought disgrace upon his master.)

༧༢༤ ལུལ་དགུ་འགྲིམ་ནེ། ཅུ་དགུ་འབྱུང་མཁན། ལུལ་མང་མཐོང་བའི་མི་གཡོ་སྐྱ་ཅན་ལ་ཟེར།

724 He wandered in nine countries and drank in nine rivers. (Of a man who through travel becomes cunning and crafty.)

༧༢༥ ཡོས་ཟ་ཐེ་འགམ་འཛལ་བ་ཡིན། དེ་འདྲ་བའི་ཚལ་འཛལ་མི་ཚད་ཟེར།

725 It is useless to eat parched grain or flour. (Advice to exercise economy.)

༧༢༦ ཡར་ལ་ཕྱ་མར་ལ་སོག། ཡན་ཅུན་གཏིམ་ལ་འཛིང་ན་ཟེར།

726 He kicks on the right side and bites on the left. (Of the person who is always and everywhere quarrelling with people.)

རྩ་

༧༢༧ ར་མ་བརྟ་རྩོམ་པའི་ར་སུལ་ཁན། དབང་གིས་ར་བརྟ་རྩོམ་པའི་མི་ཡིན་ཟེར།

727 Rasulkhan who ate a hundred goats. (Of a man who robs others by force.)

༧༢༨ ར་གྲོམ་ཏི་ར་བྲ་མ་འབྱུང། ར་གྲོམ་བྲ་ནད་ལག་མང་བམ་མ་འབྱུང་ཟེར།

728 Don't drink broth from a goat after you have eaten its flesh (i.e. the fat and the flesh of a goat eaten together are too rich for one).

༧༢༩ ར་མ་ནག་པོའི་གྲི་སྒྲལ། འཕེད་ནག་པོའི་ཟ་སྒྲལ། གཅིག་ལ་གཞན་གྱི་ནོར་ཚན་ལ་ཐོབ་ན་
ཟེར།

729 It is the lot of the black goat to die, and musicians to eat it.

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༧༣༠ ར་རེས་ལ་བ་རེས། ར་རེས་དང་བ་རེས་འཁོར་གྱིན་སྐྱབ་པ་ལྟར། ལྷག་བཟུལ་གྱི་རེས་ལང་
སྐྱབ་ཁོང་ཟེར།

730 Turn by turn the goats and the cows must be grazed
(i.e. 'misery comes in due course to each of us, so don't
rebuke me').

༧༣༡ ར་སྐྱེས་ལ་རི་གུའི་སྐྱུག་ལྟར། ཆེ་མི་ལ་རྒྱང་བས་ཁྱད་གཏང་ན་ཟེར།

731 The kid taught the he-goat to chew the cud. (When a
child or ignorant person attempts to correct his elders.)

༧༣༢ རང་འབྱར་རང་ལང། ཡ་དྲིམ་པར་གཅེག་པོས་ལས་ཆང་མ་ཅེད་ན་ཟེར།

732 To rise up and carry oneself. (When a man has to do work
unaided.)

༧༣༣ རང་ཐོས་ཏི་རང་གི་སྐལ། མི་དྲིན་པོ་གཞན་ལ་ཁ་ཟས་མི་སྤྲེད་བ་ལ་ཟེར།

733 To eat one's own food, and die alone. (A miserly man.)

༧༣༤ རང་རྟོན་མ་གཏང་ན་སངས་མི་རྒྱལ། རང་གིས་ལས་བཟང་བྱས་པ་བཤད་ན་ཟེར།

734 Unless you praise yourself, you cannot attain Buddha-
hood.

༧༣༥ རང་གི་མགོའི་ཐལ་ཚུབ་པོ་སྐྱག། གཞན་ལ་བསྐྱབ་བྱ་མ་བཏང་བར་རང་རྟོན་དེ་ཀྱལ་བ་ཙོས་
ཟེར།

735 Shake off the dust from your own head.

༧༣༦ རང་གི་སྐྱ་རང་གིས་འབྲག་མི་ཉན། རང་ཐོག་ལྗང་དུས་སུ་གིས་སྐལ་ལའང་བར་དྲོ་འབྱུང་
སྐལ་མེལ་མི་རྒྱས་ཟེར།

736 You cannot shave the hair from your own head (i.e. you
need others to help you when you are in trouble).

༧༣༧ རང་ཐོག་ལ་ལྗང་ཅ་ན་སུས་ཀྱང་མི་གིས། རང་ལ་སྐྱག་བཟུལ་དུས་ཡལས་པའང་མི་གིས་
ཡལ་ན་དུ་འགྱུར་རོ།

737 When troubles fall upon your head then you become as
one who knows nothing.

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༧༣༩ རང་སྟོན་ཡད་གང་པོར་ཉི། མི་སྟོན་ཏུ་གང་ལ་བྲེལ་ཅེས། རང་སྟོན་མང་བས་ཆུང་བ་ལ་
བྲེལ་ན་ཟེར།

738 To expose a bagful of faults in another, whilst having a sackful of one's own faults.

༧༣༠ རང་བེར་རང་ལ་གཏོད། རང་གི་བེར་ཀ་གཞན་གྱིས་བྲོགས་ནས་བདག་པོ་རང་ལ་སྐབ་ན་
ཟེར།

739 One's own stick injures one. (When a man is beaten by others with his own stick.)

༧༤༠ རང་གཏོང་མ་མཐོང་ར། མི་གཏོང་ལ་ལྟོད་མོ། རང་གཏོང་བཞེད་དེ་གཞན་གཏོང་ལ་
བྲེལ་ན་ཟེར།

740 To make another a laughing stock, whilst not seeing one's own face.

༧༤༡ རང་རྟོན་འབྲུག་ན་ཆ་ལྷགས་ངན་ནའང་རན། རང་རྟོན་འབྲུག་ན་མིས་ཅི་ཟེར་ནའང་འགྲིག་
ཟེར།

741 So long as one fulfils one's purpose, it matters not whether the method is a bad one.

༧༤༢ རང་སྐྱག་ལ་ལོག་པར་བཅོ་མཁན་སུ་ཡོང་ཡིན། ངས་ཏྲོད་ལ་ལོག་པར་མི་བྱ་ཟེར་བའི་ཆོ་
ཟེར།

742 Who will deal treacherously with his own child? (When a man expresses friendship with another.)

༧༤༣ རང་ན་ན་བྱང་འཛོག། མི་ན་ན་ཉིང་འཛོག། རང་ཡང་མི་ན་གཞན་ལ་ཡང་ན་འཇུག་མི་
ཁོད་ཟེར།

743 If he eats alone his chest burns, if another man eats he gets heartburn. (Equivalent of 'a dog in the manger' attitude.)

༧༤༤ རང་འཐག་པ་ལ་ཕེ་ལྷ་དགུ། ཁོ་ལ་ལྷ་ཕེ་ལྷ་མང་པོ་ཐོབ་པས་ཟེར།

744 The miller has nine varieties of flour. (In Tibet wages for grinding flour are paid in kind.)

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༡༤༥ རང་མ་འབྱུང་ན། གྲུ་མཚའི་མཐའ་མ་ལ་མ་ཞིང་སྐམ། རང་གོར་མེད་ཆ་ན་གཉིན་རྒྱང་གིས་
མི་ཡན་ཟེར།

745 If one should fail, the fertile field by the bank of the river will dry up (i.e. if one should fail in business, etc., friends and relatives cannot help him).

༡༤༦ རང་ལུལ་ལ་ཇོ་ལུག། མི་ལུལ་ལ་སྤང་ལུག། རང་ལུལ་དུ་ཆེན་མོ་ཡིན་ནའང་། གཞན་
ལུལ་ལ་སྤང་མཁན་འདྲ་བ་འགྱུར་རྟེན་ཟེར།

746 A son of a lord in one's own country, and a beggar in a foreign land.

༡༤༧ རང་འགལ་ཏེ་མེད་ན། གཤིན་ཇེ་ཆོས་ཀྱི་རྒྱལ་པོ་ལ་ཅི་ལ་འཇིགས་ཡིན། གཞོངས་མེད་ན་
དུལ་བའི་དབང་ཡོད་མཁན་ལ་མི་འཇིགས་ཟེར།

747 If you are innocent, why then fear the judge of the dead?

༡༤༨ རང་ག་རང་གིས་མི་ཟ། གཅན་གཟན་གྱིས་ཀྱང་རང་འིགས་ཀྱི་ག་མི་ཟ་ཟེར།

748 Do not eat the flesh of your own class. (It is said that even carnivorous animals do not eat the flesh of their own kind. This means 'do not quarrel or go to law against your own family'.)

༡༤༩ རང་སེམས་མདའ་ལྟར་མ་སྤང་ན། མི་སེམས་གཟུ་ལྟར་མི་བཀུག། རང་སེམས་མ་སྤང་
བར་མི་སེམས་འགྲུག་མི་རུས་ཟེར།

749 If you do not straighten your own mind as an arrow, you will not be able to bend other people's minds as you would a bow.

༡༥༠ རང་རང་ངི་བྱར་མོ་རང་རང་འཕྲོད་དགོས། རང་གི་ལས་ཀྱི་ཆར་ཀ་རང་ལ་ཕྲོད་དགོས་
ཟེར།

750 One must feel one's own pain.

༡༥༡ རང་སྐལ་རུས་པ་ཡིན་ནའང་དྲོད། རང་སྐལ་ལ་འིན་རྩ་དགོས་ཟེར།

751 Scrape the bone if such be your lot.

༡༥༢ རང་སྐལ་རྩ་བ་ཡིན་ནའང་མིད། དྲོན་གོང་ལྟར།

752 Swallow the stone if such be your lot.

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༧༥༩ རང་སེམས་མཐོ་པོ་ཙམ་པོ་མནན་མ་བྱུང་ན། བྲག་སྒྲིན་མོའི་དགྲར་ལངས། རྒྱུ་རྒྱུ་གཉིས་ན་
རང་ལ་གནོད་པ་འབྱུང་ངོ་ཟེར།

753 If you cannot subdue your thumb-sized heart, it will rise against you as a she-demon.

༧༦༠ རི་རྩ་གྲངས་ལ། གྲངས་རྩ་རི་ལ། དཀའ་ལ་ས་ཆེན་མོ་ཞིག་ཅིང་ན་ཟེར།

754 To carry stones from the mountain to the fields, and to transport stones from the fields to the mountain. (Of one who performs a prodigious task.)

༧༦༡ རི་ལ་གྲིན་བྱ་རྩ། གྲངས་ལ་གྲིན་ཏུ་རྩ། རའི་རི་ལ་ཏར་ཅིང་མཁན་མེད་ནའང་མེད་ཟེར།

755 To die in the hills and become like a dead bird; to die in the fields and become like a dead fish. (When a man is in despair concerning the future bestowal of his corpse.)

༧༦༢ རིག་གི་ཐེར་ཀ་ས་ལ་ལྷུངས་པ་སྐྱ་ལ་འཇོག།

756 Through striking the ground with his stick, it hit his nose.

༧༦༣ རིག་པ་ནང་མོ་འཆི་ཡང་སྤྲོབ། ཡོན་ཏན་གྱི་ཅེས་ཡོད་ན་ཡང་སྤྲོབ་ཟེར།

757 Learn wisdom though you should die tomorrow. (This is also to be found in the Saskya-Legs-bshad. Buddhists think that the more you learn in this life, the better it will be in your next birth.)

༧༦༤ རིགས་ངན་ཁ་ཏེ་བྱ། ཟེར་བ་བྱུགས་སེ་བྱར་ལ། གཞོག་ག་བྱུགས་སེ་རྩ་བྱ། ཙམ་བསྐྱབ་
བྱ་གཏང་ན་བྱ་བར་འགྱུར་བའི་བྱ་ལ་ཟེར།

758 The son of the ignoble crow became worse the more he was lectured, and the more his body was chopped the larger it became. (Of a disobedient child who grows worse the more he is lectured.)

༧༦༥ རུམ་རྩ་གཅིག་མི་ཡུལ་རྩ་གཅིག། བོད་པས་རུམ་ཆེན་མོ་ཡོན་བསམས་ཏི་དེ་ལ་འགྲན་མི་རུམ་
ཟེར།

759 The Rum family is one weight, and the world is another (i.e. the family of Rum is prolific).

༧༦༦ རུལ་ལི་ཁ་སྐལ་རྩ་ཁག་གཞོན། (རུལ་གྱི་ཁ་སྐལ་རྩ་ཁག་གཞོན) གཅིག་གི་ཁར་གཅིག་
དབང་ཅན་ཡིན་ཟེར།

760 The mongoose overpowered the snake. (Of a strong man who faces up to a stronger one than he.)

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༧༦༡ རེ་ཁོད་ན་རྟེན་ཁོད། རྟེན་ཁོད་མར་རྟེན་ཡང་ཁོད་དགོས་ཟེར།

761 If I have the courage to beg, you also must have the courage to bestow.

༧༦༢ རེ་བ་ཙྰ་རེ། ཁ་ཡག་གེ། རོབ་ཏུ་རེ་བ་བྱས་ཏི་མ་རོབ་པས་ཁ་རྟེན་མ་ན་ཟེར།

762 Through the intensity of his hope he grew ashamed.

༧༦༣ རེ་མ་པའི་ལས་པོ་སྒྲུ་སྒྲུ་རིག། རྒྱུ་མོ་ཆེདི་ནས་པོ་ཞེས་ཞེས་རིག། རེ་མ་པའི་ལས་ལྷིད་
ལུགས་དང་རྒྱུ་པོ་ཆེདི་ན་ལུགས་ལ་ཟེར།

763 The work of a strong man looks easy, and the food of a glutton looks appetizing.

༧༦༤ རྩ་ཡོད་མར་མ་ཏུ་བ། རྩ་མེད་མར་ཏུ་ཅེས། ཟེར་དགོས་མར་མ་ཟེར་བར། ཟེར་མི་
དགོས་པའི་མར་འ་ལྟོད་གཏང་ན་ཟེར།

764 To weep where there is no corpse, and not to weep where there is one. (Of the person who complains about a man to someone unconcerned in the matter.)

༧༦༥ རི་བོང་ཁ་ཕུང་ཤོར་རེ། གསང་གཏམ་དང་རང་ལ་གཞོད་པའི་གཏམ་གཞན་ལ་བཞད་མཁན་
ལ་ཟེར།

765 The hare hurt himself through cracking his lips. (When a person tells a secret or says something which afterwards recoils upon himself.)

༧༦༦ རིའི་མདུན་ལ་ཁ་མ་དལ། འངས་ཀྱི་མདུན་ལ་ལག་མ་དལ། རིའི་རྩར་མ་ཁྱེ་འཛིན་པ་དང་
འངས་ཀྱི་རྩར་ལས་ཙྰ་ཟེར།

766 Don't let your mouth be idle when in front of a corpse, and don't let your hands be idle when you stand in front of the threshing floor (i.e. pray when before a corpse, and work at your threshing floor).

༧༦༧ རལ་འགྲུལ་ལ་མ་ཞེས་ནའང་། ཐག་པ་འགྲུལ་ལ་སྤུས་མི་ཞེས། རྩོག་ཕྱ་མོང་མ་མ་གོ་
ནའང་། རྩོག་གསལ་པོ་ཅི་ལ་མི་གོ་ཟེར། མིའི་བྱ་བ་ནས་གཞོད་ཀྱིས་འབྱུང་ན་ཟེར།

767 Though one may not be aware of the moving of a hair, who is there who does not notice the moving of a rope? (i.e. it may not be easy to understand that which is profound, but anyone can understand plain speech).

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༧༥༩ ལྷ་ལོག་གཅིག་ལ་གཡོ་ལོག་གཅིག་། ལྷ་བའི་རྩ་པ་མི་གཅིག་འགྲང་བ་ལས་ཐན་གཡོན་མི་
གཅིག་འགྲང་ངོ་ཟེར།

768 One's kneading of dough is sufficient for one person, but if baked it suffices for two.

༧༦༠ རང་བཅུགས་པའི་ཟས་པར་རང་ཐར་དགོས། རང་གིས་སྐྲུས་པའམ་བྱས་པ་བཞིན་དུ་རང་
ཐར་དགོས་ཟེར།

769 You must cross the bridge which you yourself have built (i.e. you must abide by the words which you have uttered).

༧༧༠ རི་རྩེ་པ་ལ་བྱག་པ་སོས། རྩེ་ཕྱིས་བཞིག་ནས་སོས་ཞིག་ཅེད་ན་ཟེར།

770 A new tunnel in an old hill. (When a man breaks an old custom and introduces a new one.)

༧༧༡ རང་ལུས་ལ་དཔེ་བླངས་ནས་མི་ལ་བསྐབ་བྱ། རང་དཔེར་བླངས་ནས་གཞན་ལ་ཙོས་ཟེར།

771 To give others advice whilst acting independently oneself.

༧༧༢ རང་ཁྱེས་ལ་རང་མཁས་པ། མི་ཁྱེས་ལ་དཔོན་མཁས་པ། དཔོན་གྱིས་གཞན་གྱི་མཚན་
ཁང་ལྟ་བུ་རི་མོས་ཀླུན་ལྟར་རང་ལས་གྱི་ཁྱེས་ལ་རང་འདྲ་མི་འོང་ཟེར།

772 One is wise enough to achieve one's own purpose, and an artist is wise in achieving the purpose of others.

ལ

༧༧༣ ལ་ཚྭ་བདེ་མོ་ལུས་ན། རབ་ཤག་མ་ཡིན། ལུས་ཁམས་བཟང་ལུས་ན་དེུལ་འཐད་འཐད་
ཚོབ་ཡིན་ཟེར།

773 If the Sngon pass is safe, farthings are as plentiful as pebbles (i.e. if my health remains good, I shall be able to earn as much money as I want).

༧༧༤ ལ་ཨ་བས་བརྒྱབ་པ། ལ་དུགས་ཨ་མ་ལ་ལོག། གནོད་དགོས་པ་ལ་མ་གནོད་པར་གནོད་
མི་དགོས་པར་གནོད་ན་ཟེར།

774 Father crossed the pass, and mother got mountain sickness. (When a quarrel affects the wrong person.)

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༧༧༧ ལ་ཕུག་ལོ་ལ་ལྷིན་ཏི། ལྷན་པའི་བྱ་ལ་འད་མི་འདྲ། ལ་ཕུག་འདྲ་བར་དཀའ་ཟེར།

775 The radish being indigestible, even the son of the physician could not digest it.

༧༧༩ ལག་པ་ཟར། རྒྱུག་པ་ནར། རོང་ཟེར་ཏི་ལག་པ་བརྒྱུང་ནས་མ་གཏང་ན་ཟེར།

776 Stretching out one's hand and extenuating the evil. (When a person does not get the thing he has asked for.)

༧༧༧ ལག་པས་བཏང་རྗེ། རྒྱུང་པ་དང་བདའ་ཅེས། བྱ་ལོན་རྩ་ད་དྲུ་འགོ་དགོས་ན་ཟེར།

777 He who gave with his hands had to chase with his feet. (Of a creditor who pursues a debtor.)

༧༧༩ ལག་པས་བཅོས་ཏི། རྒྱུང་པ་དང་བཞིག་ཅེས། རང་གིས་བྱས་པའི་ལས་རང་གིས་བཞིག་ན་ཟེར།

778 To achieve a thing with one's hands and destroy it with one's feet.

༧༧༩ ལག་རྩེས་དགྲ། ར་རྩེས་ཤེན། ལག་དང་ཁ་གཉིས་བསམས་ཏི་མ་བཞོལ་ན་དགྲ་འཇམ་བ་དང་ཤེན་ཆེ་བའི་ནང་སྤྱོད་པ་ཟེར།

779 Harmful to play with one's hands and dangerous to crack a joke (i.e. be careful when you play or joke with others).

༧༨༠ ལག་རྩེས་བྲག་ལ། མི་འབྱུང་མེད་ཞིག་གིས་རྩེས་པའི་ལས་ཅེད་ན་ཟེར།

780 To climb a rock with maimed hands. (Of an incompetent person desiring an honourable post or position.)

༧༨༡ ལག་ཤེས་ཀུན་གྱི་གཞིག་པོ། གཏམ་ཤེས་ཀུན་གྱི་དཔོན་པོ། ལག་ཤེས་ལས་གཏམ་ཤེས་པ་གཙོ་ཆེ་བ་ཡིན་ཟེར།

781 A craftsman is the servant of all and an eloquent person is the master of all.

༧༨༢ ལག་པ་མི་འཛིག་པའི་རྒྱམ་པ། བཞོལ་ལེ་ཡང་རྩེ་ཅིད་པའི་མི་ལ་ཟེར།

782 Pincers which prevent one's hands from being burnt. (Of children and incompetent people capable only of performing ordinary and trifling domestic tasks.)

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ཕ་དེ ལ་མགོ་ལ་བསྐྱབས་ཏི་མཛོར་མ་དྲན་ཅེས། ཏྲག་འདྲམ་པའི་ཁར་དྲན་ན་ཟེར།

783 To remember one's trousers on reaching the top of a pass.

ཕ་དེ ལ་མ་ནོར་ན་ལོག་ཉན། དཔེ་ར་ནོར་ན་ལོག་མི་ཉན། གཏམ་ཅེད་པ་ནོར་མ་འདྲག་ཟེར།

784 Lose your way and you can return; say the wrong thing and you cannot revoke it.

ཕ་དེ ལ་མ་དང་ཀུན་མའི་རྗེས། ཀུན་མའི་རྒྱང་རྗེས་ལྟར་ལས་ངན་ལ་འང་རྗེས་ལུས་སོ་ཟེར།

785 The signs of one's labour and the imprint of a thief.

ཕ་དེ ལ་མ་གྱིས་ལས་སྟོན། ལས་གྱི་གོམས་རྒྱུད་འཇམ་གྱིས་ལྷག་པར་ལེགས་པ་ཅེད་རུས་ཟེར།

786 One's work demonstrates one's efforts.

ཕ་དེ ལགས་བརྒྱ་ཐམ་པ་བས། བདེན་གཅིག་དགེ། ལེ་ལེ་བརྒྱ་ལས་བདེན་ཆོག་གཅིག་ལེགས་ཟེར།

787 One word of truth is better than a hundred affirmations.

ཕ་དེ ལ་མ་ཁྱད་མཁན་མང་པོ། ཀུགས་ཅུ་རྒྱུ་མཁན་དཀོན་མོ། དཔེ་ར་བསྐྱབ་མཁན་མང་ལང་
རོགས་ཅེད་མཁན་ཉུང་ཏུ་ཟེར།

788 Many to show you the road, but few to provide you with food for the journey.

ཕ་དེ ལེ་གྱིར་འཇམ་འདྲ་པར་མའི་མེན་ཏྲག། ཟ་བ་ལ་རེས་པ། ལས་ལ་འཛིངས་པ། བྱད་ལེགས་
གྱོད་པ་ཅེ་བ་ལས་མི་རྒྱུ་པའི་བྱད་མེད་ལ་ཟེར།

789 The idol at Likir is like a lotus flower, a powerful eater, and a lazy worker. (Of good-looking women who eat much and work little.)

ཕ་དེ ལུག་གི་ཁྲོད་ལ་བེ་ལ། ར་མའི་ཁྲོད་ལ་ཀ། ཡན་ཅུན་གཉེས་པོ་འཇམ་པའི་གཏམ་ཅེད་པའི་མི་
ལྷེ་པ་ལ་ཟེར།

790 One who bleats amongst the sheep and cries amongst the goats. (Of a person who talks plausibly to friend and foe.)

ཕ་དེ ལུག་བརྒྱ་འཛོམ་དང་གཅིག་འཛོམ། ལུག་རྗེ་དང་སྐྱབ་དཔོན་དང་སྐྱག་པོར་གྲུང་མ་མང་ཉུང་
གཅིག་པ་ལིན་ཟེར།

791 It's the same whether one herds one sheep or a hundred.

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༧༩༢ ལྷན་ལ་འབྲུག་ཀྱི་ཡོད་ན། ར་ལ་གཤད་ཀྱི་ཡོད། ལྷན་ལ་བལ་དང་ར་ལ་ལོ་ན་ཡོད་པ་
ལྷན། རྩོད་ལ་ཟེར་ཀྱི་ཡོད་ན་ང་ལ་འདྲ་བཤད་ཀྱི་ཡོད་ཟེར།

792 If there is reason to shear the sheep, there is also reason to shear the goats (i.e. if you have reason to complain against me, I too have reason to complain against you).

༧༩༣ ལས་གྱི་མགོ། གཏམ་གྱི་མཐུག། ལས་ལ་མགོ་བྱས་པ་གལ་ཆེ། གཏམ་སྒྲུབ་པ་ལྟར་ཅིང་
དགོས་གལ་ཆེ་ཡིན་ཟེར།

793 The beginning of a task and the ending of a conversation (i.e. if it is important to begin a task, it is also important to keep one's promise).

༧༩༤ ལྷན་གཞིང་ཆེན། ལ་གཞིང་ཆེ། ལས་ལ་བྲམ་པ་ཅིང་ན། ལ་ལ་ཡང་ཟ་ཀྱི་མང་པོ་འབྱུང་
ངོ་ཟེར།

794 If your body is active, your mouth will be active too (i.e. more work, more income).

༧༩༥ ལྷན་དང་གྱི་མག། (གྱི་བ་མ)། འབྲལ་མེད་གཏན་དུ་འགྲོགས་པ་ལ་ཟེར།

795 The body together with its shadow (i.e. these are inseparable).

༧༩༦ རོ་བརྒྱ་བསགས་པའི་དགེ་བ་དེ། རྟེན་གཅིག་ཁོང་ཁྱོས་གཞོན་པར་བྱ། རོན་མ་ཅིང་ན་ལོ་
མང་བསགས་པ་དེ་རྟེན་གཅིག་ནང་ལྟར་ཡོད་ཟེར།

796 The anger of one day obliterates the virtues of a hundred years.

༧༩༧ རོ་སྐྱོར་ལ་བྱ་སྐྱོར། རོ་ཉ་ཨ་ན་བྱ་དང་བྱ་མི་ལ་ལ་འབྱུར་ཟེར།

797 At the age of twelve, he will be surrounded by children. (Boys and girls in Tibet marry early and become parents at an early age.)

༧༩༨ རོག་ལས་བྱིས་ཡང་ཤིས། དྲན་དེ་ན་ཡིན།

798 Even a dog knows his way home.

༧༩༩ ལག་པ་ལ་ཚར་མང་བྱས་ན་བཏོན་ཏན། རྟེན་ལ་ཚར་མང་བྱས་ན་བཏོན་མི་ཏན།

799 If you have a thorn in your hand, you can extract it; but if a thorn pierces your heart, you cannot take it out.

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༨༠༠ ག་པོ་ན་ལམ། ཡགས་པ་ན་རམ། མི་ལ་མི་དགའ་བར་དེའི་ནོར་ལ་དགའ་ན་ཟེར།

800 The flesh is lawful to eat, but it is not lawful to use the skin. (When a person hates a man, but covets his wealth.)

༨༠༡ ག་བཙོང་པའི་ག་བཙོང་བཙོང་བཙོང་ཅེས། } གཞན་མ་ལ་རང་གི་མེད་སྟོན་བཤད་ན་ཟེར།
ག་བཙོང་པའི་ག་འཕུར་འཕུར་འཕུར་ཅེས། }

801 To sell one as a butcher sells meat. To hang one as a butcher hangs meat. (i.e. To expose the faults of one's friends and relations to strangers.)

༨༠༢ ག་དང་གྱི། མི་གཉིས་ཤིན་ཏུ་མ་མཐུན་ན་ཟེར།

802 Like a piece of meat and a knife. (Of two people who hate each other intensely.)

༨༠༣ ག་མི་ན། རུས་ན། རང་གི་གཉེན་ལ་ཕྱག་བཟུལ་འབྱུང་རུས་སྤྱ་ཉེ་མོ་མེད་པའི་གཉེན་གྱིས་
ཕྱགས་ཅེད་ན་ཟེར།

803 No pain in the flesh, but pain in my bones. (Here 'bones' denotes one's relatives. So this means: I have no sympathy personally, but must stand up for my kith and kin.)

༨༠༤ ག་ཐོ་ཐང་ཆད་པའི་ཉི་མ། དབྱར་གྱི་ཉི་མ་རིང་མོ་ལ་ཟེར།

804 A day on which even the deer gets tired (i.e. a long summer's day).

༨༠༥ ག་རྩིང་དུག། མར་རྩིང་སྤྲུག། ལལ་ཉི་དང་གར་ལ་པས་མར་རྩིང་རྒྱན་དུ་བ།

805 Stale meat is a poison and rancid butter a remedy. (Baltis and Lahaulis are particularly fond of very rancid butter.)

༨༠༦ ག་ཟ་རེས། ཡགས་པ་ལོན་རེས། མི་མདའ་གཉིས་དུག་ཏུ་སྒྲིལ་ན་ཟེར།

806 Their turn to eat each other's flesh and wear each other's skin. (When two people quarrel violently and sue each other in Court.)

༨༠༧ ག་ར་ལ་ག་རམ་ཅེ་ཡོད། ཆས་ཁྲིམས་བཞིན་ལ་བ་པའམ་ཅེད་པ་ལ་ངོ་ཆ་མེད་ཟེར།

807 What shame is there when acting according to law?

༨༠༨ ག་ལོག་ནས་གྱི་ལ། འབངས་གྱི་ལོག་གི་ཕུ་བ་ལ་ཟེར།

808 The meat turned upon the knife. (Of a subject who rebels against his master.)

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༡༠༩ འགྲུ་མི་དཀོན་ཆ་ན། འབྲོད་ཕྱག་མཁར་དཔོན་ལྷན། མ་རབས་དང་མ་མཁུ་ལ་ཞིག་ལ་མ་
ཞེར་སྒྲིན་ཅེར།

809 If Sakya is short of men, the Drongprug becomes the governor. (When a man of low birth obtains a high position.)

༡༡༠ ཞི་ཁ་འབྲོད་ན། མི་ཁ་འབྲུད། ཞི་བའི་ལོ་རྒྱུག་ན་མི་དའི་མི་ཁ་འབྲུད་ཅེར།

810 If others announce his death prematurely, talk which would harm him is dissipated.

༡༡༡ ཞིའི་ཁ་རྩོད་ན། ཞི་བའི་མི་ལ་རྩུང་བ་ལྷན། ཕྱག་བཟུལ་བ་ལ་འཛོན་ཅེར།

811 To press down a man who is dying (i.e. aggravating a man who is already in trouble).

༡༡༢ ཞི་ཡིན་ཞིག་ཀྱང་འབྲུ། མྱོག་དང་འབྲལ་ཏེ་ཡང་དགྲར་སྒྲོལ་ཅེར།

812 Even whilst dying, he struggled.

༡༡༣ ཞིག་ལ་རྒྱ་མ་རྒྱུང་མཁན། མི་ཉམས་ཅན་མི་དྲན་དགྲ་དྲན་ལ་ཅེར།

813 He who fills the guts of a louse. (Of an extremely deceitful or resourceful person.)

༡༡༤ ཞིང་དྲང་བའི་རྩ་ནས། མི་དྲང་བའི་མགོ་ནས། ཞིང་དྲང་བའི་རྩ་དྲན་ནས་གཙོད། མི་དྲང་
བའི་མགོ་སྐྱ་སྐྱ་བའི་དྲན་ནོ།

814 The straight tree is cut at its root and the upright man at his head (i.e. the simple man is easily deceived).

༡༡༥ ཞིག་མང་བོས་ཐ་བ་མི་ཚར། བྱ་ཡོན་མང་བོ་རྩ་དཔ་མི་ཚར། ཞིག་དང་བྱ་ཡོན་མང་བོ་
ཡོད་པའི་མི་དྲིད་པ་ལ་ཅེར།

815 One does not feel the bites of many lice, nor does one take notice of the demands to pay many debts.

༡༡༦ ཞིང་མཁན་དབུལ་ནང་རང་འབོས། ཞིང་མཁན་ལག་དབུལ་ཀྱང་རང་གི་ཟས་སྒྲིལ་འབོས་
ཀྱི་ཞིང་ཞིག་འཇོན་ཅེར།

816 The slow carpenter has sufficient fuel for his needs.

༡༡༧ སུལ་ལུ་རྩམ་ཏེ་མ་འགྲུལ། བྱོད་པ་འགྲངས་ཏེ་མ་འགྲུལ། ཅིས་ལ་འགྲོ་ཅི་ན་གོས་དང་
རྒྱགས་ཐེབ་འཁུར་དགོས་ཅེར།

817 Don't go on a full stomach and don't walk when your body is warm (i.e. when going on a journey, take more food and clothes than you need when you set out).

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༡༡༩ ལྷ་པའི་ཁ་ནས་མུ་མེར་འཛིབ་ཅེས། མི་དབུལ་པོའི་མོར་འཕྲོག་ན་ཟེར།

818 He sucks the pus from other people's sores. (When a person deprives a poor man of something.)

༡༢༠ ཞེ་པའི་ཁ་མགྲོན། ཁ་མ་འཕངས་སུ་མགྲོན་ལ་འབོད་ན་ཟེར།

819 The Sheh man's feast of words. (When someone calls a man to a meal with no intention of carrying out his invitation.)

༡༢༠ ཞེ་ནས་ཐུན་ལྷ། འཛོམ་པོ་རྒྱང་ཅན་གཏང་ན་ཟེར།

820 From Sheh to Smanla (i.e. to sew a garment in a haphazard fashion).

༡༢༡ ཞེས་སོ་རང་ལ་ཡོད་ན། རྩི་སོ་མི་ལ། རང་གིས་ཞེས་ཀྱང་གཞན་ལ་རྩིས་ཞིག་ཟེར།

821 Though you may have knowledge, you should take counsel from someone else.

༡༢༢ ཞེས་རབ་ཅན་ཞིག་གངས་ལ་ཉི་ཤར་འདྲ། བརྩོན་འགྲུས་ཅན་ཞིག་ནགས་ལ་མི་ཤར་འདྲ།
ཞིག་པ་ཅན་ལས་བརྩོན་འགྲུས་ཅན་དྲག་པ་ཡིན་ཟེར།

822 A wise man is like a glistening glacier, and a painstaking man is like a forest on fire.

༡༢༣ ཞེས་པའི་ནང་ནས་མི་ཞེས་པ། མི་མཁས་པ་ལྟ་གསུམ་ན་ཟེར།

823 He who is wise and behaves unwisely.

༡༢༤ ག་གང་པོའི་བཙོང་རན། ཐུན་པའི་ཉི་རན། གཅང་པོའི་ཐུས་གྱིས་ཐུན་པར་རྒྱང་བཀལ་ན་
ཟེར།

824 The time for the smart man to sell and the dunce to buy. (When an astute person sells a thing to a fool.)

༡༢༥ ག་གསུམ་མིན་པོ་ཐོས་བསམ་མེ། འབོད་བ་སུ་ལ་གཏང། ཐུ་མ་དང་དཔོན་པོས་མི་ཞིག་ས་
པ་ཐེད་ན་ཟེར།

825 When the prince pronounces an unjust verdict, to whom shall I cry?

༡༢༦ ག་གང་པོ་ཡེ་འགམས་ཏེ། ཐུན་པའི་མགོ་ལ་རྒྱལ་པ། རང་རྒྱན་མི་གཞན་ལ་འགྲེལ་ན་ཟེར།

826 The smart man ate the flour and placed the bag on the stupid man's head. (Of one who deceives someone to vindicate himself.)

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༤༣༥ མ་དང་སོ་ནམ་ནམ་རྒྱལ་མི་བྲིལ་བ་ཞིག། ཚམས་རང་སེམས་ཀྱིས་མི་བྲིལ་བ་ཞིག། ཞིང་
ལས་དང་ཚམས་ཅིང་པའི་དཔེ་ཡིན།

836 Your agricultural efforts must be such that the season can't blame you, and your faith such that one's conscience does not blame you.

༤༣༦ མ་དན་གྱི་གད་པ་ཕྱི་བ་ན་གུལ། མི་ཡན་པའི་ནད་པ་ཤི་ན་གུལ། རྟན་དེ་ན་ཡིན།

837 Better that the bad soil of the cliff should crumble, and better that the incurable patient should die.

༤༣༧ མ་མི་བརྟག་མཁན། ཡག་ནམ་གཞིང་པ་སྐྱེལ་བ་ལ་ཟེར།

838 To light a fire beneath the earth. (In times of war men blow up their enemies with land mines or dynamite, etc. Thus this means 'to do someone an injury by stealth'.)

༤༣༨ མ་བེ་ལིག་ཅར་ཆག་གི་ཁར་འཕྱོན་ན་ཚོགས། རི་སོ་ཅིང་ཀྱིན་གྱིད་གྱིད་ལ་འགྲུལ་བའི་མི་ལ་
ཟེར།

839 Like a mouse mounting a broken tray. (Of a foolish man who boasts.)

༤༤༠ མ་བེ་ལིག་གི་སྒྲིག་དང་ཆ་རུག། བེ་ལ་གཡང་ས་པ་ཡོང་འདུག། གཅིག་ལ་བར་རྟོ་ཡོད་པ་
ལ་གཞན་གྱིས་འཚོག་པ་སྒྲིག་ན་ཟེར།

840 The mouse loses his life and the cat enjoys the fun. (When making fun of a man in trouble.)

༤༤༡ མ་འཇམ་གྱིས་རྩ་བཀག། མི་འཇམ་གྱིས་མི་བཏོལ། ཁ་འཇམ་པོས་མི་བཏོལ་བྱུང་པ་ཟེར།

841 The fine earth blocks the water and a gentle person makes use of others. (Equivalent to: A gentle word turns away wrath.)

༤༤༢ མ་ལ་རྩ་རེ་རྩ་རེ། མི་ལ་རྩིད་རེ་རྩིག་རེ། རྩ་རྩིལ་མ་ལྟར། རྩིད་རྩིག་ཀྱང།

842 The soil becomes gray and green by turns, and a man is happy and miserable by turns.

༤༤༣ མ་ལ་འདུག་ཡོང་མེད་པ། གནས་ལ་ཐལ་རྩལ། ལས་རྩེ་ཞིག་ཐོབ་མ་ཐག་ཏུ་ཉི་མེད་ས་
བརྟན་པའི་མི་ལ་སོ་ཅན་ལ་ཟེར།

843 Hardly had he sat down before a cloud of dust rose in the sky. (Of a man who causes trouble to one who has only recently obtained a good post.)

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༡༤༤ མ་རྩལ་ལུད། ལུད་རྩལ་མ། རྩན་རྩན་ཡིན།

844 Rotten soil becomes manure and rotten manure becomes earth.

༡༤༥ མངས་ཀྱིས་ལ་དཔལ་བ་དྲིན་ཅན། དཔལ་བ་ལ་མངས་ཀྱིས་དྲིན་ཅན། མངས་ཀྱིས་ལ་དཔལ་བ་མེད་པར་ཉིང་རྗེ་སྐྱོམ་ཐབས་མེད་པ་ལྟར། དཔལ་བ་ལ་མངས་ཀྱིས་མ་སྐྱོམ་པར་མངས་ཀྱིས་ཐབས་མེད་དྲོ་སེམས་པས། མི་ཆེན་ལ་མི་ཆུང་དྲིན་ཅན་ཡིན་ཟེར།

845 Hell is merciful to the Buddha and the Buddha is kind to hell. (Unless there were a hell, there would be nothing to which the Buddha could be gracious. Likewise those in hell have the Buddha to show them the way of escape. So this saying means that all beings, high or low, are dependent upon each other.)

༡༤༦ སིན་ཏིག་གི་མངས་སིན་ཏིག་གིས་སྤྱང་འདུག། རང་གི་མིའི་སྤྱོད་འཕྲིང་ན་ཟེར།

846 Sintig the bird explores his own nest. (When a man finds fault with his own kith and kin.)

༡༤༧ སུ་བྲམ་བསགས་པ་སུ་བྲའི་ཀུན། བོད་དེས་བསགས་པ་བླ་མའི་ཀུན། རྒྱ་བོའི་ནོར་བླ་མ་ལ་ཐོབ་པ་ལ་ཟེར།

847 That which Suku collected, was used by Muku; and what the laymen collected, the lamas received. (When lamas obtain food, etc. from laymen.)

༡༤༨ སུ་ལྷལ་ལ། རང་ལྷལ་ལ། རང་བཟང་པོ་ཡོད་ན་གཞན་མས་ཀྱང་བཟང་པོ་ཕྱེད་ཟེར།

848 Who is good? I myself am good (i.e. if a man is honest and good, others will also regard him as a good man).

༡༤༩ མེང་གི་ནད་ཀྱིས་སྐྱམ། མེང་གི་མང་ནད་རེས་པ་ཡིན། མི་རེས་པ་ནད་ཀྱིས་སྐྱམ་ཟེར།

849 The lion was reduced through disease.

༡༥༠ སེམས་བཏད་དེ། སློ་རྒྱ་ཅེས། ལྷིང་བཏད་མཁན་ལ་དྲང་པོ་མ་ཕྱེད་ན་ཟེར།

850 To steal the mind of him who trusts you.

༡༥༡ སེམས་ལ་འབོར་ན་དུག། ཁ་ལ་ལེན་ན་སྒྲན། རང་སྦྱོན་གསང་བ་བསམ་བཤད་ན་ལེགས་ཟེར།

851 If you keep a thing in your heart, it is poison; but if you confess it, it is a remedy.

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༩༥༢ རྒྱུ་མེད་པ་ལྟོགས། རྒྱུ་མེད་པ་ལྟོགས། རྒྱུ་མེད་པ་ལྟོགས། རྒྱུ་མེད་པ་ལྟོགས།
ཟེར།

852 The evil spirit was in a hurry, and the food for the grave was late. (When a quarrel arises over the lateness of a meal.)

༩༥༣ རྒྱུ་མེད་པ་ལྟོགས། རྒྱུ་མེད་པ་ལྟོགས། རྒྱུ་མེད་པ་ལྟོགས། རྒྱུ་མེད་པ་ལྟོགས།
ཟེར།

853 One must suck the blood from one's teeth and tighten up one's waistband to prepare a home (i.e. must work hard and suffer much to obtain a livelihood).

༩༥༤ རྒྱུ་མེད་པ་ལྟོགས། རྒྱུ་མེད་པ་ལྟོགས། རྒྱུ་མེད་པ་ལྟོགས། རྒྱུ་མེད་པ་ལྟོགས།
ཟེར།

854 The grain of shelled barley is ugly, and the poor are ugly in the sight of men. (When a man is despised because he is poor.)

༩༥༥ རྒྱུ་མེད་པ་ལྟོགས། རྒྱུ་མེད་པ་ལྟོགས། རྒྱུ་མེད་པ་ལྟོགས། རྒྱུ་མེད་པ་ལྟོགས།
ཟེར།

855 One is respected in one's own country; in Da and Hanu villages, the Dards are respected.

༩༥༦ རྒྱུ་མེད་པ་ལྟོགས། རྒྱུ་མེད་པ་ལྟོགས། རྒྱུ་མེད་པ་ལྟོགས། རྒྱུ་མེད་པ་ལྟོགས།
ཟེར།

856 Oneself is clever in concealing one's secret, whilst others are skilful in talking about them.

༩༥༧ རྒྱུ་མེད་པ་ལྟོགས། རྒྱུ་མེད་པ་ལྟོགས། རྒྱུ་མེད་པ་ལྟོགས། རྒྱུ་མེད་པ་ལྟོགས།
ཟེར།

857 A hundred goldsmiths and one blacksmith (i.e. the hammering of one blacksmith is more effective than the hammering of a hundred goldsmiths) (i.e. the clinching of an argument by an apposite phrase).

༩༥༨ རྒྱུ་མེད་པ་ལྟོགས། རྒྱུ་མེད་པ་ལྟོགས། རྒྱུ་མེད་པ་ལྟོགས། རྒྱུ་མེད་པ་ལྟོགས།
ཟེར།

858 Gold into chalk and chalk into dust. (When a man goes bankrupt.)

༩༥༩ རྒྱུ་མེད་པ་ལྟོགས། རྒྱུ་མེད་པ་ལྟོགས། རྒྱུ་མེད་པ་ལྟོགས། རྒྱུ་མེད་པ་ལྟོགས།
ཟེར།

859 He obtained some gold, but had no purse to keep it in.

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༩༩ གཤོན་ན་ཁ་གཅིག | ཤིན་དུར་གཅིག | ཤིགས་གཅིག་པམ་སྒྲན་ཡིན་ཟེར |

860 They who are alive share one cup, and they who are dead share one cemetery.

༩༩༡ གཤོན་དཔོན་མར་བྱའི་རྒྱ་མཚོ | ཤིན་དུལ་བའི་གཏིང་རྩ | གཤོན་དཔོན་གྱིས་འཇུག་གི་
མར་པོ་ཟེར |

861 The cook is in the sea of liquid butter; but if he dies, he will, like an anchor, go to the depths of hell. (Of a cook who steals.)

༩༩༢ བསགས་པའི་རྩོད་ལ་སྒར་ཐོབ་བར་ཆད | ཤི་དུས་དེའི་རྩོད་ལ་སྒར་ཐོབ་གཏང་ངོ་ཟེར |

862 The scramble to get hold of his pile of wealth.

༩༩༣ བསགས་པའི་རྩོད་མེད་ནའང | ཐོས་པའི་ཆོས་ལྷ་ཡོད | རྩོད་ལ་བསགས་པར་ཞིས་པོ་ཐོས་པ་
ཡིན་ཟེར |

863 Though I have not accumulated wealth, yet I have eaten fat (i.e. I am not wealthy, but possess physical strength).

༩༩༤ བསམ་ནན་མེད་པའི་མི་རྒྱགས་པ | ཞན་ནན་མེད་པའི་རྩ་རྒྱགས་པ | བསམ་མེད་གྱི་མི་རྒྱགས་
པ་ལ་ཟེར |

864 He is fat who cannot think; the horse is fat upon which no one can ride.

༩༩༥ བསམ་པས་ཤི་བལྟག | གཡོག་ལྷེ་པང་ཟད | ཆེན་པོ་ལ་ནམ་ཞིང་ཟ་རྒྱུ་མེད་པ་ལྷ་བྱ་ལ་ཟེར |

865 Through his imagination he brought the mountain to him, but meanwhile the place where he sat crumbled away (i.e. of one who is ambitious).

༩༩༦ བསམ་ངན་གྱི་ཆོས་བཤད་ཅེས་སང | བསམ་བཟང་གི་སྤྱ་གཏང་ཅེས་རྒྱལ | རྩོད་དེ་ན་ཡིན |

866 Better to sing with a good heart than to preach religion with an evil mind.

༩༩༧ བསམ་པ་ཐུན་ལ་མ་གཏང་ན | འཁྱོད་པ་ཉིང་ལ | རྩོད་དེ་ན་ཡིན |

867 If you do not think beforehand, you will regret it afterwards.

༩༩༨ བཞོད་བདེ་དང་ཟ་ཐོར་ཆེན་རྒྱལ | རྩོད་དེ་ན་ཡིན |

868 Better that one's fortune and one's cup should be large. (When a person uses a large cup to drink out of.)

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༨༦༩ བཅོད་བདེ་ལ་མེད་ན། ཀུལ་བྱ་ལ་ཅི་རྒྱུང་ཡིན། རྩོམ་མི་འཕྲོང་མཁན་ལ་ཟེར།

869 If there is nothing in my luck, then what shall I put in my bag?

༨༧༠ རྩུང་གི་བལ་ལྗང་། རྩུང་པར་འབྲང་བའི་བལ་ལྗང་ལྟར་རྩུང་ལ་མིའི་ཕྱི་བཞིན་འབྲང་བ་ལ་
ཟེར།

870 The rotten wool in the street. (Of a loose person.)

༨༧༡ རྩུང་ས་མགོ་ལ་གོན་མཁན། སྤྱིལ་བའི་ལས་ཅེད་མཁན་ལ་ཟེར།

871 He who places the dust of the street on his head. (Of a man who consciously brings disgrace upon himself.)

༨༧༢ རྩན་མ་མ་བྱལ་པ་ཆག་ཅི། དབང་ཅན་ལ་མ་སློ་བར་དབང་མེད་ལ་སློ་ན་ཟེར།

872 He could not contend with a pea, but only with the oats. (Of one who cannot contend with a stronger man, but fights with a weaker person.)

༨༧༣ རྩན་སྩན་པའི་སྩན་ཟན། མང་དུ་བསྩན་ནས་ཐོབ་པ་ལ་ཟེར།

873 This is the meal which I have endured for a long time. (When a man is fully recompensed for his deeds.)

༨༧༤ སྒྲག་པ་མ་བྱལ་པ་རྩམ་སྒྲག། མ་ཐོབ་གོང་དུ་ཐོབ་པ་ལྟར་གྲག་ཅེད་ཟེར།

874 To make a pouch before catching the partridge.

༨༧༥ སྒྲག་པ་ལ་འཛིགས་ཏི་ཡ་ཡུལ་འཕང་ཅེས། མི་ཙམ་རྒྱུང་ལ་འཛིགས་ཏི་འབྲོམ་རྩལ་ཅེད་ན་
ཟེར།

875 To abandon one's home for fear of a partridge. (Of a timid man who runs away from responsibility for no adequate reason.)

༨༧༦ རྩུང་ངའི་ནང་ནས་འཕར་ཏི། ཚྭ་མའི་ནང་ནས་འཛོག་མཁན། ཅིང་མི་ཕན་པའི་མི་ལ་
ཟེར།

876 To splash from a frying pan and be sifted through a sieve. (Of a good-for-nothing person.)

༨༧༧ རྩུང་ཁ་འཁྱེར། རྩམ་ནིམ་པ་ཐོབ་ཏུ་ཁང་པ་མང་པོ་ལ་འཁྱེར་བ་ལ་ཟེར།

877 Take away the mouth accustomed to beg. (Of a man who continually goes from house to house begging.)

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༩༢༩ སྤང་ཚན་གྱི་ཁ་ནས་ཡོས་ཚན་འཕར་ཅེས། དྲོད་མེད་དུ་འབར་ན་ཟེར།

878 The grain which jumps in the hot frying pan. (Of a man who gets abusive and finally consents to a proposal or plan.)

༩༣༠ བསྐྱང་ས་འཛིན་ར་ར་ལ་བྱི་རྒྱན་གྱིས། གཤེར་བྱིང་ས་པ་དེ་ཡང་ལྟོར་ན་ཟེར།

879 The dog stole the butter milk which was obtained through begging. (When a person loses a thing for which he begged.)

༩༩༠ སྤང་མཁན་གྱིས་པ་གཡང་ལ། མི་ནོར་མེད་ལ་ནོར་ཕྱར་ནས་ཇོ་མ་ཆེད་པའི་སྤོ་ནས་ཡལ་ན་ཟེར།

880 When the beggar grew fat, he fell down headlong.

༩༩༡ བསགས་པ་ཡོད་དུ། དགོས་པ་འག་གཅིག།

881 That which he collected in nine years, he required for one day.

ད

༩༩༢ ཅ་མོ་ར་ནས་བ། བ་ལ་ཤེད། ཤེད་ལ་ཁོ་ལ་ཐག། ལས་ཅིག་མ་གྲུབ་པར་གྲུབ་མཁན་ལྟར་ཅིད་ན་ཟེར།

882 A cow from Hasora (Gilgit), a calf from the cow, and a collar for the calf. (Of one who contemplates a thing which he has not got.)

༩༩༣ ཅ་མོ་སྤྲོ་ལོག་ན། མགོ་འི་སང་ཕྱག་མོ་མཐོ་བ། དུས་མགོ་ལོག་ཆ་ན། ཡ་རབས་ལས་མ་རབས་མཐོ་སང་ཕྱོག་ལོ་ཟེར།

883 When times change, the knees will be higher than the head (i.e. when times change, the low-born will take precedence over people of noble birth).

༩༩༤ ཅ་མོ་གོ་བར་མགོ་ཁྱོག་ཁྱོག། མོ་གོ་ནའང་གོ་མཛོག་ཅིད་ན་ཟེར།

884 Not understanding anything he bent his head (i.e. as if in assent).

༩༩༥ ལྷང་ཡང་མེད་མཁན། ཁ་ནས་སྤྲོ་བྱ་མེད་མཁན་ལ་ཟེར།

885 One who has nothing to say.

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༩༩༥ ཉག་ཟེར་པ་བྱ། གཉེག་གིས་ཁ་ངན་ཟེར་ན། དེ་ལས་ཁྱུ་བའི་ལན་འབྱུང་ངོ་ཟེར།

886 One made the noise of spitting and the other spat at him.
(Of a couple of quarrelsome people.)

༩༩༦ ཉན་འདྲང་ལྷང་མ་དགོད། རྟོན་མེད་ལ་དགོད་ན་ཟེར།

887 The idiot laughs at the willow tree. (Of one who laughs without understanding what he is laughing at.)

༩༩༩ ཉབ་པོ་ལ་ལྷ་ལྷ་རུབ་པོ་བྱད། ཆེ་བ་ཞིག་ལ་ཉམ་ཅེས་ནས་རྒྱང་བ་ཡང་མ་ཐོབ་ན་ཟེར།

888 In taking a mouthful he lost even a gulp.

༩༩༧ ཉལ་མ་འཁེར། རྟོ་མེན་ཤིང་མིན། བཟང་ངན་གྱི་དེའི་བ་མི་ཤིས་པ་ལ་ཟེར།

889 Neither one thing nor another, neither stone nor wood.
(Of one who cannot discriminate between good or bad people or things.)

༩༩༠ ལྷ་མ་མགྲོགས་མ་འདྲེ་མགྲོགས། མི་ཆེ་བ་ལས་ཐོན་དུ་རྒྱང་བས་ཁ་ཟས་འདྲ་བ་ན་ཟེར།

890 The devil was quicker than the gods. (When underlings eat their food before their superiors begin theirs.)

༩༩༡ ལྷ་མོ་མའི་སང་འདྲེ་རྩིང་པ་ལྷལ། དཔོན་པོ་མོ་མའི་སང་རྩིང་པ་ལྷལ་ཟེར།

891 An old devil is better than a new god. (An experienced official though bad is better than an inexperienced one.)

༩༩༢ ལྷ་ཞིག་མཚར་དགོས། མི་ཞིག་དྲང་དགོས། དྲང་པོ་ཡང་དགོས་ཟེར།

892 A god must be glorious and a man must be honest.

༩༩༣ ལྷག་ན་རྒྱ་ཆད་ན་གསེར། ལྷག་ན་རྒྱང་མེད་དང། ཆད་ན་རྒྱང་ཅན་ཅེད་ན་ཟེར།

893 When there was ample food, it was treated like water, and when there was a scarcity, it was regarded like gold.

ཏ

༩༩༤ ཨ་ཀས་ཆ་ན་མར་ལ་སྒྲག། ཤིང་མེད་ན་སྒྲམ་གྲག་ལུས། ཨ་ཀས་ཆ་ན་འཚགས་འདྲིང་བུས་
པ་དེ་སྒྲག་དགོས་འབྱུང་ཟེར།

894 If there is no one to help you, eat butter; and if there are no trees, burn dry wood. (If you are in great need, use the butter you have put by for the future and burn the wood which you have stored for burning your corpse.)

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༩༧༥ ཡ་འོ་ནམ་ཡང་ཐ་ན་ཚང་པ། ཡ་འོ་ནམ་ཆ་ཐ་ན་ཚང་པ། ཚང་པ་ཞིག་ལ་སོང་ཚང་མ་ལ་
ནགས་ལ་ཚར་ཏི་ཡོག་ཅི་ན་འདི་ཟེར།

895 From there he came as a trader and from here he went empty-handed. (Of a man who spends all his earnings and returns home empty-handed.)

༩༧༦ ཡ་པའི་རེས་དང་རྒྱལ་བའི་རེས། རྒྱལ་བུ་ས་ལ་དབ་རེས་ཟེད། ཡར་ལ་ན་སྒོར་དུས་ཟེར།
ཕྱེ་ཡོད་དུས་རྒྱལ་པ་རྒྱལ་བུ་འཛེགས། དེའི་ནང་ཕྱེ་མེད་པ་དང་མ་ཡོང་ལ་དབ།

896 It is now the turn of father and his leather bag. His turn to throw down the leather bag. (When a man expresses his desire for revenge.)

༩༧༧ ཡ་ཆེ་ཇོ་ཇོའི་འགྲུལ་བཟོ་ལ་ལྟ་ལྟ། བོ་མོ་ང་རང་གི་འགྲུལ་བཟོ་ཡང་བཞིག། དྲག་པ་ཞིག
གི་དཔེ་བྱས་ནས་རང་གི་དེ་ཡང་ཇི་དཔ་པ་ལ་ཟེར།

897 Through watching the way in which the elderly lady walked, I myself forgot how to walk.

༩༧༨ ཡ་ནི་གཉིས་ཀྱི་ཡ་གྲུ། རོ་མ་ཁང་གི་ཁ་ལེབ། བྱ་ཆེན་ཅན་ཅུང་རྒྱ་དུ་འབྲབ་པའི་སྐོ་ནས་
ཡ་གྲུ་ཚར་ཀླས་ཞིན་ཟེར།

898 The husband of two wives is like the cover of a grave. (When a man marries two wives.)

༩༧༩ ཡ་བ་ལ་སྤུལ་གྱིས་འཁམས་པ། བྱ་ཐག་པ་ཁྲ་བོ་ལ་འཛེགས། རྒྱན་གྱི་དྲིད་པ་འབྲུར་བ་ལ་
ཟེར།

899 Father was bitten by a snake, and his son was afraid at the mixed coloured rope. (Equivalent to 'once bitten, twice shy'.)

༩༨༠ ཡ་བ་ཅི་ཐ་དང་ཡ་མ་ཅི་གོ། བྱ་གྲུ་མང་བོ་ཡོད་པའི་མ་ས་ལ་དེ་སྒྲར་གཏང་དགོས་སོ་ཟེར།
900 Father, what shall I eat? Mother, what shall I wear? (Of parents who have many children.)

༩༨༡ ཡ་བ་ཞི་ཡིན་བསམ་པ་ཡིན་ན། ཏ་ཀན་ཞིག་ལ་ཅི་ལ་མ་བཙོང་ས། རྒྱན་རྒྱན་ལ་མ་ཞུས་
པར་ཕྱིས་བྱ་བྱགས་འབྱུང་ན་ཟེར།

901 Why did I not sell father for an old horse?

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༩༠༢ ཨ་མ་གྱི་ཡུལ་། ཀྱུ་རྩ་གྲ་པོ་བྱ་བ་ལྷན་ལྷན་། མགོ་མི་ཅིང་པ་གི་ནམ་ལྷ་གྱུ་མ་རང་འཐད་ཅིང་
ཅིང་ལྷན་ལྷན་ན་ཟེར།

902 After its mother died, the colt's coat became glossy (i.e. when their parents die, children think they can do whatever they like).

༩༠༣ ཨ་མ་མིང་ན་གཉེན་མིང་། བྱ་པོ་མིང་ན་བཟན་མིང་། ཨ་མ་གྱི་ནམ་གཉེན་མི་འཁོར་བ་
ལྷན་། བྱ་པོ་མིང་ན་ཟན་མིང་ཟེར།

903 When mother dies, there are no relatives; when there is no buckwheat, there is no meal.

༩༠༤ ཨ་མ་འཐིད་དེ་བྱ་ལ་བཅོས། བཟན་མིང་མིང་པ་ལྷན་གཞན་ནོར་མ་ན་ཟེར།

904 To perform the act of swallowing (i.e. making away with other people's wealth).

༩༠༥ ཨ་མ་མི་ལོ་མ། ཐོབ་གཤམ་བམི་མི་ལ་ནོར་ཐོབ་ན་ཟེར།

905 Mother's milk. (When a man gets possessions which are rightly due to him.)

༩༠༦ ཨ་ཁང་འབྱུང་ན་ཚ་པོ་འབྱུང་པ་ཨ་ཁང་གི་དཔལ། གཉིས་ཀ་འབྱུང་ན་གུན་
གྱི་དཔལ། རང་གི་ནང་ནམ་མེ་མགོ་ཚད་ཅིག་འཛོན་ན་དེ་ལྷན་ཟེར།

906 If an uncle is exalted, it is his nephew's glory; if a nephew is raised to dignity, it is his uncle's glory, and if both are honoured, it is the glory of all.

༩༠༧ ཨ་བམི་དུས་ལ་བསག། བྱ་ཚའི་དུས་ལ་དགོས། རྟོན་དེ་ན་ཡིན།

907 In father's time riches were accumulated, but in his son's time they were needed.

MISCELLANEOUS PROVERBS.

༩༠༨ ར་མ་མཛེང་བཅོ་ཅིམ། ཁྱོད་པའི་ཡི་ཆད། ར་ནམ་མི་ཟེར་ནམ་ལྷན་ལ་ལུས་ན་ཟེར།

908 If your mouth remains closed, your stomach will suffer disappointment.

༩༠༩ རྩམ་མཇུག་འཐབ་མོས་ལྷད།

909 A fight occurred on the verge of the crowd.

༩༡༠ འཁྱགས་པ་གསང་ཡང་། མངོན་སུམ་འདར།

910 Though you conceal being cold, you are actually shivering.

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༡༡༡ རྒྱལ་ཅིག་རྒྱལ་པ་ཡི། མཐོ་བ་ཤིག་མོང་། ཅུང་ཟད་མགོ་བསྐྱར་ཐོག་པས། རྒྱུ་ལས་དག་
པ་མོང་ཟེར།

911 If you stumble over an obstacle, the higher you go (i.e. though you may have been deceived, subsequently the more influential you will become).

༡༡༢ ལྷན་མོ་འབྲུན་ཏི་འཛར། ཡུག་གུ་དུས་ཏི་འཛར།

912 An old woman dies groaning, and the child grows up crying.

༡༡༣ རྒྱ་མའི་ཙབ་ཅིག་སང། མི་ཐོག་གི་ལྷོ་རག་རྒྱལ།

913 Better the leavings of last night's supper than a very light breakfast.

༡༡༤ ངའི་མ་མ་ལ་འགོང་མོ་གཏོན་ན་ཡོད་ལུས་ཡང་མི་ཟེར།

914 No one will say, 'My mother is possessed of a devil'.

༡༡༥ ཁྱེད་དང་བྲལ་མཁན་ཅིག་ས། རྒྱུ་པོ་ཐོག་ས་དང་འབྲལ་ན་ཟེར།

915 Like a fish out of the water. (Of a man who is separated from his friends.)

༡༡༦ ཅུང་ཡང་མི་ཤེས། རྒྱལ་ཡང་མི་ཤེས། བོ་ཚོས་ནང་དུ་ཅི་ཅིང་མི་ཤེས་ན་ཟེར།

916 I neither know how to go to stool nor how to vomit. (When a man is in doubt and cannot decide what to do.)

༡༡༧ མཐོ་རྒྱལ་ཀུན་ལ་མཛོས། ཐོ་གོས་ཀྱི་རིང་བྱང་ལ་ཟེར།

917 A garment six spans long fits everyone. (Of the proper length of a man's garment.)

༡༡༨ རྒྱུ་པོ་ལས་ལ་མི་འཆས། བྱི་བྱི་གཞིང་ལྗང་པ་ལ་མི་འཆས།

918 Beggars will fight for the right of way, and dogs for an empty trough.

༡༡༩ རྒྱུ་པོ་ཐོག་ཁར་བཞག་ན། ལྷན་མཁའི་སྐར་མ་ལ་ཡང་འཆང།

919 If you put a street dog on your roof, he will paw at the stars of the sky.

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༡༢༠ མ་ཤོད་ཀྱང་རྒྱལ་ལ་དབྱང་ཞིག་དགོས། མ་མཛོས་ཀྱང་ཡང་ལ་བྱ་ཞིག་དགོས། རྩ་རེ་ན་
ཡིན།

920 Even a courageous man needs a supporter and a mother needs a child to nurse.

༡༢༡ ཡ་ཏ་ཨ་ཁེའི་མཛོ་ནི་ཡ། ཡུལ་གྱི་ནད་དག།

921 The dzo of Pata-Ali died and the disease in the village was cured.

༡༢༢ རྒྱལ་པོ་ནོར་གྱིས་མི་འགང། རྒྱ་མཚོ་ལྷ་ཡིས་མི་འགང། མི་ཞིག་ནོར་ལ་མི་འཛོམ་པ་ལ་
ཟེར།

922 Riches do not satisfy the wealthy, nor does water fill the ocean. (Of riches which cannot completely satisfy a man's longing for wealth.)

༡༢༣ བྲག་ལ་འདྲག་རྟེ། བྲག་ལ་རྒྱག་པ།

923 He who rested near the rock and then polluted it. (Of a man who defiles the thing or person which helps him.)

༡༢༤ བྱད་མེད་ཀྱི་བྱ་སྒྲིལ་མགོ་ར་ཡི་ལམ་རྩ། ཐལ་བའི་ལྷ་རྩེ་ས། མར་གྱི་ཉི་འོད།

924 Asking advice of a woman is akin to the leading of a goat, and offering earth as a sacrificial thing to the deity, and putting an oil lamp in the sun.

༡༢༥ དབང་ཅན་དང་ཤེད་མ་འགྲན། སྤྱད་མ་ཆེ་དང་ཐུང་མ་གཅིག། རྩ་གཉིས་ཀ་རེ་ན་ཡིན།

925 Don't match your strength with the mighty, nor share the same dish with a glutton.

༡༢༦ མི་ལ་ནོར་དང་ནོར་ལ་བདག་པོ་དགོས།

926 Man needs wealth and wealth needs an owner.

༡༢༧ མི་ངན་ཞིག་ལ་རེ་བ་བས། བྲག་བཟང་ཞིག་ལ་འཐམ་ན་རྒྱལ། མི་ངན་ལ་རེ་བ་བས།
དཀགས་པོ་ཞིག་ཏྱང་ན་རྒྱལ་ཟེར།

927 It is much better to climb a steep rock than to entreat a bad man.

༡༢༨ མི་སྤོགས་དང་གནམ་འཆམ། དབྱལ་པོས་ཞིང་ལས་ཅིད་དུས་གནམ་འཁོར་འབྱུང་ན་ཟེར།

928 The hungry man and bad weather meet together. (When the poor plough their fields and the weather changes.)

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༡༢༧ མི་མཉམ་ཅི་བྱ་བྱ་དང་འགྲན་ན། མམ་མཐའ་བྱ་ཐུག་ཁེང་མ་པའི་ངན་ལྷམ་ཡིན།

929 It is a bad omen to fill the sky with feathers when a sparrow matches his strength with a kite.

༡༢༨ མེད་པོ་མ་མེད་གཏང་མི་གཏང། རྩ་སྟོང་མམ་མ་མེད་འཕང་མི་འཕང།

930 If I suffer injury, it will be through my friend; if I am thrown, it will be by my mare.

༡༢༩ རྩ་མ་དང་རྩ་མ་རྩ་བྱལ།

931 The earthen pots touched each other. (When intimate relations disagree.)

༡༣༠ ལག་གསུམ་སྟོང་པའི་དབང་མེད་ཀྱང། ལོ་གསུམ་སྟོང་པའི་གྲུ་ལྷིག་དགོས།

932 Though you have no power to stay for three days, you ought to arrange to stay for three years.

༡༣༡ རྒྱ་དཀར་བ་རྒྱ་ལྟོང། ཡ་མ་ཚང་བ་ཚེ་ལྟོང།

933 The bright moon shines at the beginning of the month, and the living of parents happens at the age of youth.

༡༣༢ རང་ལུ་ལ་བཅོན་ཁང་ཡིན་ནའང་སྤྱིད།

934 Though one's own country is like a prison, one can enjoy oneself.

༡༣༣ རི་ཆེ་ས་ན་གཡང་ཆེ། ཁེ་ཆེ་ས་ན་ཉེན་ཆེ།

935 Where there is a high mountain there is a deep precipice—where there is great gain, there is risk of great loss.

༡༣༤ རི་མགོ་མེད་ལ་གསོ་ཐབས་མེད།

936 You cannot bring to life a corpse without a head.

༡༣༥ མི་ལ་མིང་དང་མཚན་ལ་ལུ་བ།

937 As a weapon has a handle, so a man has a name.

༡༣༦ ཤིང་རྒྱལ་ལ་མར་སྒྱུ་ཅེས།

938 To smear butter on a noble tree (i.e. to waste good material to no purpose).

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༡༩༡ བསམ་པ་མེད་པའི་གཉིད་ཡོག་ན། རྟག་རྒྱུང་ཁྲོལ་ལེ་ལ་ཉི་མ་ཐུས་མགོང་གས།

939 If you sleep without thinking, the sun shines on the pillow at Tokchung-khrole (Stok village).

༡༩༠ སྤྲོ་མི་ལ་ཡོད་ན། བལ་ལྷག་རང་གི་བྱ་ལ། གཞན་དྲིག་གི་ཕྱིར་སྤྲོ་ཡོང་ས་ཏེ་རང་ལྷག་ལ་
རྒྱུང་ན་ཟེར།

940 You, being angry with another, give a blow to your child.

༡༩༡ ཟངས་འགོག་རྒྱབ་ན། བེར་འགོག་འཇོག།

941 When you threw the copper pot you were hit by a big stick,

༡༩༢ ཉ་གོ་བའི་མི་ལ་ཟེར་བའི། ཤིང་འཛོར་པ་ཅན་ལ་འཇོག་ས་བའི། གོ་མཁན་གྱི་མི་ལ་ཟེར་
ན་ནན་ན་ཟེར།

942 It is easy to speak to a person of understanding and to climb up a tree having knobs or branches.

༡༩༣ ཡ་བ་རྩ་ཁ་ལ་ཆ་ན། ཡ་མ་ལ་རྩ་རྒྱས་མི་ཡོད།

943 If father goes to the salt mine, why should the mother worry for salt?

༡༩༤ རྩོག་མའི་ནང་ལ་འཁྲད་པའི་རུས་ཟེལ་ཙོག་ས།

944 Like the bone which stuck in his throat.

༡༩༥ གཏམ་ངོས་ལ་སྒྲ་ཡོ་རྒྱབ་ལ།

945 Speech must be conducted face to face, and the hair plaited down the back.

༡༩༦ བཟན་མ་ཕྱི་རུ་ཐོས་ནས། སྒོང་ནང་རྩ་གཏང།

946 Grain is eaten outside and eggs are laid in the house.

༡༩༧ བསམ་ལ་མཁས་ན་ཤིས་རབ་མེད་ཀྱང་མེད།

947 If one is wise in contrivance, it does not matter if one has no knowledge.

༡༩༨ རིག་པ་དང་ས་ན་ངོ་འཕྲོམ་ནག་ནའང་ནག།

948 To have an ugly face does not matter if he possesses clear wisdom.

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༡༤༧ ཁྱད་པོ་འབྱུང་ན་བསོད་བའི་མེད་ཀྱང་མེད།

949 If happiness betides, fortune or luck is unnecessary.

༡༥༠ རྩ་ག་ཐོས་ཏི་ཁ་མཆུ་ལོག་ནའང་ལོག།

950 Eating horseflesh, it does not much matter if the muzzle is turned inside out.

༡༥༡ རང་དོན་འགྲུབ་ན་ཆ་ལུགས་ངན་ཡང་ངན།

951 Though my methods are faulty, I have accomplished my purpose.

༡༥༢ གསེར་ས་འོག་ཏུ་ཡོད་ཀྱང་། མདངས་ནས་མཁའ་ལ་ཁྱབ།

952 Although gold is under the earth, its brightness covers the sky. (The meaning is that when a man is efficient, his quality becomes known.)

༡༥༣ བཀའ་རྒྱན་ལ་བསམ་གསུང་རྒྱན་ལ་ལ་ངང་འཇལ།

953 To remember kindness is to return good for it.

༡༥༤ ཆེང་ཇོ་ས་ཤོན་ན་འོག་ཇོ་འཕར།

954 If the upper millstone is not heavy enough, the lower stone moves. (The meaning is that if a man cannot control his wife, she becomes proud.)

༡༥༥ རང་ངོས་ལ་རྩ་རྒྱུག་པ་མི་མཐོང་། མི་དངོས་ལ་གྱིག་རྒྱུག་པ་མཐོང་།

955 The running of a horse in front of you is not seen, but the motion of a louse in front of another is seen.

༡༥༦ ཐོ་ཐོས་ནས་མི་འཕུང་ཉལ་ན་འཕུང།

956 A man does not become ruined by eating, but by sleeping.

༡༥༧ ཡ་རབས་ཕྱག་དང་ཞེ་ས་མཁས། མ་རབས་གཉིད་དང་ཁྱོད་པ་ཅེ།

957 The courteous are wise in salutation and respect, and the uncouth are full of sleep and have a big belly.

༡༥༨ དམའ་ས་འཛིན་ན་མགོ་ས་ཐོབ།

958 If a low place is chosen, a high place is acquired.

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༡༥༩ གོ་བ་མེད་པའི་གྲང་ཆེན་ལ་ལྷུ་ཡི་བཀའ་ལས་དབྱེག་པ་ཆོན།

959 To a stupid elephant a club is more effective than the command of a king.

༡༦༠ རང་བླ་མ་ཤིས་ན་ཕྱི་དོན་མི་འགྲུབ།

960 When one's home is not blessed, one's external object is not fulfilled.

༡༦༡ བྱམས་པ་ཐེད་ན་དགྲ་ཡང་གཉེན་ལ་འགྱོ། རུབ་ཚད་མ་ཅེན་བྱ་ཡང་ཞེན་པ་ཤོག།

961 If one does not discriminate when being harsh, even one's own son will be disgusted, but if you love your enemy, he will become your friend.

༡༦༢ མི་ངན་སྤངས་ཐེབ་ན་བཟང་པོ་མཐའ་ལ་བྱད།

962 If the wicked are collected in a body, the good have to make their escape.

༡༦༣ ཉེས་པ་ཅན་ལ་ཉེས་པ་མ་གཏང་ན། ལུ་གྱི་ལྷུ་ཡི་དེ་ལ་ཉེས་པ་ཤོག།

963 If the guilty are not punished, the monarch of a country should be charged with crime.

༡༦༤ ལན་གཅིག་རྗེན་དུ་སྤྲོད་པ་དེ་ན་པར་སྤྲོད་དོག་པ་སྟེ།

964 If a lie is once told, it is not believed even if it is true; or, if one has once told a lie, he is not believed even if he tells the truth.

༡༦༥ མི་མང་རུབ་ན་གཡག་ཆེན་སྟེན།

965 If a number of men attack a large yak, it will fall.

༡༦༦ རྩེ་ལུགས་གཅིག་ལ་ཤི་ལུགས་བརྒྱ།

966 Birth is of one kind, but death comes in a hundred ways.

༡༦༧ སྐུ་ལ་རབས་ལ་ཁྱོད་པ་མ་རབས།

967 He who was of high rank was a bad character.

༡༦༨ བ་རྒྱ་འབྲང་རྒྱ་མང་ན་དགའ། ལབ་རྒྱ་སྤྲོད་རྒྱ་ཉུང་ན་དགའ།

968 It is well to have much food and drink and to talk less.

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༡༦༩ མང་གྲགས་ན་ཀྱལ་པོའི་སྤྱན་རྒྱུང་། ཕུང་གྲགས་ན་སྤྱན་པོའི་བདེ་མ་ཐོལ་།

969 Much talking is shocking to the ear of the king, and speaking a little is not sufficient for the comprehension of the minister of State.

༡༧༠ མཐོན་པོ་རྒྱུད་ན་དར་ལས་འཇམ་།

970 If the powerful become weak or indigent, they become softer than silk.

༡༧༡ མིང་ན་རེངས་ན་ཤིང་ལས་ཀྱིང་།

971 If the wicked are proud, they are harder than wood.

༡༧༢ མཐོན་པོ་མཐོ་ཚད་མ་འཛིན་ན། ཉི་ཟླ་གཟུང་ཡིས་འཛིན་ཡོང་།

972 If the exalted are not satisfied with their own position, they will be seized as the sun and moon, which are seized by rahula.

༡༧༣ དམའ་བ་དམའ་ཚད་མ་ཟེན་ན། ཉམ་ཆུགས་ཀྱས་འཛིན་ཡོང་།

973 If the lowly are discontented with their position in life, they will be caught like fish in fishing hooks (i.e. there must be a limit to humility).

༡༧༤ གཏམ་ཚེ་མེད་ནམ་མཁའི་ཐོང་ལ་ཕྱིན། མི་གནོངས་ཅན་ཞིག་གི་མགོ་ལ་འཕྲག།

974 Foolish or nonsensical talk reaches the atmospheric spaces and strikes the head of a guilty man.

༡༧༥ ཐོ་བ་ལ་མཚོན་མེད་ན། རྒྱགས་ལ་བྱན་ལངས།

975 If the hammer lacks weight, the iron itself will rise. (Of those who cannot exert discipline or authority.)

༡༧༦ མི་རྒྱ་བསམ་པོའི་རྒྱས་པོའི་རྒྱས་གྲངས་མེད།

976 There are instances that they, who are not believed to steal, commit theft.

༡༧༧ མཁས་པ་ཅི་ཅིས་ཐབས་བརྒྱགས་ཀྱང་། ལྷན་པོས་འདུག་པོའི་ལས་མི་འགྲོ།

977 Although the prudent be destitute of means or plans, they will not take the course showed by the ignorant.

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༡༧༩ ཞིམ་རབ་ལྡན་པ་མགོ་བསྟར་ཀྱང་། བྱ་བའི་ཆ་ལ་སྤངས་མི་འགྱུར།

978 Although the wise cheat, they will not be ignorant of acting.

༡༨༠ བཅས་ལ་མཁས་ན་ཆེན་པོ་ཡང་། བླ་བྱ་བཞོལ་བ་གལ་དཀའ།

979 If one is wise in devising, there is no difficulty in employing a noble as a servant.

༡༨༠ མ་བསྐྱལ་གཞན་གྱིས་མ་སྦྱས་པར་། བསམ་པ་ཞིས་ན་མཁས་པ་ཡིན།

980 He is wise who foresees a thing without admonition from another.

༡༨༡ སྦྱས་ཤིང་སྦྱལ་བར་གྱུར་པ་ན་། དུད་འགྲོ་ལ་ཡང་གོ་བ་སྟེ།

981 If explanation and admonition are needed, even animals can understand.

༡༨༢ མཁས་པ་ཡོན་ཏན་དཔག་མེད་ཀྱང་། གཞན་གྱི་ཡོན་ཏན་རྒྱུང་བྱུང་ལེན།

982 The wise accept the little learning of others, though they themselves are extremely intellectual.

༡༨༣ སྟེ་བོ་དམ་པ་རྒྱད་ན་ཡང་། སྤྱད་པའི་བྱུང་པར་ལྷག་པར་མཛེས།

983 Though the men of holiness decline, they are rendered glorious by their good actions.

༡༨༤ དམ་པའི་ཡོན་ཏན་སྦྱས་ཀྱང་། འཛིག་རྟེན་གྱི་ལ་བྱུང་པར་གསལ།

984 Though virtuous action or doctrine is kept concealed, it lightens the whole world.

༡༨༥ ལྷལ་མའི་མེ་རྟག་ལེགས་བཀའ་ཀྱང་། རི་ཞིམ་གྱི་ཐུབ་པར་འགྱུར།

985 Even if fragrant flowers are covered, they diffuse sweet odour everywhere.

༡༨༦ ལྷལ་པོ་རང་ལུ་ཆེ་བ་ཅེས་། དམ་པ་གང་དུ་ཕྱིན་མར་བཀྱར།

986 The virtuous are honoured wherever they go, but a king is great only in his country.

༡༨༧ དམ་པ་རྣམས་དང་ལལ་པ་ལ་། བྱས་པ་སྦྱས་ཡང་རྩིན་མི་འདྲ།

987 Though the act done to both the virtuous and the vulgar is equal or alike, the return of kindness is different.

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༡༨༩ དམ་པ་སྤྲོག་ལ་བབས་ན་ཡང་། རང་བཞིན་བཟང་པོ་ག་ལ་འདྲར།

988 Even if the honest meet with death, they never abandon their own nature.

༡༩༠ ཉམ་ཏུ་གཞན་དྲན་མི་སེམས་པ། དེ་ཡི་སྤྱད་པ་ལྷགས་དང་མཚུངས།

989 The deeds of those who never think continually of the interest of others, resemble those of beasts.

༡༩༡ བཟའ་བཏུང་འབའ་ཞིག་དུད་འགྲོས་ཀྱང་། རྒྱལ་པར་རྒྱས་པ་མ་ཡིན་ནམ།

990 Eating and drinking alone can be accomplished even by beasts.

༡༩༢ ལྷོ་འགྲངས་འབའ་ཞིག་དྲན་གཉེར་བ། ལྷ་མིད་པ་ཡི་ཡག་ལ་ཡིན།

991 To strive after food only, is like a pig with no hair.

༡༩༣ དམ་པ་བྲོས་ཀྱང་བཏུད་ན་ནི། དམན་ལ་བཏུད་ན་ལྷག་པར་རེངས།

992 The virtuous, though angry, become calm when bowed to, but fools become more proud when honoured.

༡༩༤ རྒྱུ་མཚག་རང་གི་སྤྱན་ལ་རྟོག། རྒྱ་པོ་རན་པས་གཞན་སྤྱན་འཚོལ།

993 The good are aware of their own faults, but the wicked seek out the faults of others.

༡༩༥ དམ་པ་དུལ་བས་རང་གཞན་སྤྱད། རན་པ་རེངས་པས་རང་གཞན་སྤྱག།

994 The virtuous are meek, so govern themselves and others well, but the wicked, being proud, hurt or trouble themselves and others.

༡༩༦ འཕྱར་བའི་དུས་ན་ཐམས་ཅད་གཉེན། གཡ་ཉི་ཤུད་ན་ཀུན་གྱང་དགྲ།

995 In prosperity all become friendly, but in poverty all become enemies.

༡༩༧ རིན་ཆེན་གླིང་དུ་རིང་ནས་འདུ། མཚོ་སྐམ་པ་ནི་སྤྱ་ཡང་ཤྲང།

996 All gather at a precious continent from afar, and every one avoids a dried up lake.

༡༩༨ མཁས་པ་མཁས་པ་འི་ནང་ན་མཛོལ། ལྷན་པོས་མཁས་པ་འི་ལྟར་གྲོ།

997 The wise are sufficient unto themselves; how can fools understand the wise.

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༡༧༩ ཁྱི་ཁྱ་གྲུ་ཙོ་འདྲོན་པ་ན། ཁྱི་མཚན་མེད་པར་གཞན་དག་ཁྱུག།

998 When an old dog howls, other dogs run after him without knowing why.

༡༨༠ ཁྱི་བོ་དམ་པ་འིན་ཆེན་བཞིན། ཉམ་པ་གྲུན་ཏུ་ཁྱུར་ཐོག་མེད།

999 The upright like a precious stone never change at all.

༡༠༠༠ ཉམས་ཆུང་གྲུང་གྲང་ཐོན་ཐེད་ན། ཆེན་པོ་ཡིས་གྲང་གཞིས་པར་དཀའ།

1000 If the humble are on their guard, it is difficult for the great to overcome them.

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The Epic of King Kesar of Ling.

By GEORGE N. ROERICH.

For more than a century the Kesar Epic, the heroic saga of Tibet and Mongolia, had been known to students of folklore, but up to now our knowledge of the various versions of this epic, its genesis, and its influence on the epos of Tibetan and Mongolian nomad tribes, has not advanced very far. This unsatisfactory state of affairs is mainly due to the inaccessibility of the Tibetan uplands, and the impossibility of making a survey of all the existing versions of the Tibetan epic of king Kesar of Ling. Without such a preliminary survey it is impossible to approach the intricate question of the origin of the Kesar Epic, and its date, or the problem of the Mongol versions and its translation into Mongolian. The first information about king Kesar (Geser~Gessër in Mongolian) had been brought back to Europe by the explorer P. S. Pallas who gave a description of a Kesar temple (P. S. Pallas: *Reisen durch verschiedene Provinzen des russischen Reiches*, 1771-1776, St. Petersburg, III, pp. 118-9; also Pallas: *Sammlungen historischer Nachrichten ueber die mongolischen Voelkerschaften*, St. Petersburg, 1776-1801, I, p. 224). A little later Benjamin Bergmann in his 'Nomadische Streifereien unter der Kalmucken', vol. II, Riga, 1804, pp. 205-214; vol. IV, Riga, 1805, pp. 181-214, gave the translation of two chapters (the VIII-th and the IX-th) of the Kesar Epic. E. Timkovsky, who travelled through Mongolia to Peking in 1820-1, gave a brief account of the same two chapters (Kesar's fight with the twelve-headed demon, his return to Ling, and his fight with Andalma-xan) in his 'Putesestvie v Kitai čerez Mongoliyu v 1820 i 1821 gg.', St. Petersburg, vol. I, 1824, pp. 281-297 (there exists an English translation of this work published in London in 1827 with notes by J. Klaproth). The Academician J. Klaproth published in 1823 in the 'Severniy Arkhiv' in St. Petersburg an article on Kesar-Geser, and established his identity with Kuan-ti or Kuan-yü, the hero of the well-known Chinese historical novel San-Kuo-chih. In 1839 the Academician I. J. Schmidt published a German translation of the Mongol version of the Kesar Epic printed in Peking (177 pages) in 1716 by order of the Emperor K'ang-hsi ('Die Thaten Bogda Gesser Chan's', St. Petersburg, 1839 (a reprint of this edition appeared in 1925 in the series 'Die heiligen Buecher des Nordens,' I, Berlin). This version contained the first seven chapters of the Kesar Epic, and has been recently retranslated into Russian by S. A. Kozin ('Geseriada', Moscow, 1935). An excellent analysis of the epic had been given by

W. Schott in his essay 'Ueber die Sage von Geser-Chan' in the *Abhandlungen der Berliner Akademie*, 1851, pp. 263-295. These were the first works on the epic of king Kesar (Geser) which established the existence in Tibet and Mongolia of a voluminous epos. Already Grimm correctly pointed out that the epic must have originated among the nomad tribes of the Tibetan upland. The earliest works dealt with the Mongol version of the epic. A Tibetan version was known to exist, but very little was known about it. In 1884-1886 the well-known Russian explorer of Tibet and Mongolia, G. N. Potanin, succeeded in writing down fragments of an Amdo (North-East Tibet) version of the Kesar Epic ('Tangutsko-Tibetskaya Okraina Kitaya', St. Petersburg, 1893, vol. II, pp. 3ff.). This was followed in 1900 by the publication by the late Rev. A. H. Francke of a West Tibetan version of the epic ('Der Fruehling und Wintermythus der Kesarsage': *Beitraege zur Kenntniss der vorbuddhistischen Religion Tibets und Ladakhs*: *Mémoires de la Société Finno-Ougrienne*, XV, Helsingfors).¹ We now know that the epic exists in Western Tibet (Ladak, Zangskar, Rupshu, Lahul-Garž'a, Spiti), and throughout the nomad belt of Northern Tibet, and is especially popular among the tribes of the North-East and Eastern Tibet or Kham.

The epic exists in Tibet in oral and manuscript form, and certain chapters of it exist in printed form also. The existence of a printed version of the Kesar Epic had been long denied. Sir Charles Bell in his 'The People of Tibet' (Oxford, 1928), p. 10, stated that there did not exist a printed version of it. A similar statement had been made by Madame A. David-Neel, the well-known French explorer of Tibet, who quoted the opinion of the present Chief of Ling (gLiñ) in North-East Tibet (A. David-Neel and Lama Yongden: 'La Vie surhumaine de Guésar de Ling', Paris, 1931, p. xvi). A printed version of the epic in a somewhat abridged and 'edited' form does exist. The Museum fuer Voelkerkunde in Berlin possesses one printed volume (out of three), secured by the brothers Schlagintweit. The late Dr. Berthold Laufer (*JAOS*, vol. 52, 1 (1932), p. 95) mentions an edition of the Kesar Epic in three volumes printed

¹ This West Tibetan version was obtained by Francke from the village of Sheh in Ladak. Another Ladaki or West Tibetan version, different in detail but similar in the story and in spirit, was obtained by Francke from the village of Khalatse, and the Khalatse version, in the original Ladaki dialect, with English abstracts and notes, was taken up for publication by the Asiatic Society of Bengal and was in print as early as 1905-1909. This has at last been published in 1941, eight years after Dr. Francke's death in 1933, from the Royal Asiatic Society of Bengal, together with an English rendering of the entire Sheh version, and Index of Names and other connected literature compiled and collected by Francke and published in the *Indian Antiquary* of 1901 and 1902, and with an *Introduction* on the Kesar Saga by Prof. Suniti Kumar Chatterji, and Francke's *Preface*.

in Lhasa. I have never come across this edition of the epic, but had seen printed editions from Kham in Eastern Tibet of the chapter 'The war against the Hor tribes' (Hor-dmag-akor ཁོར་དཔག་འཁོར་). This printed version of the 'War against the Hor tribes' is somewhat shorter than the manuscript version and has been apparently edited by the 'old-believers' or *rañi-ma-pas* of Tibetan Buddhism. We are now in a position to state that there exist several versions of the Tibetan epic about king Kesar. Several versions of it are known to exist in the regions of North-East Tibet. At least two versions are known to exist in Amdo alone. A copy of one of the Amdo versions of the Kesar Epic had been brought back by Mr. G. N. Potanin ('Tangutsko-Tibetskaya Okraina Kitaya', II, pp. 3-44, p. 114), and is now preserved in the Public Library at Leningrad. Fragments of another version from Amdo have been recorded by myself and will be published in a forthcoming publication on the Amdo dialect. The Kesar Epic is known to exist among the Bānak (sBra-nag, or 'Black Tents') tribes of the Kuku-nor region, and among the numerous tribes of the Goloks (mgo-log), and the eastern Hor-pas. Unfortunately our knowledge of these two versions is very scant, and we are as yet unable to establish their relation to the Amdo version of the epic. Among the Bānaks Kesar is worshipped as one of the amñē (lit. Tibetan: ཨ་མྱེས་ A-myes) or protecting deities (W. W. Rockhill: *Diary of a Journey through Mongolia and Tibet*, Washington, 1894, p. 130; also his 'Land of the Lamas', p. 94). The popularity of the Kesar Epic among the Golok tribes is very great. Kesar is said to have left his miraculous sword in the land of the Goloks, and many of the mountain peaks and localities of the Golok tribal area are connected with the name of Kesar, for example, the towering snow-massif of Amñē-ma-c'en (ཨ་མྱེས་མ་ཙེན་ A-myes ma-chen), which dominates the whole region, is popularly called གེ་སར་ཕོ་བླ་ Ge-sar pho-brañ, or the 'Palace of Kesar'. Madame A. David-Neel has given us a French rendering of the Kham version of the epic ('*La Vie surhumaine de Guésar de Ling*', Paris, 1931), and Dr. A. Tafel had reproduced several passages of the Kesar Epic written down by him at Jyekundo in Northern Kham (A. Tafel: '*Meine Tibetreise*', Leipzig, 1923, pp. 374ff.). A Tibetan version of the epic is said to exist among the Shara-yughurs of the Nanshan (Potanin: '*Tangutsko-Tibetskaya Okraina Kitaya*', I, p. 442). Further West and South the epic is known throughout the nomad belt of the chang-thang (བྱང་ཐང་ byañ-thañ) or the Great Tibetan Northern Upland, among the nomad tribes of Sikhim, Bhutan, and throughout Western Tibet (the Kailāsa region, Rupshu, Lahul (Garž'a), Spiti, Zangskar and Ladak). In the region of Western Hor or Nub-Hor (the area round the Dang-La Range, North of Nag-chu-ka), it is very popular among the Hor tribes, professing the ancient Bon faith,

and I had seen myself a beautifully written manuscript of the Kesar Epic in sixteen volumes in the possession of a headman (G. Roerich: 'Trails to Inmost Asia', Yale University Press, 1931, p. 360). Further west the epic is well known among the Chang-pas (byañ-pa) or 'northerners' of the Great Lake Region, situated immediately north of the Trans-Himālayas (the districts of gNam-ru, Nag-tshañ and 'Bum-ra). The West Tibetan version has been made known by the late Rev. A. H. Francke ('Der Fruehlingsmythus der Kesar Saga; Der Wintermythus der Kesar Saga' in the *Mémoires de la Société Finno-Ougrienne*, vol. XV, Helsingfors; 'The Spring Myth of the Kesar Saga', *Indian Antiquary*, vol. XXX, 1901, pp. 329-341; vol. XXXI, 1902, pp. 32-40 and 147-157; 'A Lower Ladakhi Version of the Kesar Saga' in the *Bibliotheca Indica*, Calcutta, 1905-1909, parts No. 1134, 1150, 1164 and 1218).

European and American libraries possess several versions of the epic. The Library of the Institute of Oriental Studies of the Russian Academy of Sciences possesses two versions of the Tibetan Kesar Epic (S. Kozin: 'Geseriada', Moscow, 1935, p. 223). In the United States manuscripts of the epic are to be found in the Pierpont Morgan Library in New York, and at the Library of Congress (an abridged life of Kesar presented by the late W. W. Rockhill). Complete sets of the Kesar Epic are only very seldom met with. In most cases known manuscripts of the Kesar Epic contain only separate chapters or books (called skor or rnam-thar), such as the chapters on 'The destruction of the Demon king' (བདུན་རྒྱལ་ bDud-rgyal), the 'Birth of Kesar', the 'War against the Hor tribes', and the 'Story of the War against king Sa-tham of the country of Jang'. By far the most popular and the most extensive is the book on the 'War against the Hor tribes'. The number of chapters in the various versions of the epic vary considerably. Some contain only the chapters on the 'Birth of Kesar', in which is included the story of his marriage, the chapter on the 'Destruction of the Demon king of the North', and the chapter on the 'War against the Hor tribes'. In some localities only separate chapters are known, for example, the chapter on the 'War against the Hor tribes'. In Amdo in North-East Tibet the following chapters are popularly known:—

- (a) The 'Birth of King Kesar of gLin'. Throughout the Amdo version Kesar is called Dzamlan-saṅ (འཛམ་གླིང་ཙམ་པོ་ 'Dzam-glin tshañ).
- (b) The 'Destruction of the Demon king of the North' (བདུན་རྒྱལ་ bDud-'dul).
- (c) The 'War against the Hor tribes' (ཁོར་རྒྱལ་མཁོར་ Hor-dmag-skor).
- (d) The 'Conquest of China' (ཧྱ་རྒྱལ་ rGya-'dul).

- (e) The 'War against the country of Jang' (ཇམ་ཁྱེ་ཁྱེ་ lJan-skor).
 (f) The 'Conquest of the country of Mön' (མོན་དུལ་ Mon-'dul).

The West Tibetan version edited by A. H. Francke contains the chapters on the 'Birth of Kesar', the story of his youth and marriage to 'Bru-gu-ma' (བུ་གུ་མ་ 'Brug-mo of the North-East Tibetan versions), the story of Kesar's visit to China, the destruction of the Demon king of the North, and the chapter on the 'War against the Hor tribes'. It must be added that the chapter on the 'War against the country of Jang' also exists in West Tibet. In Lahul-Garz'a only two chapters are known to exist: the chapter on the 'War against the Hor tribes' and the chapter on the 'War against the country of Jang'.

Madame A. David-Neel's Kham version of the epic contains the chapters on the 'Birth of Kesar', his fight with the Demon king of the North, Kesar's return to the land of Ling and his war against the Hor tribes, his war against the country of Jang, Kesar's war against the king of the South, and against the king of sTag-gzig (Irān).

The West Tibetan version of the epic recorded by A. H. Francke is preceded by a Prologue containing the story of the eighteen heroes (དཔལ་འདྲེ་ dap'-bo) of the land of Ling, and Madame David-Neel's Kham version contains a Prologue relating the story of the search by Guru Padmasambhava for a maiden destined to become the mother of king Kesar.

The Nub-Hor version of the epic, which I had occasion to see in the land of the Western Hor-pas, is closely related to the North-East Tibetan versions.

In North-East Tibet new chapters are being constantly added to the epic. Thus in Hua-rī in Lower Amdo a monk recently composed a new song for the chapter on the 'War against the Hor tribes', describing the war preparations of the troops of the land of Ling under the command of Tsha-žan lDan-ma Žan-khra- the lDan-ma'i dMag-sgrigs chen-mo (འདྲེ་མའི་དམག་གྲུག་མ་ཅོན་མོ་), and a song on the conquest of Jang (ཇམ་ཁྱེ་ཁྱེ་བྱུང་གྲུག་ཅོན་མོ་ lJan-'dul-gyi zur-rgyan chen-mo). In Amdo a song composed by a rñin-ma-pa bla-ma sTag-šam-pa about A-stag lha-mo, the consort of the Demon king (bDud-rgyal-gyi btsun-mo), who became afterwards one of the eighteen wives of king Kesar, enjoys great popularity (verbal communication by the dGe-bšes dGe-'dun Chos-'phel).

The greater part of the Kesar Epic must have originated among the nomadic tribes of North-Eastern Tibet. This does not exclude the possibility of many motifs being derived from foreign sources. From very ancient times the nomad regions of North-Eastern Tibet had been a sort of refuge for nomad tribes

forced to retreat into the mountain fastnesses of Tibet by political upheavals in the steppe belt of Central Asia. No doubt these newcomers brought with them their tribal epics and songs, which gradually became incorporated into the Tibetan tribal epics—the epic of king Kesar, the mighty warrior king of Ling. We are still unable to disentangle the history and evolution of the epic, to distinguish between the original Tibetan background and outside motifs. The Kesar Epic shows its heroes living in a country with a semi-sedentary, semi-nomadic population. The rich possess castles (called pho-bran or mkhar)—stone buildings with fortified walls and watch towers. The commoners live in tents, the black tents of the Tibetan nomads. The nomads tend large herds of cattle, consisting of yaks and cross-breeds between yaks and domestic cattle (Tibetan མཚོ་མཆོ་ mdzo). A favourite occupation is the hunting of the wild yak (Tibetan བོ་བྱ་ 'broñ) and of the wild ass or kyang (Tibetan རྩ་ལྷ་ rkyan, Equus kyang), and horse races, and combats between warriors. All these are familiar themes from the Tibetan North-East, and one can say that the epic correctly reproduces the life of the Tibetan nomads in the North-East of Tibet.

It is as yet impossible to establish the date of the Kesar Epic, as we know it, but certain aspects of it, as for example Kesar's wars against the Hor tribes (that is Turkish tribes of the North), his conquest of Eastern Tibet (war against the country of Jang), his conquest of the South (Mon-yul or the Himalayan valleys), and war against the king of the Ta-zig (the countries lying between Western Tibet and Irān), and the story of Kesar's marriage to the daughter of the Chinese Emperor, show a certain similarity to the story of the famous Tibetan king Sron-btsan sgam-po. This tends to indicate that the epic of king Kesar must have originated or at least taken its present form after the Tibetan Imperial Period, that is after the first half of the ninth century A.D.

The language of the epic often influenced by the spoken dialects of Tibet does not permit any deductions as to the date of the epic and of its origin. The epic of Kesar had spread all over Tibet, and especially among the nomad tribes of the North and North-East. In each district it is being told in the local dialect, but the subject of the epic, the main episodes of king Kesar's life remain the same. Naturally there is noticeable a considerable difference in details which often had been introduced from local folklore and tribal epics. The scarcity of manuscript versions of the epic resulted in a considerable variety of oral versions which differ considerably in respect of details. In some of the versions certain traces of a North-East Tibetan origin are still discernible. The language of the oral versions is not the classical written Tibetan, it is a style closely approaching the every-day colloquial language with certain archaisms. Thus

the Ladakī version edited by A. H. Francke in the *Bibliotheca Indica* has been chanted in the spoken dialect of Ladak. Generally speaking, the style of the language of the oral versions depends a great deal on the degree of literacy of the rhapsodist. Rhapsodists with a good knowledge of the literary language endeavour to preserve the literary character of the language, whereas those, who had learnt the epic by heart during recitals are apt to use their own dialect.

The manuscript versions of the Kesar Epic found in Tibet exhibit definite similarities to the North-East Tibetan versions. The oral versions seem to be an outgrowth of the manuscript versions, much enlarged and furnished with a wealth of details not to be found in the manuscript versions. From the point of view of the language, the manuscript versions are written in a language and style which differ considerably from the classical language, and show great similarity with the style and language of Tibetan songs and ballads many of which go back to the pre-Buddhist period. The language of the manuscript versions points towards the North-East of Tibet and Kham (present tense forms in གདམ་ba, past tense forms in thel, and vocabulary. Ex. the a-gu of the Ladakī version which represents a local pronunciation of the Tibetan འཁུ A-khu 'uncle', as shown by Dr. B. Laufer). The frequent use of the word in the West Tibetan version may be an indication of its East Tibetan origin. A-khu or uncle is a common form of addressing people in the East and North-East of Tibet (Amdo: a-k'i).

The language of printed versions stands nearer to the classical form of the Tibetan language.

The similarity of the main episodes indicates the existence of a primitive Kesar Epic which must have originated among the Tangut and Tibetan tribes of the North-East. I venture to propose the following stages in the evolution of the Kesar Epic:—

1. Primitive Kesar Epic—an heroic epic which originated among the Tangut and Tibetan tribes of the North-East.
2. Manuscript Versions of the epic (in some of the extant versions Buddhist elements predominate).
3. Printed abridged version of the epic, edited by Rñin-ma-pa lamas in Kham (Derge-rDzogs-chen dgon-pa).
4. Oral Versions of the epic strongly coloured by local folklore.

The Kesar Epic in its primitive form must have represented an heroic nomad epos. It is as yet impossible to establish which of the known parts belonged to the primitive epic, but it seems probable that the accounts of king Kesar's wars against the Hor tribes, that is the Turkish tribes of Central Asia, the war against the country of Jang, and the Southern Himālayan valleys, as well as the descriptions of the battles and contests between famous warriors belong to an ancient nomad epos, and must have formed part of the primitive epic song about king Kesar. Gradually the original outline of the epic became enriched with a wealth of details borrowed from local folklore, and it has been pointed out that the epic of king Kesar contains many parallels to European folklore. The original story of the epic had been closely interwoven by fairy-tale motifs. The Tibetan versions consist of prose and extensive passages in verse. In the oral versions the passages in verse seem to predominate, and it seems more than probable that the original epic of Kesar consisted of passages in verse. It is also noteworthy that most of the archaisms found in the language of the epic are found precisely in the versified portions. Whereas all the known versions of the Tibetan Kesar Epic show considerable similarity in the main episodes of the epic, the local versions differ considerably in respect of details. Some of the versions had been doubtlessly 're-edited' in a Buddhist milieu, others, as for example the West Tibetan version recorded by the late Dr. A. H. Francke, show an unmistakable imprint of local West Tibetan folklore. A. H. Francke was of the opinion that the epic was closely related to the pre-Buddhist mythology of Tibet and even attempted to interpret it in terms of a nature mythology (spring and winter myths). G. N. Potanin on the other hand insisted on its epic character, and even expressed the opinion that the epic must have originated among Turkish tribes of Central Asia, and compared it to the Alexander-romance (G. N. Potanin, *Etnogr. Obozrenie*, XXI, 2, pp. 22-3). Undoubtedly in its original form the Kesar Epic must have possessed a pre-Buddhist background, and even in the present text of the epic one finds frequent allusions to the ancient Bon-po faith of Tibet. Thus we find often invoked the founder of the Bon-po faith gŠan-rab mi-bo (lha-skyabs-su bsod-do Bon-gyi lha-bon ston-pa gŠan-rab bka'-drin-che ལྷ་སྐུ་བམ་སྐུ་བཟོན་པོ་འཛིན་པོ་). The epic knows the three main divisions or spheres of the World: sTeñ-lha or Heaven, ruled by དབང་པོ་འཕགས་པོ་ dBañ-po brGya-byin or Śatakratu-Indra, and his consort བཀུ་དཔལ་རྒྱལ་མོ་ bKur-dman rgyal-mo (or མ་རྩེ་བཀུ་དཔལ་རྩེ་མོ་ A-ne bKur-dman-mo, also called འབྲས་ཐྱི་རྒྱལ་མོ་ 'Bum-khri rgyal-mo); བར་བཅོན་ bar-btsan or མི་ཡུལ་ mi-yul, the World of Men, and རྩོད་ཀྱི་ Yog-klu, the Underworld, or the World of the Nāgas. One often finds in the text of the epic such ancient shamanistic

concepts as the 'Lofty blue sky' (གོང་མོན་ནམ་མཁའ་ Gon-shon nam-mkha'). Gradually Buddhist elements penetrated the epic Indra or brGya-byin was replaced by Guru Padmasambhava, and Kesar himself became a protector of the Buddhist faith and builder of Buddhist monasteries. At the beginning of versified portions one now finds the usual Buddhist invocation to the Tri-ratna (ཀླུ་མ་དྭོན་མཚན་གསུམ་ལ་གསོལ་བ་འདེབས་ sKyab-dkon-mchog gsum-la gsol-ba-'debs).

Before giving a brief outline of the contents of the epic, a few words must be said about the rhapsodists in whose midst it is preserved, and who gradually have assumed the rôle of priests or exorcists of king Kesar. Among the rhapsodists of the Kesar Epic one finds both professional itinerant rhapsodists, distinguished by a special costume, and ordinary laymen, both men and women. The recital of the epic may take anything from three to ten days. The epic is sung or often read drawlingly. A professional rhapsodist may often improvise whole passages while reciting it. I still vividly remember my experience with a rhapsodist of the Kesar Epic whom I had invited to write it down. This rhapsodist continuously improvised passages and whenever I asked him to repeat the passage sung by him, he would always sing it in a slightly different version. Professional rhapsodists seldom use manuscripts of the epic during recitals. They know it by heart and often sing it in a sort of trance. Laymen on the contrary read it from a manuscript, and seldom know it by heart, except for a few passages. Itinerant rhapsodists are distinguished by a special costume. These rhapsodists (ཤྩུང་པ་ sgruñ-pa, pronounced d'uñ-pa, or ཤྩུང་བཅད་ sgruñ-bśad) wear on the head a special high hat, called the 'rhapsodist's hat' or ཤྩུང་ཞྭ་ sgruñ-žwa. The hat is white and is adorned with the images of the Sun and Moon. It is a pointed hat with three triangular shaped sides, edged with red. On his body a rhapsodist wears a white Tibetan coat or chu-pa. It is noteworthy that the colour of the hat and coat is white, white being the colour of the ceremonial garments worn by Bon-po priests and exorcists. An itinerant rhapsodist of the Kesar Epic always carries with him a painted image or than-ka representing the life-story of king Kesar, and an arrow adorned with multi-coloured (blue, green, yellow and red) ceremonial scarfs or kha-btags. With the help of this arrow or dā-tar (མདའ་དར་ mda'-dar), the rhapsodist points out the various episodes of the Kesar Epic depicted on the painting. Some of the more famous rhapsodists are accompanied on their journeys by a troop of disciples who learn the art of singing and reciting the epic. In the Amdo Province of North-East Tibet the rhapsodists of the Kesar Epic often belong to the ancient Bon faith. Very often a rhapsodist of the Kesar Epic is also well known as an exorcist. Among the Goloks and the Hor-pas of North-East Tibet the epic is

recited during funeral ceremonies. Before such a recital a flat platform is prepared and the floor is strewn with *rtam-pa* or barley-flour. The listeners sit around the platform and the rhapsodist sits facing the platform. The recital continues for several days. It is commonly said that frequently hoof-prints appear on the platform, and these are believed to represent the hoof-prints of the mighty steed of king Kesar, invoked by the rhapsodist. Some of the rhapsodists lead a sedentary life and marry. In such cases the sons often follow their fathers and become rhapsodists in their turn. In Western Tibet, in Ladak the Kesar Epic is sung by village musicians or *bedas*. One of the versions of the epic recorded by Dr. A. H. Francke (his 'first manuscript') was recited by a girl of about sixteen years of age (*Indian Antiquary*, vol. XXX, 1901, p. 330). In some districts of Tibet the Kesar Epic and its singers were persecuted by the Lamaist clergy and this somewhat reflected on the popularity of the epic (king Kesar is popularly believed to be the mortal enemy of the *yi-dam lCam-srin*). Of late, the followers of the 'old-believers' sect (*rñin-ma-pa*) and the *dGe-lugs-pas* have attempted to appropriate the popular epic. In Kham among the *rñin-ma-pas* one finds a service or *cho-ga*, and a ceremony of offering a *gtor-ma* in honour of king Kesar who is worshipped as a protector or *chos-skyon*. In Amdo among the followers of the *dGe-lugs-pa* sect one often hears the unexpected statement that Tson-kha-pa himself, the Tibetan Reformer, had been once the chaplain (ཨ་མཚོ་ a-mchod, pronounced *amc'ol'* in Amdo) of King Kesar of Ling!

The name of king Kesar is connected with the principality of Ling (ལིང་ gLin) in North-Eastern Tibet, situated to the South-East of Jyekundo, between Jyekundo and Kantse. The place was visited by A. Tafel in 1905-6 and by Madame A. David-Neel. The present-day Chief of Ling considers himself to be a descendant of king Kesar's half-brother.

Now let us give a brief outline of the famous epic, as sung in Greater Tibet.

The first chapter or book of the Tibetan version of the Kesar Epic contains an ACCOUNT OF THE SENDING OF KESAR ON EARTH TO COMBAT EVIL. According to some of the versions (the West Tibetan version, the North-East Tibetan (Amdo) version, and the Mongol versions) Kesar was said to have been the youngest son of brGya-byin (Śatakratu-Indra) named རྩ་གྲུ་ Don-grub (in the Mongol version translated by Schmidt and retranslated by Kozin, Kesar Don-grub is said to have been the middle son of Indra—Üile büttügēgči or Don-grub). In the Tibetan version of the epic rendered into French by Madame A. David-Neel and the Lama Yongden, king Kesar is said to have been an envoy of Padmasambhava. According to this version Guru Rin-po-che or Padmasambhava decides to send

an envoy to the country of Ling to combat evil misfortunes. His choice falls on ཐུབ་པ་དག་པ་ Thub-pa dGa'-ba, son of འཕྲུལ་མོ་འདྲེ་མཚོ་ལྷ་ 'Khor-lo bDe-mchog and of རྩ་རྩེ་ལག་མོ་ rDo-rje Phag-mo (Vajra-varāhi). This version evidently originated among the rñin-ma-pas or 'old-believers' of Eastern Tibet, where the sect is still strong and possesses numerous followers in the vicinities of Derge and rDzogs-chen dgon-pa. Before descending to Ling, the future king Kesar requests the gods that he might be given a steed that 'death could not overtake', a saddle studded with precious stones, a helmet, a sword, a coat of mail, a bow and arrows, and two warriors to accompany him and assist him in his mission. Padmasambhava then proceeds to the Realm of the Nāgas in search of a nāgī girl fit to become the mother of king Kesar. His choice fell on Dzē-den (མཛེ་མ་དྲན་ mDzes-ldan). Padmasambhava orders her to be sent to Ling. On her arrival in the land of Ling, Dzē-den enters the service of the wife of Senglön (ཤེང་གློན་ Sen-blon. Madame David-Neel writes the name Singlen), Chief of Ling. In her jealousy Senglön's wife banishes the nāgī girl to a mountain pass, said to be haunted by evil spirits. On the way to the pass, Dzē-den fell asleep and miraculously became pregnant. On her return to Senglön's camp a boy was born to her.

According to the Amdo version the gods ལྷ་ཕྱིན་ Lha-byin and A-ne Goṅ-xmen ज्या-མོ་ (A-ne Goṅ-sman rgyal-mo ཨ་ནེ་གོང་སྐར་མཚོ་ལྷ་ཕྱིན་) first sent their eldest son to see the land of Ling, but he returned without reaching Ling. Then the second son was sent, but he also returned without having been able to see the land of Ling. Then the youngest son asked permission to put on his father's helmet and coat of mail. Having put on the coat of mail, the boy jumped into the saddle and rode off to the land of Ling. On his return Dzamlang-sang (Kesar) made a request to A-ne Goṅ-xmen-jya-mo, that he would not go to the land of Ling unless he be given a handful of blood from the nose of an ant, and a handful of the veins of a louse. Dzamlang did not want to leave the Realm of Gods or Lha-hyul, and therefore made this request which was difficult to comply with. Having accepted the will of the gods, Dzamlang-sang, the future king Kesar, assumed the shape of a white bird (bya dkar-po) and descended to the land of Ling. The wife of C'o-t'ong, one of the elders of Ling, saw as it were a large shadow descending on the land of Ling. She told her husband that the shadow must be an evil omen, and that probably Kesar was being reincarnated in Ling. One morning a son was born to Gīg-zā lha-mo (འགག་མཚོ་ལྷ་མོ་ 'Gag-bza' lha-mo), who received the name of Cō-re (ཙོ་རེ Co-re, also written ཇོ་རེ Cho-ris). In those days the land of Ling paid tribute in men to the Demon-ogre king. When the

chief of the demons བདུད་རྒྱལ་ bdud-rgan) C'am-ba Lay-rin (ཁྲམ་པ་ལག་རིན་ Khram-pa Lag-rin) arrived in Ling in order to collect the tribute, the chief of Ling A-k'i C'o-t'og (ཨ་ཁུ་ཁྲོ་ཐུན་ A-khu Khro-thun) decided to give him as tribute the newly-born son of Gīg-zā lha-mo. The mother wept bitterly, and the boy said to her: 'Do not lament for me! When the chief of the demons will come to-morrow, tell him to open wide his mouth, and place me inside his mouth'. When the chief of the demons arrived at the tent of Gīg-zā lha-mo she placed her son on a shovel and offered the boy to the demon chief, saying: 'Chief of demons, swallow my child without biting him!' When the demon chief had swallowed Cō-re, the latter rose inside the chief's throat and blocked the passage. Panting from pain, the chief murmured: 'O Cō-re descend quickly into my stomach!' But Cō-re continued to block the chief's throat, and the latter died suffering acute pains. Then follow a number of attempts of C'o-t'og to destroy Kesar with the help of powerful demon magicians. From every trial Kesar comes out victorious.

The second part of the chapter on the birth of Kesar deals with the STORY OF KESAR'S MARRIAGE to D'ig-mo (བྷུག་མོ་ 'Brug-mo), who is also coveted by the old C'o-t'og. A contest is arranged, and Kesar wins the contest, and the hand of D'ig-mo. The gods remind Kesar, always called Dzamlang-sang in the Amdo version, of his duty to go and destroy the chief of the demon-ogres of the North. KESAR PROCEEDS TO THE NORTH TO FIGHT AND KILL THE DEMON KING, and leaves behind D'ig-mo. On his arrival at the camp of the Demon king he finds that the Demon king had gone out hunting. Kesar persuades the Demon king's wife Me-bza' 'bum-skyid to help him in destroying the Demon king. Me-bza' 'bum-skyid conceals Kesar in the castle of the Demon king and instructs Kesar how to kill the demon. The latter returns from hunting and through his magic powers feels the presence of danger. He asks his wife about it, and the latter reassures him and the demon falls asleep. Then Kesar comes out of his hiding place and destroys the Demon king. Me-bza' 'bum-skyid gives Kesar a magic drink and he forgets the Past and the land of Ling, and continues to live with Me-bza' 'bum-skyid in the palace of the Demon king. Meanwhile the king of the Hor Kīr-kar (གུར་དྭ་ཀར་ Gur-dkar), being anxious to marry, sent out a crow in search of a queen for himself. The crow proceeds to Central Tibet (དབུས་ dbUs) to have a look at the Tibetan princess O-cog, then to Nepāl to the palace of the princess Khri-btsun, and to China to see the Chinese princess Koṅ-co (ཁྱེ་གཡེ་མོ་ཙོ་ rGya-bza' Koṅ-co. Koṅ-co>Chinese kung-chu, Imperial princess), and then to the land of Ling to see the Lion-lady D'ig-ge (ཤེང་ཁྲམ་འབྲུག་གེ Seṅ-clam 'Brug-ge). The crow returns to the camp of king Kīr-kar and informs the king

that most beautiful of them all is D'ig-ge of Ling—'when standing she is similar to a banner hoisted, when sitting she is similar to a multicoloured tent'.

Learning of the absence of Kesar from Ling, the Hor king decides to raid Ling and carry away D'ig-ge. The raid is successful, the troops of Ling suffer defeat, and even the brother of Kesar—Jya-ts'a-saṅ (ཇལ་ཙ་ས་རྩ་ rGyal-tsha-tshaṅ) is killed, and D'ig-ge carried away to the land of Hor. D'IG-GE, A CAPTIVE IN THE LAND OF HOR, sends a crow with a message to Kesar in the land of the northern demons. The crow flew to the demon land and sat on the tent of Kesar, and uttered a caw. Kesar got angry, took his bow and arrow, and shot the crow, when the bird fell on the ground. Me-bza' 'Bum-skyid took the letter and gave it to Kesar. Kesar read the letter and learnt that the Hor-pas had plundered the land of Ling, that they had killed his brother Jya-ts'a-saṅ, and had carried away his wife D'ig-ge as captive. Greatly afflicted by the news, Kesar takes his magic arrow 'fulfilling wishes' and turning himself in the direction of the land of Hor sends the arrow. The arrow reaches the camp of the king of Hor during a big feast and drives into a big boulder. A hundred blacksmiths try to break it, but fail in their effort; a hundred carpenters try to saw it, but also fail in their effort. Then D'ig-mo wraps her hand with a white kerchief and pulls the arrow out. 'What sort of an arrow is this?'—the king of Hor asks her, and D'ig-mo answers: 'This is the arrow of Kesar'. But Me-bza' 'Bum-skyid gives Kesar again the magic drink and he again forgets the Past and the land of Ling. Then his steed, the wise rKyaṅ-rgod reminds Kesar of his duty to go back to Ling. Kesar proceeds to Ling, and assumes the shape of a trader, and camps on the meadow belonging to old C'o-t'oṅ, the chief of Ling. C'o-t'oṅ sends Kesar's father Rarkyē (ལེང་སྒྲུང་རྩ་མཚན་ Sen-blon Ra-skyes) to the trader's tent in order to collect the tax due for the grazing of caravan animals on the meadow. The trader invites Rarkyē to his tent, and offers him a cup of tea. Old Rarkyē recognizes in the cup, the cup of his son Kesar, and begins to weep. The trader inquires about the reason of his affliction, and Rarkyē tells him that he had a son named Dzamlang who had gone to the country of demons and had not returned. The trader (Kesar) then tells him that he had been to the land of demons, and that this cup had been given to him by the demons. On hearing this Rarkyē begins to weep again, but the trader suddenly transforms himself into Kesar. The old man in great haste runs to C'o-t'oṅ's tent, shouting loudly 'O C'o-t'oṅ! to-day my darling, and your adversary, has come back!' C'o-t'oṅ understood that king Kesar had come back, and proceeds with a ceremonial scarf to the tent of Kesar, but there he finds only a stranger. Full of rage he rushes back to his camp and begins to maltreat the old Rarkyē.

Meanwhile Kesar assuming his true shape mounts his steed and proceeds towards C''o-t'ong's tent. C''o-t'ong full of anguish shouts to his daughter: 'Quick, place me in the brown leather bag for meat!' The daughter having placed C''o-t'ong inside the bag, then placed the latter on the table in front of Kesar. Kesar observed that something was trembling inside the bag, and said that this was an evil omen. He then takes an awl and pierces the bag. C''o-t'ong begins to howl, and Kesar continues to prod the bag with his awl, and lets C''o-t'ong out when the latter was half-dead. Kesar on his return to Ling begins preparations for his WAR AGAINST THE HOR. A large force of horsemen is mustered, and with Kesar at its head proceeds towards the frontiers of Hor. On the march, Kesar receives a message from his divine protector Goṅ-men lha-mo telling him to send his troops back, and to proceed against the Hor alone. King Kīr-kar of Hor has a bad dream and he asks his minister Šemba (ཤེམ་པ་ bŠan-pa) to interpret it. Šemba explains that the dream was full of evil omens, and that it presaged the coming of Kesar. En route Kesar overcomes various difficulties, he crosses a virgin forest the trees of which drew together on his approach. He overcomes seven ogres which appear in the shape of beautiful maidens, two rocks that tried to crush him, etc. On approaching the castle of the king of Hor, Kesar assumed the form of a lama. The daughter of king Kīr-nag sees him and invites the lama to her parents' tent. She goes to bring a horse for the lama, but on returning finds a boy on the road. Unable to find the lama, she asks the boy (Kesar) to become a shepherd in her home. The king Kīr-nag takes the boy into his service, and Kesar spends his days guarding sheep. The boy (Kesar) wins a horse-race. One day king Kīr-nag was invited by king Kīr-kar to a feast. The shepherd boy begged the king to take him along. On arrival to Kīr-kar's camp, Kesar destroys a mighty warrior famous throughout the country of Hor. With the help of an iron chain KESAR PENETRATES WITHIN THE CASTLE OF KĪR-KAR AND KILLS THE KING. King Kīr-ser is also killed by Kesar, and the soul of Kīr-nag is banished. KESAR TAKES D'IG-MO AND THE WEALTH OF KĪR-KAR AND PROCEEDS TO THE LAND OF LING. On the way Kesar remembers that D'ig-mo had a son born during her captivity. He then returns to Hor, seizes the boy, and kills him. On his return to Ling, he lives for many years happily and the country becomes prosperous.

Then again the GODS COMMAND KESAR TO PROCEED AGAINST THE COUNTRY OF JANG. The Ling troops are again mustered. The Hor horsemen under the command of Šemba Me-ru-tse (ཤེམ་པ་མེ་རུ་ཙེ bŠan-pa rMe-ru-tse) join forces, and the huge army invades Jang. The chapter gives a vivid description of battles, and we have no doubt that these descriptions belong to the ancient strata of the epic. Again Kesar's divine protectress

A-ne Gog-men jya-mo orders Kesar to proceed against king Sa-tham of Jang alone with the help of his magic powers. Meanwhile king Sa-tham, accompanied by his ministers and nobles, proceeds to the shores of a lake to perform a religious ceremony and ablution. The lake nymph (མཚ་སྐལ་ mtsho-sman) assuming the shape of a beautiful nāgī (ཀླུ་ཁྲི་མ་ klu'i bu-mo) offers to the king a crystal vase filled with scented nectar (སྐལ་སྐལ་གྱི་འདུན་མ་ sman-spos-kyi bdud-rtsi). Kesar arrives at the lake, then transforms himself into an iron fly (ལྷ་ལྷ་ཀྱི་སྐལ་ལྷ་ leags-kyi sbran-bu) and penetrates king Sa-tham's inside, causing the death of the king. The country of Jang becomes a vassal State of Kesar.

The Amdo version contains also the chapters on THE CONQUEST OF CHINA (ཁྱེད་ལྷ་འགྲུ་ RGYA-'DUL) BY KESAR, AND KESAR'S MARRIAGE TO PRINCESS KON-CO, DAUGHTER OF THE CHINESE EMPEROR, and the chapter on THE CONQUEST OF THE COUNTRY OF MÖN (མོན་འདུ་ Mon-'dul). The gods again remind Kesar of the necessity to conquer the southern regions or Mön. The troops of Ling are again mustered and joined by the forces of Hor and Jang. The war is victorious and the valleys of the South are incorporated in the kingdom of Kesar who returns to Ling.

The East Tibetan version translated into French by Madame A. David-Neel follows similar lines. After a boy had been born to the maiden Dzē-den, Tr'o-t'ung, one of the elders of Ling, learns of the birth of the boy and recalls an ancient prophecy about the coming of the future king Kesar to Ling, when his own power will wane. He therefore decides to destroy the newly-born Kesar. But all his attempts to destroy the boy prove futile. Tr'o-t'ung proceeds to a magician living in a cave in order to persuade him to destroy the newly-born boy who spells misfortunes to Ling. The magician advises Tr'o-t'ung to send the boy to his cave, but Kesar, when sent to the magician's cave, manages to destroy the powerful magician. Thereupon Tr'o-t'ung banishes Kesar and his mother the nāgī. During the exile, Guru Padmasambhava appears in a vision to Kesar, and exhorts him to strive to become king of Ling. Kesar should first obtain the eight treasures: a life-preserving knot (ཚ་མཐུད་ tshe-mdud), a helmet, a rdo-rje, a sword, a bow and arrows. Padmasambhava also tells Kesar to marry Drug-mo, daughter of bsTan-pa'i rgyal-mtshan of the country of Gā (ག་ rga). Transforming himself into a cow, Kesar proceeds to the tent of Tr'o-t'ung and advises him in the name of Padmasambhava to obtain the eight treasures and to marry Drug-mo. In order to obtain the hand of the maiden, the crow advises Tr'o-t'ung to arrange a horse-race, the winner of which should receive the hand of the maiden and become king of Ling. Tr'o-t'ung, believing the crow to be a messenger of Padmasambhava, accepts the advice

as excellent, and orders a race to be held at Ling. C'o-ri or Kesar also takes part in the race, mounted on his bay colt, born of the mare, which his mother, the nāgī, had brought with her to Ling. Kesar won the race and became king of Ling and married Drug-mo. The gods order Kesar to proceed to the North to destroy the Demon king (བདུན་རྒྱལ་ bdud-rgyal). Kesar is helped by the wife of the Demon king, who conceals Kesar in the demon's castle, and helps him to kill the Demon king on his return. Kesar falls in love with the demon's wife who gives him a magic drink which makes Kesar forget the Past, and the land of Ling. But sPyan-ras-gzigs (Avalokiteśvara) restores the memory of Kesar, and urges him to proceed to Ling. On the way to Ling, Kesar meets the spirit of his half-brother Jya-ts'a, killed by the Hor-pas, who tells him of the misfortunes which befell Ling in Kesar's absence, the evil deeds of T'o-t'un, who seized all power in Ling, and enslaved the parents of Kesar, and the capture of Drug-mo by the Hor king. Kesar returns to Ling and prepares to fight the Hor tribes. The Ling troops march against the Hor tribes. A giant wild yak ('broñ), the incarnation of a powerful demon, bars the road of the advancing troops. Kesar destroys the yak. Then transforming himself into an elderly lama, and creating with the help of his magic powers a phantom caravan. Kesar continues his journey to the country of Hor. On reaching the bank of the frontier river, Kesar destroys twenty-eight ferrymen, incarnations of demons, who guard the route to Hor. Kesar then decides to proceed alone and sends his troops back to Ling. Kesar creates a rich caravan and camps outside the palace of king Kur-kar of Hor. The king sends his minister sDig-can bŠan-pa to inquire about the caravan and the traders. bŠan-pa rides out to the caravan's camp, and on the way to the camp meets one of the camp-followers. The man suddenly kicks bŠan-pa's horse and sends the minister to the ground. The minister returns to the palace and warns the king that Kesar must be hidden somewhere among the numerous camp-followers of the mysterious caravan. The king then sends Drug-mo to see the caravan for herself and inquire about the whereabouts of king Kesar. Drug-mo on reaching the caravan's camp is told that the caravan belongs to the lama 'Od-zer rgyal-mtshan, and satisfied returns to the palace with presents for king Kur-kar. But the minister recognizes in the presents evil omens. Then gradually one by one Kesar destroys all his enemies. Transforming himself into a boy, Kesar is adopted by a blacksmith, and becomes his apprentice. He kills a powerful and famous warrior of Hor, destroys a Hor general and a hundred Hor horsemen, the prime-minister of Hor, the Hor lama who had discovered his real identity, and then kills king Kur-kar, and returns to Ling. Kesar then destroys king Kur-ser of Hor. The third Hor king Kur-nag

flees to distant mNa'-ris in Western Tibet, and Kesar resolves to pardon him. sDig-can bSan-pa becomes ruler of Hor.

Then follows the war against king Sa-tham, king of Jang. King Sa-tham of Jang sees a dream which urges him to take possession of the land of Mar-kham, coveted by king Kesar of Ling. Kesar is ordered by his protecting deity to take up arms against Jang. The troops of Ling are mobilized, and the Hor troops under bSan-pa are called out to assist in the campaign. Kesar transforms himself into a kyang and penetrates the precincts of the palace of the king of Jang. The king with his queen proceeds to the roof of the palace and watch the kyangs grazing, but a frightful wind carries away the queen from the roof who is killed. The king in despair invites fortune-tellers (mo-pas)—manifestations of Kesar, to explain the calamity, and the mo-pas advise the king to place the body of the dead queen on a bed and to spend his time in meditation in order to restore her back to life. Then Cu-la Pön-po, the envoy of king Sa-tham, arrives at the camp of king Kesar. Kesar, advised by his protecting deity, renders his camp invisible, and lets out his famous steed rKyañ-rgod to graze outside the camp. Cu-la Pön-po catches the steed and mounts it, but is carried away by the winged steed and is thrown into a lake. The troops of Ling continue their advance against Jang. The general of the Jang forces offers to Dema, one of the Ling warriors, a combat, and is killed in the fight. The troops of Jang flee, pursued by the troops of Ling. The gods advise Kesar to proceed alone against king Sa-tham. Transforming himself into an iron bee, Kesar proceeds against king Sa-tham, who was engaged in the invocation of a nāgi on the shore of a lake. The goddess appears before the king holding a vase filled with nectar. King Sa-tham hurries in front of the goddess in order to partake of the nectar, but Kesar in the shape of the bee penetrates the king's inside causing terrible pains, and kills Sa-tham. The minister Ber-thul of Jang resolves to destroy Kesar and orders the cremation of king Sa-tham's body with the iron bee inside it, but Kesar manages to escape through the head of the dead king. Kesar then wins a combat with Ber-thul, the bKa'-blon of Jang, and the troops of Ling enter the fortress (mkhar) of Jang. Prince Yu-la becomes king of Jang. On his return to Ling, Kesar practises meditation (mtshams) in order to save the souls of the numerous living beings killed by him.

After this comes the story of the war against the Mon, or the kingdom of the South. Kesar has a vision of his protecting deity, who asks the king whether he had forgotten that king Shing-ti of the South has to be conquered. The deity insists that Kesar should discontinue his meditation and proceed against the kingdom of the South. Kesar accepts the command of his divine protectress. The troops of Ling, Hor and Jang are

mustered, and advance against the fort of king Shing-ti who prepares for battle. The troops of Kesar succeed in crossing a river and pursue the enemy troops. The king of the South perishes in the fire of the castle. His daughter, the princess Me-tog Lha-mdzes, is saved by Kesar and married to the son of A-khu Tr'o-t'uj. War against the Ta-zig kingdom (ཁ་ཁུ་ཁུ་ཁུ་ sTag-gzig represents a Tibetan transcription of the name Tājik. Ta-zig in Tibetan literature means Irān, as well as the regions North of the Oxus):

The old Tr'o-t'uj wishes to marry a second wife. He finds a bride among the people of Ling and decides to send Dabla, adopted son of Kesar, as his representative to discuss the matter with the parents of the girl. In order to please Dabla, Tr'o-t'uj decides to steal the famous horses belonging to the king of Ta-zig (horses from Ferghāna and Transoxiana were famous throughout Central Asia). Tr'o-t'uj's men succeed in taking away several of the famous horses belonging to the Ta-zig king. The king sends out his men to find out the whereabouts of his horses. The men proceed to Ling and find out that the horses had been stolen by order of Tr'o-t'uj. Thereupon the king despatches a detachment of his troops to Ling to recover the stolen horses. Tr'o-t'uj is captured and punished for his misdeeds. He manages to return to Ling, and tells Kesar of the intention of the Ta-zig king to attack Ling. Kesar resolves to break his meditation and to proceed against the country of Ta-zig. During the campaign Tr'o-t'uj is captured by demon-ogres, but Kesar liberates him.

This East Tibetan or Kham version as above, as rendered into French by Madame A. David-Neel and the Lama Yongden, ends with the scene of the dematerialization of king Kesar and his companions.

The West Tibetan version of the Kesar Epic recorded by the late A. H. Francke in Ladak originates from the village of She (Šel) near Leh, and Khalatse. This version contains a Prologue which tells of the creation of the World and the story of the eighteen warriors or dpa'-bo of Ling, which is not found in the East Tibetan versions of the epic. Otherwise the West Tibetan version runs along familiar lines: The birth-story of king Kesar, his marriage to 'Bru-gu-ma ('Brug-mo of the East Tibetan version is evidently a better reading), Kesar's fight with the giant of the North, 'Bru-gu-ma's capture by the king of Hor, Kesar's war against the Hor tribes and Kesar's journey to China.

The Prologue tells of the origin of Ling. In ancient times there lived an aged couple who owned a small plot of land. On this plot grew a single grass which gradually became as high as a tree and bore fruit. The fruit was collected in a barn where it assumed the shape of worms. The worms ate up each other, until only one worm remained. This last worm trans-

formed itself into a boy, who became a mighty hunter. He destroyed a demon with nine heads and out of the demon's body built the land of Ling. He then married eighteen girls who became the mothers of the eighteen heroes or *dpa'-bo* of Ling. These heroes were extraordinary beings. The eighteen heroes proceeded to the castle Pa-chi dPal-ldon-mkhar to secure treasures and store them up at Ling. The hero dPal-le arrived first at the castle and recovered the treasures. Then one day dPal-le, while grazing his goats, saw a white bird fighting a black bird. dPal-le at once understood that the black bird was a demon and slung a stone with his sling and killed the bird. Thereupon the white bird transformed itself into Indra (*brGya-byin*) and allowed dPal-le to make a request which would be granted. dPal-le requested that one of the sons of Indra be sent as king to the land of Ling—"to give a child as chief to the chiefless land". His request was granted and Indra decided to send his youngest son Don-grub. Don-grub thereupon died in heaven and was reborn on earth. One day mother Gog-bzañ lha-mo ('Gag-bza' lha-mo of the East Tibetan version is a better reading) sat in her house at work when a heavy hailstorm began and one hailstone fell into her cup. She ate the hailstone and felt pregnant. All the animals recovered by dPal-le from the castle Pa-chi dPal-ldon also became pregnant during the hailstorm. Don-grub was born from the side of his mother. Although he was destined to become the famous king Kesar of Ling, he often exchanged his natural appearance and transformed himself into ugly creatures. To his mother he appeared as an ugly frog and the poor mother tried to hide the child. But the goddess of Heaven dKur-dman-mo took charge of the child. An old warrior predicts that the newly-born child will become king Kesar of Ling (this passage had evidently been influenced by the Buddha legend. The name of Indra's youngest son Don-grub corresponds to Sanskrit Siddhārtha. The boy is born from the mother's side. The old warrior, who predicts the future of king Kesar and bewails his old age which prevents him from serving under Kesar, reminds one of the seer Asita, and his visit to the newly-born Buddha in the *Nālaka-sutta*. See also the Asita episode in chapter VII of the *Lalita-Vistara*). Demons in the shape of lamas attempt to destroy the newly-born child but fail in their efforts.

Kesar competes for the hand of 'Bru-gu-ma whom Khra'i-thuñ (the Khro-thuñ of the East Tibetan version), one of the chiefs of Ling, wishes to marry. Among the many difficult deeds which the competitors had to perform were: to secure the wing of the Sun bird, to kill the wild yak Ri-ri and to stretch his hide over the land of Ling. Kesar succeeded in all this and became the husband of 'Bru-gu-ma.

Kesar's journey to China. A virulent epidemic attacks the people of China and the Emperor of China becomes ill. Kesar

alone is able to cure the Emperor, and is invited to China. Kesar conquers all obstacles on the way. On his arrival in China, the Emperor recovered. Kesar flees with the Emperor's daughter Koñ-co and takes with him the treasures of China. He is captured and placed in a deep pit with dragons. He, however, escapes from the pit transforming himself into a fly. Finally Kesar with the Emperor's daughter and the treasures succeeds in reaching Ling. Meanwhile Khra'i-thuñ had seized the castle of Ling and turned out 'Bru-gu-ma; on Kesar's return the traitor is punished.

The divine protector of Kesar reminds him of his duty to destroy the demon of the North. Kesar proceeds to the North. 'Bru-gu-ma, who wants to accompany him, is sent back to Ling. After many obstacles on the way, Kesar arrives at the castle of the demon, but finds the demon absent on a hunting expedition. The demon's wife Bam-za Bum-skyid ('Bum-bza' 'Bum-skyid) helps Kesar who destroys the giant's nine lives. Then Bam-za Bum-skyid offers Kesar the magic drink and Kesar forgets the Past, 'Bru-gu-ma, and the land of Ling. While Kesar was living with Bam-za Bum-skyid in the demon's castle, the king Halde of Hor, hearing of Kesar's absence from Ling, decides to attack Ling and carry away 'Bru-gu-ma. Ling is attacked and 'Bru-gu-ma tries to evade the king of Hor, and gives him various deeds to perform in order to gain time in the hope of Kesar's return. But finally she has to proceed to the land of Hor. Kesar's brother attempts to bring her back to Ling, but is killed by an arrow shot into the only vulnerable spot of his body disclosed to the Hor-pas by 'Bru-gu-ma. 'Bru-gu-ma becomes the wife of king Halde. The hero dPal-le of Ling sends out birds as messengers to king Kesar in the North. The birds tell Kesar about the fate of Ling and the capture of 'Bru-gu-ma by the king of Hor. Kesar remembers the Past and hurries to Ling. Kesar proceeds to Hor to recover 'Bru-gu-ma. He is ordered by the gods to proceed alone and sends back his horsemen to Ling. In the land of Hor he takes service as a smith's assistant. He fashions an iron chain and with the help of the chain climbs the roof of the Hor castle and overcomes the king of Hor. Kesar returns to Ling and 'Bru-gu-ma is punished for her misdeeds.

The Mongol version of the Kesar Epic exists in a printed form and in numerous manuscript versions. The printed version, printed in 1716 in Peking by order of the Emperor K'ang-hsi, contains only the first seven chapters or books. The manuscript version contains fifteen chapters most of which are preserved in the Library of the Oriental Institute of the Russian Academy of Sciences. The first chapter of the Mongol epic relates the birth of Dzürü-Geser. Cotoñ (<Tibetan Khro-thuñ. The Mongol Cotoñ is clearly a transcription of the name as pronounced in North-East Tibet. Ex. C^oo-t'oñ of the Amdo version), one of the elders of Ling, banishes Dzürü into the desert. Dzürü-Geser

destroys the seven albin-demons and converts to Buddhism a band of brigands. Dzürü-Geser tells his brother Dzasa (<Tibetan rGyal-tsha) Shikir that he is Geser, king of Ling. Dzürü-Geser kills a powerful ogre and is banished a second time by Cotoṅ. Dzürü-Geser builds a temple in honour of the bodhisattva Avalokiteśvara. Dzürü-Geser competes for the hand of the beautiful Roy-mo-yoa (<Tibetan 'Brug-mo). Dzürü-Geser tells the secret of his life to his wife Roy-mo.

2nd chapter: Geser destroys the Black Tiger of the North.

3rd chapter: Geser visits China and marries the daughter of the Chinese Emperor.

4th chapter: Cotoṅ banishes from the territory of Ling Geser's beloved Aralyo-yoa (Tümen Jiryalaṅ). Aralyo-yoa becomes the wife of the twelve-headed ogre (Mongol: manyus). Geser proceeds to destroy the ogre. In the ogre's camp Geser meets his beloved Aralyo-yoa, and with her help destroys the ogre. Geser continues to live with Aralyo-yoa in the ogre's camp near the Golden Stüpa. Aralyo-yoa gives Geser a black coloured magic drink, and Geser forgets the Past, and the land of Ling.

5th chapter: A black crow informs the three Shiraigol khans (Shiraigol designates the Shara-yughur tribes of the Nanshan. Amdo Tibetans and Bānaks call them Hor) of the absence of Geser from Ling, and about beautiful Roy-mo-yoa who is fit to become the wife of the Shiraigol prince. The Shiraigol khans invade the territory of Ling. Dzasa Shikir, half-brother of Geser, decides to fight the aggressors. The troops of Ling are concentrated near Geser's camp from where Dzasa Shikir advances against the Shiraigol troops. Cotoṅ brings in the false news that the troops of the Shiraigol khans had withdrawn and Dzasa Shikir orders his troops home. The Shiraigol khans again invade Ling and force a passage towards Geser's camp where lives Roy-mo-yoa. The latter attempts to offer resistance but is overcome and captured. Roy-mo-yoa sends out an arrow, which belonged to Dzasa Shikir, to Geser in the ogre's camp. Geser receives the missile and learns of the tragedy that befell Ling during his long absence. But his beloved Aralyo-yoa gives him again the magic drink and he again forgets Roy-mo and the land of Ling. Finally his wise and faithful steed rebels against him and runs away into the steppe. Geser captures the horse and decides to proceed at once to Ling. On his arrival in Ling, Geser meets his father, the old Sanluṅ, who in his absence had been badly treated by Cotoṅ, who had assumed power in the land of Ling. Then in the disguise of a lama, Geser visits the camp of Cotoṅ, and punishes Cotoṅ for his evil deeds. After that Geser starts against the Shiraigol khans. He appears in the camp of the Shiraigol khans in the disguise of an old lama. Then assuming the shape of a boy, Geser enters the service of Šiman Birudza, one of the ministers of Hor, and assists the blacksmith Čöruṅ darxan. Gradually he destroys the principal

warriors of the land, but is thrown into a deep pit filled with poisonous snakes, but with the help of his magic powers survives the ordeal. Geser then destroys the Shiraigol tribe and returns to his native Ling.

6th chapter: Geser and the xutu-ytu-lama, the manifestation of a powerful demon. Geser visits the magician who transforms Geser into a donkey. Geser's warriors after discussing the calamity send word to Aju Mergen to ask this powerful sorceress to destroy the demon and liberate Geser. Aju Mergen proceeds to the demon's camp in the disguise of the latter's sister, and requests the demon to present the donkey to her. The demon agrees, and the sorceress returns home leading the donkey. She restores Geser to life, and Geser fights the demon, and after many adventures succeeds in setting on fire the lama's hut made of reeds and destroys the evil demon.

7th chapter: Geser liberates his mother from hell.

The manuscript version of the Mongol Epic is much more extensive and contains some fifteen chapters.

The 8th and 9th chapters relate the fight of king Geser with the twelve-headed demon-ogre (manyus), and Geser's fight with king Andalma.

10th chapter: Geser fights the Demon king.

12th chapter: The destruction of the king of demons Gumbü-xan.

13th chapter: The defeat of Načín-xan of the North.

15th chapter: The destruction of the evil black leopard.

Chapters XI-th and XIV-th are missing in the collection of Geser manuscripts belonging to the Russian Academy of Sciences (N. Poppe: 'O nekotórix novix glavax Geser-xana', *Vostochnie Zapiski*, I, Leningrad, 1927, pp. 190-200).

The text of the Mongol version bears clear traces of having been translated from a Tibetan original. The names of the principal heroes and of localities mentioned in the text are either Mongol transcriptions, or Mongol translations of Tibetan names.

Ex. Mongol: Gesër (modern Khalkha Mongol: Gessër) < Tibetan ཀེ་སར་ Ge-sar ~ ཀེ་སར་ Ke-sar.

Mongol: Gesër yarbo Donrub < Tibetan ཀེ་སར་རྩ་གུབ་ ལྷ་ཀར་པོ་ Ke-sar Don-grub dkar-po, n. of king Kesar (the name Don-grub is also found in the Mongol version in the Mongol translation — Üile bütügëi. It is noteworthy that Donrub of the Mongol text represents a transcription of Tibetan words adopted in Southern Mongolia, according to which only the ra-btags or 'ra-subjoined' are pronounced. (The Lhasan pronunciation would be Tö-tup).

- Mongol: Gegše (-Amurčila), n. of Geser's mother < Tibetan གཤམ་བཟུ་ 'Gag-bza' (East Tibetan version), Gog-bzañ (-lha-mo) of the West Tibetan version. In the West Mongol (Oirat) version Geser's mother is called Kakša (N. Poppe: 'Geserică', Asia Major, III, fasc. 1, p. 3).
- Mongol: Sanlun, n. of Kesar's father < Tibetan སེ་བློན་ Sen-blön. (In the Amdo version: Sen-blön Ra-skyes. Sen-blön is a title, and Kesar's father's name was Rarkyē.)
- Mongol: Dzasa, n. of Kesar's half-brother < Tibetan རྩ་ཤ་ rGyal-tsha.
- Mongol: Roy-mo, n. of Kesar's wife < Tibetan འབྲུག་མོ་ 'Brug-mo (see note under Don-grub). Also called Roy-mo nay-bo < Tibetan འབྲུག་མོ་ནག་པོ་ 'Brug-mo nag-po.
- Mongol: Cotoñ, ruler of Ling < Tibetan (Amdo version) ཇོ་ཏོ་འོན་ C'o-t'ön. Kham version: ཏོ་ཏོ་འོན་ Tr'o-t'ön. Written Tibetan: ཁྲོ་ཐུན་ Khro-thuñ. West Tibetan version: Khra'i-thuñ.
- Mongol: Dzürü, n. of Kesar in his boyhood < Tibetan ཇོ་རིས་ Cho-ris ~ ཇོ་རེ་ Co-re.
- Mongol: Šiman Birudza, n. of the chief minister of Hor < Tibetan (Amdo version) བཤམ་པ་ཤེ་རུ་ཅེ་ bŠan-pa rMe-ru-tse. The West Tibetan version has Šan-kra Mi-ru which is a corruption of the name given in the East Tibetan version.
- Mongol: Xara gertei xan—a translation of the Tibetan ལྷ་ནག་རྒྱལ་པོ་ Gur-nag rgyal-po, 'The Black Tent' king (of Hor).
- Mongol: Šira gertei xan—a translation of the Tibetan ལྷ་ཤེར་རྒྱལ་པོ་ Gur-ser rgyal-po, 'The Yellow Tent' king (of Hor).
- Mongol: Cayān gertei xan—a translation of the Tibetan ལྷ་དཀར་རྒྱལ་པོ་ Gur-dkar rgyal-po, 'The White Tent' king (of Hor).

The names of localities and rivers mentioned in the text of the epic are given in the Mongol text either as transcriptions or in Mongol translation.

Mongol: Mun~Mon, the southern alpine valleys of the Himālayas < Tibetan མོན་ Mon.

Mongol: Liñ, n. of the kingdom of Kesar < Tibetan ལྷོ་ཁྱེད་ gLiñ (pronounced Liñ). The Lik of Schmidt's and Kozin's translations should

be corrected to Ling (Schmidt: *Die Taten Bogda Gesser Chan's*, Berlin, 1925, p. 8; S. Kozin: '*Geseriada*', Moscow, 1935, p. 40).

Mongol: Dzan-yool, the upper course of the Brahmaputra < Tibetan ཇུང་པོ་ཆུ་ gTsañ-po chu.

Mongol: Arslan-yool, the Indus < Tibetan རེང་གེ་ཆུ་ Señ-ge chu.

The names of localities and rivers frequently mentioned in the text of the epic all point to the North-East of Tibet. For example, the text frequently mentions the river Xatun-yool, which is the Mongol name of the Huang-ho or the Yellow River (the upper course of the river in Amdo is called རྩ་ཆུ་ rMa-chu), and the lake Kōke-naŷūr, the Kuku-nor of the maps (མཚོ་ཤྭ་པོ་ mTsho-sñon-po in Tibetan).

In the Mongol text we also find the Tibetan name of the unicorn (rhinoceros)—serü < Tibetan བཟེ་རུ་ bse-ru, as well as expressions which represent translations of common Tibetan expressions, as for example xara terigütü, lit. 'black-headed' used for 'man, a Tibetan', and which represents a translation of the Tibetan expression མགོ་ནག་ mgo-nag.

The Tibetan origin of the epic had been stressed by the late Professor B. Vladimirtsov, and by the late Dr. Berthold Laufer (WZKM, vol. XV (1901), pp. 77-107). Professor B. Vladimirtsov ('Mongolskiy sbornik rasskazov iz Pañcatantra', Leningrad, 1925, p. 449, note 1) pointed out that the Mongol version of the Kesar Epic, as represented by the Peking edition of 1716, was written in a peculiar style, which did not represent the classical form of the written Mongol language. Professor N. Poppe ('Geseric', *Asia Major*, III, 2 (1926), pp. 192ff.) has demonstrated that the language of the Mongol version contained elements of the Mongol classical language, and of the spoken dialects of South-Eastern Mongolia. According to Poppe (*ibid.*, p. 193) the Mongol version of the epic must have originated somewhere in the south of Mongolia, and must have been translated from a Tibetan original. Recently S. Kozin ('Geseriada', Moscow, 1935, p. 13) has pointed out that the language of the Mongol version of the epic shows close affinities to the South-Western Oirat dialects. This would support the theory placing the origin of the Mongol version of the Kesar Epic among the Oirat tribes of North-East Tibet, from where the epic penetrated into South-Eastern Mongolia. Among the manuscripts of the Kesar Epic preserved in the Library of the Institute of Oriental Studies of the Russian Academy of Sciences there is one containing a Mongol version reproducing the Kham or East Tibetan version rendered into French by Madame A. David-Neel (N. Poppe: '*Problème Buriat-Mongol'skogo Literaturovedeniya*', *Zapiski Instituta Vostokovedeniya*, III (1935), p. 23).

The East Mongol or Khalkha version consists of some fifteen chapters or books. In 1914 the well-known Buriat scholar T. Jamcarano discovered in Urga (Mongolia) a complete version of the Geser Epic in fifteen chapters (Jamcarano: *The Epics of the Ekhrít-Buriats, Kha-Oshir Khubun* (in Russian), Petrograd, 1918, p. xxvii).

The West Mongol version of the epic follows closely the East Mongol version. The Library of the Oriental Institute of the Russian Academy of Sciences possesses at least two West Mongol versions of the Geser Epic (V_2 and V_3). The West Mongol version was first made known by B. Bergmann 'Nomadische Streifereien', Riga, 1804) where a translation is given of the VIII-th and IX-th chapters of the epic. Two chapters of the epic, very similar to the West Mongol version, communicated by B. Bergmann, had been given by Timkovsky in his 'Putesestvie v Kitai', vol. I (1824), pp. 280-297. (See also Pallas: *Mongol. Nachr.*, ii, p. 103; A. M. Pozdnev: *Skazka pro sraženie Geser-xana s Andalmoi* (Kalmückie Skazki, VII), *Zap. vol. IX* (1896), pp. 41-58.)

Poppe ('Geserica', p. 23) points out that the VIII-th and IX-th chapters of the Kesar Epic seem to have been especially popular among the Buriat-Mongols and the Oirat West Mongols. The X-XV-th chapters are very popular among the Khalkha Mongols. Among the Buriats only the first nine chapters of the epic are known to exist (Geseri jühen halā—'The nine branches of Geser'). There exists also a West Buriat version of the epic. This version is a typical Buriat epic or üliger, only remotely reminiscent of the written version of the epic (N. Poppe: *Zap. Inst. Vost.*, III (1935), p. 19). At present we know at least four versions of the Buriat-Mongol Geser Epic, comprising something like 100,000 verses! The Russian Academy of Sciences in collaboration with Mongol scientific institutions is bringing out a critical edition of the Mongol text, an annotated translation, and a collection of articles on the problems of the Kesar Epic.

The Epic of Kesar-Geser exercised considerable influence on the Mongol tribal epics and songs, as for example on the great West Mongol epical poem *Janyar* (Vladimirtsov: *Mongolo-oiratskiy geroičeskiy epos*, Petersburg-Moscow, 1923, p. 21).

I may add that the epic is known among the Dêd-Mongols of the Tsaidam and Kuku-nor region in the North-East of Tibet, where it is frequently read in Tibetan. Among the Bânaks and the Dêd-Mongols, Kesar-Geser is known under the name of Kuan (for Kuan-ti), a fact showing the extent of the influence of the official recognition by the Manchus of Kesar as Kuan-ti.

Many a custom connected with king Kesar-Geser survive among the non-Tibetan tribes of North-Eastern Tibet and the Kansu borderland. Thus among the Shara-yughurs (also called

Brūmo. The warriors of Ling make an attempt to recapture Brūmo, and Būmliftan, brother of Kiser, is shot by an arrow which drives into the only unprotected spot of his body, revealed to the Hor warriors by Brūmo. The Wazir of Hor Shamtu Miru (< Tibetan bśan-pa rMe-ru-tse) confronts the Ling warriors. Kiser comes back to Ling, and sets out for the country of Horyül. On his way he overcomes various obstacles and finally arrives in the land of Hor, where he enters the service of a goldsmith and becomes the latter's son-in-law. The goldsmith is summoned by the king of Hor to his court where Kiser's bow is to be drawn. Kiser accompanies the goldsmith and succeeds in drawing the bow. Then he fashions an iron chain of 100 cubits in length and proceeds to the king's palace. There he threw the chain up to the beam of the palace roof and climbed up the chain, assuming the form of a cat. Brūmo warns the king that Kiser had come, but the king sees only a cat. Kiser then penetrates the king's room and begins wrestling with the king who is overcome. Kiser then takes Brūmo and the treasures of the Hor king and returns to his own country. The two sons of the king of Horyül and Brūmo are killed by Kiser, and Brūmo is punished for her treason in helping to kill Būmliftan, Kiser's brother.

The historical background of the Kesar Epic takes us far back into the past of the great nomad empires of Central Asia. According to a story current among the dGe-lugs-pa lamas, the Kesar Epic had nothing historical in itself. It was composed by a famous Tantric lama who was at the same time a great bard. The native place of this Tantric was North-Eastern Tibet, and the epic was composed by him there (see G. N. Roerich: *Trails to Inmost Asia*, Yale University Press, 1931, p. 359). The nomads of Kham and Hor understand the epic differently. According to them it is not a production of a single bard, but is a poetical record of ancient wars that were fought in the past. Tibetan tradition has preserved the memory of yet another Kesar, the leader of Central Asian tribes which were constantly menacing the borders of North-Eastern Tibet. In the རྒྱལ་ཁབ་འཛིན་པའི་པདྨ་པ་ bKa'i thañ-yig or 'Commands of Padmasambhava', king Kesar is often mentioned as leader of Central Asian nomadic tribes, enemies of Tibet. In the second chapter of the Padma bKa'i thañ-yig (Kha, p. 22a), king Kesar's name is associated with that of the Dru-gu ~ Gru-gu (both names reproduce the name, Türk. See P. Pelliot, *J. As.*, 1914, ii, p. 144; F. W. Thomas *JRAS*, 1931, p. 828) tribes. The Tibetans were victorious and some of the Dru-gu were settled in the Mön region (in Tibetan literature the country of Mön or Mon-yul designates the southern Himälāyan valleys. The inhabitants of these valleys are called Mön-pas). In chapter V, p. 13a of the same book, it is said that king Kesar 'was like a mad steed for Tibet. With the help of

magic, Kesar was defeated. The Tibetan army in battle array defeated Kesar'. Here in this passage Kesar is definitely stated to have been the leader of the enemies of Tibet. On p. 66 of the same chapter, king Kesar is mentioned as one of the Four Great Kings of the World: 'To the East under the constellation of the Pleiads (sMin-drug)—the Emperor of China—the Lord of Wisdom; to the South under the constellation Gandūsa—the King of India—the Lord of Religions; to the North under the constellation of the Great Bear (sMe-bdun)—Kesar, the king of armies; to the West under the Moon—the King of Irān (sTag-gzig)—the Lord of Riches' (In the rGyal-rabs, p. 21a: rGya-gar chos-kyi rgyal-po, sTag-gzig nor-gyi rgyal-po, Ge-sar dmag-gi rgyal-po, gzugs-mdzes Khrom-gyi rgyal-po). In this passage king Kesar takes the place of the Lord of Horses of the well-known theory of the Four Great Kings of the World (On the theory of the Four Great Kings of the World, see P. Pelliot: 'La Théorie des Quatre Fils du Ciel', T'oung Pao, vol. XXII, 2 (1923), pp. 97-125). In the མཆོད་ལྷ་འཕུལ་མཆོད་མཆོད་མཆོད་ Mani bKa'-'bum (J. Bacot: 'Le mariage de Sroñ-btsan sgam-po', p. 16) it is said that the Emperor of China had offered king Kesar to marry a Chinese Imperial Princess, and in the rGyal-rabs of Ladak king Kesar is referred to as one of the suitors of Koñ-co, the Chinese Princess, who afterwards became the wife of king Sroñ-btsan sgam-po (Karl Marx: History of Ladakh, JASB, vol. LX, No. 3 (1891), p. 116). The country of king Kesar is mentioned among the countries of Ga-ža'i yul (probably a misprint for A-ža'i yul),¹ 'Bru-za'i yul (Hunza-Nagar), Bha-la'i yul (Bactra-Balkh), Žaṅ-žuñ-gi yul (Guge in W. Tibet), sTag-gzig-yul (Irān and the countries of the Oxus), and Tho-gar-gyi yul (Tokharestān in North Afghanistan, or possibly the Tokharian kingdom in the region of Kucā-Turfān in Eastern Turkeṣtān) (Padma bKa'i thañ-yig, p. 165a; rGyal-rabs Bon-gyi 'byuñ-gnas, ed. S. C. Das, Calcutta, 1915, p. 15). In the La-dwags-kyi rGyal-rabs (A. H. Francke: 'Antiquities of Indian Tibet', vol. I, p. 20) the country Khrom Ge-sar 'Dan-ma is mentioned along with Kha-che (Kashmir), Bal-yul (Nepāl), Za-hor (Mandi), O-rgyan (Uddiyāna, Swāt), sTag-gzig (Irān), rNa-nam (sNa-nam, Samarkand), Thon-mi Gru-gu (Türk, the region of Guchen-Turfān), and Rag-ši. The rGyal-rabs Bon-kyi 'byuñ-gnas (ed. S. C. Das, p. 15) calls Kesar—king of the country of Phrom (sometimes written Khrom) of the North (ཕྱོད་ལྷ་མཆོད་མཆོད་མཆོད་ byañ-phyogs Ge-sar Phrom-gyi yul). Here the word Phrom ~ Khrom represents either a Tibetan transcription of a place-name, and if so, should be perhaps compared to the mysterious Par-Purum of the Xosho Tsaidam inscription in North Mongolia (V. V.

¹ Pelliot, *J. As.*, 1912, ii, pp. 520-3; T'oung Pao, 1920-1, pp. 323-5. A-ža'i yul = Tu-yü-hun.

Radlov: 'Die alttuerkischen Inschriften d. Mongolei', St. Petersburg, 1895, vol. III, p. 429; V. Radlov and P. Melioransky: 'Drevnie türkskie pamyatniki', St. Petersburg, 1897, p. 17. The country of Par-Purum is mentioned in the inscription together with Tibet (Tüptüt) and the Kirghiz (Qırqız), or possibly means 'army', as in the expression khrom-gyi dpa'-bo 'warrior of the army' (Phrom or Khrom in Classical Tibetan means 'multitude, army', also 'market').¹ If so, the expression Ge-sar Phrom-gyi rgyal-po would mean 'Kesar, King of armies', as in the list of the Four Great Kings of the World given by the Padma bKa'i thañ-yig and the rGyal-rabs. We know that a Phrom Ge-sar is mentioned in the Khotan Annals, and a king of Khotan is said to have married a daughter of Phrom Ge-sar (A. Stein: *Ancient Khotan*, p. 580). (Peliot, *J. As.*, 1914, i, pp. 498-9; 1923, i, pp. 83-88, suggested a connection between Phrom (Chinese: Fu-lin) and Rome (Röm ~ Rüm). Also B. Laufer: 'Sino-Iranica', pp. 436-7. Chinese Fu-lin probably goes back to a Soghdian *Frīm (Latin Rōmā > Greek 'Ρωμα Rhōmē > *Rhūmī > Syriac Frūmī > *Frūim, *Frūm, *Frīm > Old Chinese *Fūrim > Fu-lin. From Rhōmē > *Rūmī > *Rūim, Rūm, Rīm we have the Slav forms Rimū, Rzim, etc.)) In the rGyal-rabs Bon-gyi 'byuñ-gnas, ed. Sarat Chandra Das, p. 30, it is said that Kesar, king of gLiñ, paid tribute to the king of the Mi-ñag, a Tangut tribe of the North-East of Tibet, the founders of the Hsi-hsia kingdom of the X-XIII-th centuries. All the above quotations point to the existence of a persistent and ancient tradition associating the name of king Kesar with the people of Dru-gu ~ Gru-gu, or Central Asiatic Turks, and the country of Phrom ~ Khrom. The various Tibetan attempts to interpret the name Kesar show that the name must be a transcription of a foreign name or title. Albert Gruenwedel (*Globus*, LXXXVIII, p. 98) had expressed the opinion that the name Kesar ~ Geser represented a Mongol-Tibetan rendering of the Roman title Caesar ~ Καῖσαρ. Professor F. W. Thomas, *JRAS*, 1931, p. 831, also suggests that the name Ge-sar or Ke-sar may be a dynastic title. The existence of the title Caesar as loan-word in Central Asian languages is attested by a colophon verse appended to an Oriental Iranian or Śaka manuscript of the Maitreya-samiti, translated by Ernst Leumann (Ernst Leumann: *Maitreya-samiti*, Strassburg, 1919, part II, pp. 152ff.), where we find the expression Keysar-kulna or 'royal family' (see also E. Leumann: 'Das nordarische (sakische) Lehrgedicht', part 3, p. 410—Keysar-kula). Professor Lueders (*Epigraphische Beiträge*, Sitz. d. Akademie, Berlin, 1912, pp. 824ff.; Sten Konow: *Kharoshthī Inscriptions. Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum*, vol. II, part I, Calcutta, 1929, pp. 162-165) had discovered the title kāsara in the Kharoshthī Ārā inscription (Kuṣāṇa period). It is also well

¹ F. W. Thomas, *JRAS*, 1931, pp. 830ff.

known that a dynasty of Kesar descendants in Upper Ladak (La-dwags-stod) is mentioned in the La-dwags rgyal-rabs (A. H. Francke: 'Antiquities of Indian Tibet', vol. II, pp. 93ff.). In modern Tibet there exists a vague tradition that Kesar had been an historical personage (Sir Charles Bell: 'The Religion of Tibet', Oxford, 1931, p. 14). It is not clear whether this tradition originated in connection with the Manchu identification of king Kesar with Kuan-ti, or belongs to the pre-Manchu period.

It is as yet impossible to say when and where the hero of the Tibetan nomad epic Ke-sar rgyal-po became identified with Kuan-ti, the popular hero of the famous and most widely read Chinese novel 'The Tale of the Three Kingdoms' or San-kuo-chih. This Kuan-ti or Kuan-yü had been a general in the service of the founder of the Shu-Han dynasty in the epoch of the Three Kingdoms (III-d century A.D.). Deified by the Chinese, his worship became popular in the Ming period, and Emperor Shên-tsung of the Ming dynasty (1573-1619) raised Kuan-ti to the rank of 'Grand Emperor'. During the Manchu period the popularity of the god became still greater, and he was proclaimed the Military Protector of the Ch'ing dynasty. The Emperors Chia-ch'ing (1796-1820) and Tao-kuang (1821-1850) paid him special devotion. The first made him Wu-ti or 'Military Emperor', and Tao-kuang ordered that he should be considered equal to Confucius himself! Temples were erected to him in all towns, seats of administration. All throughout the empire special services were held in his honour on the 13th day of the 1st month, and on the 13th day of the 5th month. Military mandarins worshipped Kuan-ti on the 24th day of the 6th month. It seems probable that the identification of Kesar with Kuan-ti originated in the reign of the Emperor K'ang-hsi (1662-1722), and was part of the Imperial programme to strengthen the ties uniting the Ch'ing dynasty with the nomad tribes of the Mongol-Tibetan borderland. It was under K'ang-hsi in 1716 that the first Mongol printed version of the Kesar Epic appeared in Peking.

The Kesar Epic has left a strong imprint on the popular poetry of the Land of Snows. A number of songs related to the Kesar Epic are even nowadays sung throughout Tibet. During the spring a Kesar festival is held in all the villages of Ladak, and the male population exercises itself in archery. Special songs, called 'Ling songs' or gLiñ-glu are sung during this festival. These songs usually mention episodes from the Epic of king Kesar (A. H. Francke: 'A Ladakhi Bonpa Hymnal', *Indian Antiquary*, vol. XXV, August, 1901, pp. 359ff.; A. H. Francke and Anna Paalzow: 'Tibetische Lieder', Mitt. d. Or. Seminars in Berlin, pp. 99-100. The gLiñ-glu collected by A. H. Francke in Ladak in the villages of Phyañ and Kha-la-rtse, see Francke: 'Marriage Ritual in W. Tibet', *Indian Antiquary*, XXX, 1901, pp. 131ff.). Similar songs exist in Amdo in the North-East of

Tibet. They do not form part of the epic, but are inspired by famous episodes from the epic.

King Kesar in Tibetan Art. Pictorial representations of the Kesar Epic and of king Kesar are comparatively rare, and this fact can be probably explained by the attitude of the ruling dGe-lugs-pa sect in Tibet towards the epic, which considered Kesar to be a survival of a non-Buddhist past. Images of king Kesar, both pictorial and in bronze, found throughout Tibet and Mongolia, can be conveniently classed into two groups:—

- (a) representations of king Kesar's miraculous life, closely following the extant written version of the epic;
- (b) representations of king Kesar as Kuan-ti, the Manchu War God and protector of the Manchu dynasty.

The second group is by far the largest, and most of the images belonging to this group date back to the XVIII-th and XIX-th centuries.

To the first group belong the so-called Ke-sar than-ka or painted banners of king Kesar depicting the miraculous life of the king. Such than-kas are mostly found in the possession of itinerant rhapsodists of the epic, and are only rarely seen in the homes of Tibetan laymen. Some of these banners, representing king Kesar's life, belong to the rNin-ma-pas or 'Old-believers' sect of Tibetan Buddhism, who were the first to accept the epic and adapt it to their needs. In such cases on the top of the painting will be seen an image of ཀུན་ཏུ་བཟུང་པོ་ Kun-tu bzañ-po or Samantabhadra, or the central figure will represent a Buddhist deity, for example the goddess མའིང་གི་ལྷ་མོ་མ་ mThin-gi Žal-bzañ-ma, an attendant of the goddess Lha-mo, riding a mule and holding an arrow (mda') and a mirror (me-loñ). (See the Ke-sar than-ka in the Tibetan collection of the Musée Guimet in Paris.) Some of the representations of the Kesar Epic belong to the Bon-po faith, and are distinguished by Bon-po symbology. Sometimes the central figure of a painted banner represents king Kesar himself depicted attired in a white garment with a tiara-like hat surmounted by feathers, a costume still worn by professional rhapsodists of the epic in North-Eastern Tibet. Usually round the central figure are grouped episodes of the miraculous life of king Kesar: his fights with demons and werewolves, which appear in the shape of a black yak, a black horse, and a black she-goat, the destruction of three ravens, birds of evil omen, Kesar's marriage to 'Brug-mo, his combat with the powerful Demon king of the North (rDud-rgyal), Kesar's war against the three kings of the Hor, etc. The composition of such banners reveals clear traces of Buddhist influence and is very similar in composition to the Buddhist than-kas depicting the lives of famous Buddhist teachers and sages. Such Ke-sar than-kas are hung during the recitals of the epic by itinerant rhapsodists,

and this again seems to be an adaptation of a well-known Buddhist custom of presenting edifying Buddhist dramas, as for example the story of prince Vessantara or the Dri-med Kun-lan rnam-thar. Sometimes famous episodes of the Kesar Epic form the themes of wall-frescoes in private residences of wealthy Tibetans. The late A. H. Francke ('Antiquities of Indian Tibet', vol. I, pp. 79ff.) had seen one such fresco depicting the war against the country of Jang in a garden-house (rab-gsal) at Changs-pa, a village situated half a mile from Leh in Ladak. It must be added that such frescoes are only rarely met with.

Images belonging to the second group representing Kesar as Kuan-ti are quite numerous and mostly date from the XVIII-th and early XIX-th centuries when the Manchu dynasty did much to spread the cult of its protecting deity, conveniently likened to the nomad warrior-king Kesar. Numerous are the bronze images of king Kesar represented seated in western fashion on a throne—the work of Dolōn-nūr image-makers (XVIII-th century). Large clay and bronze images of Kesar - Kuan-ti are found in the numerous Ke-sar lha-khañ or Kesar temples in villages in Amdo in North-East Tibet (G. N. Potanin: 'Tangutsko-Tibet-skaya Okraina Kitaya', vol. I, p. 397). Temples dedicated to Kesar - Kuan-ti also exist in Lhasa where they are called rGya-mi lha-khañ or 'Chinese Temples', and in Urga (now Ulān Bātor Xoto), capital of Northern Mongolia, and in many localities of Inner Mongolia, and the Sino-Mongolian borderland, where such temples are popularly called Kuan-ti miao or Gessēr sümē. All of these temples belong to the Manchu period.

There exist also pictorial representations of Kesar - Kuan-ti on which king Kesar is represented by the side of his steed, wearing armour and holding a halberd, accompanied by his son Kuan-p'ing, holding a casket with king Kesar's seal, and his squire holding a halberd. Kesar's magic bow and arrows given to him by his divine protector are also represented in the lower corners of such paintings. On some of the paintings of Kesar-Kuan-ti one can see the image of the Great Tibetan Reformer Tson-kha-pa (1357-1419) and of his two chief disciples, mKhas-grub-rje and rJe-tshab-rje—a sign that the ruling dGe-lugs-pa sect attempted to incorporate Kesar - Kuan-ti in its pantheon during the Manchu period, no doubt with official approval.

In Mongolia some of the dGe-lugs-pa monasteries used to perform special Kesar 'mystery plays' or Gessēr in cam. Such 'mystery plays' were held in the sixth month of the year in the former Dalai Conxor Wañ xoşun, and in the monastery of Ilayuyšan Gegēn in Western Mongolia. The lama-participants of these 'mystery plays' represented the 32 warrior-companions of king Kesar, all clad in armour (xujäy). Theatrical representations of the exploits of king Kesar are known to exist among the Mongols-San-ch'uan in Kansu Province (see Potanin, *ibid.*, p. 378). In Tibet proper such 'mystery plays' based on

the Kesar Epic seem to be unknown. In the mounted races called rDzon-rgyab žam-bes or 'Gallop behind the Fort', held in Lhasa behind the Potala Palace, the horsemen (rta-pa), clad in ancient Tibetan armour and armed with bow and arrows, are said to represent the warriors of king Kesar. In Western Tibet a festival is held in spring which is called 'Kesar Festival' in Upper Kunāwār. In Ladak it is called mDa'-phañ-ces or 'arrow shooting'. During the festival the gLiñ-glu or 'Ling song' is sung, and the male population amuse themselves with arrow shooting. There are processions round the fields to bless them, the lha-tho or altars are decorated with fresh twigs and pencil-cedar is burnt (see A. H. Francke: gLiñ-chos in Hasting's Encyclopaedia of Religion and Ethics, vol. VIII, p. 78a).

Many vestiges of ancient monuments throughout Tibet, such as stone steps on the slope of mountain passes, ruined castles (mkhar), drawings on stones, and even rocks and stones of peculiar shape, etc. are popularly said to date back to the time of king Kesar (Nicholas Roerich: 'The Sword of Ghesar Khan', *Educational Review*, December, 1936; W. Rockhill: *Journey through Mongolia and Tibet*, p. 165).

In 1933 Professor M. Rostovtseff ('The Great Hero of Middle Asia and his exploits', *Artibus Asiae*, MCMXXX/XXXII, No. 2/3, pp. 99-117, with a note by G. Roerich) drew attention to a series of Siberian and Chinese plaques in the so-called 'animal' style, representing scenes of combat, hunting and wrestling. These plaques may well represent illustrations to an ancient nomad epos, of which the Kesar Epic is a typical representative.

To sum up the results of our survey of the Kesar problem, we must stress the following points, the working up of which may lead to the solution of the problem:—

- (a) The Kesar Epic in its original form represented a typical heroic epic, a poetical record of ancient wars between Tibetan and Turkish tribes.
- (b) Tibetan Ke-sar ~ Ge-sar < Caesar, the Roman title adopted by the Kuṣāṇa kings, and then assumed by the khans of Central Asiatic Turkish tribes, through Khotan, which formed part of the Kuṣāṇa Empire. From the Central Asiatic Turks the title Kesar was adopted by the Tibetan and Tangut tribes of the North-East.
- (c) The manuscript versions of the Kesar Epic contain more archaisms and are nearer to the primitive form of the epic than the oral versions or the printed version. The manuscript versions show definite similarities to the North-East Tibetan versions of the epic.
- (d) The language of the epic and names of localities mentioned in the text point towards the North-East of Tibet as the place of origin of the epic.

- (e) The date of the epic cannot be established, but the numerous parallels with the story of king Sron-btsan sgam-po (569-650 A.D.) indicate that the epic must have taken shape after the Imperial Period of Tibetan history. The kernel of the epic must be older.
- (f) The Mongol version of the epic represents a translation from a Tibetan original. Mongol transcriptions of Tibetan proper names and names of localities show that this original must have been a North-East Tibetan version.
- (g) The Burushaski version discovered by Lt.-Col. Lorimer represents a rendering of a Tibetan oral version, probably Balti.

In conclusion it must be stressed that it is imperative to hasten the study of the Kesar Epic. The pressure of modern civilization causes the keepers of ancient traditions to retreat into the fastnesses of their mountains, and bards well-versed in the Kesar lore are only rarely met with.

SUMMARY.

For more than a century the Kesar Epic, the heroic saga of Tibet and Mongolia, had been known to students of folklore, but up to now our knowledge of the various versions of this epic, its genesis, and its influence on the epos of Tibetan and Mongolian nomad tribes had not advanced very far. Due to the inaccessibility of the Tibetan uplands, it is as yet impossible to make a survey of all the existing versions of the Tibetan epic of king Kesar of Ling. The epic is known to exist among the various tribes of the nomad belt of the Tibetan upland, and is especially popular among the tribes of the North-East: among the Amdo-was, the Goloks, the Bānaks, and the Hor-pas. The eminent Russian explorer of Central Asia, G. N. Potanin, had given us fragments of an Amdo version of the epic, and the writer of the present note has recorded fragments of yet another version current in Amdo. The late Dr. A. H. Francke has published the local Ladakī versions of the epic. In 1931 the French explorer, Madame A. David-Neel, published a French rendering of a Kham version.

The language of the epic often influenced by the spoken dialects of Tibet does not permit any deductions as to the date of the epic and of its origin. In each district the epic is being told in the local dialect, but the subject of the epic, the main episodes of king Kesar's life remain the same. A considerable difference in details is noticeable which often had been introduced from local folklore and tribal epics. The epic exists in Tibet in manuscript, oral, and printed form. The scarcity of manuscript

versions resulted in a considerable variety of oral versions. The language of the oral versions is not the classical written Tibetan, it is a style closely approaching the every-day speech of the nomads with certain archaisms. These oral versions seem to be an outgrowth of manuscript versions. The latter exhibit definite similarities to the North-East Tibetan versions, and the language of the manuscript versions points towards the North-East of Tibet and Kham. The language of the printed versions stands nearer to the classical form of the Tibetan language. The similarity of the main episodes indicates the existence of a primitive Kesar Epic which must have originated among the Tangut and Tibetan tribes of the North-East. The following stages in the evolution of the epic seem probable:—

1. The Primitive Kesar Epic—an heroic epic which originated among the Tangut and Tibetan tribes of the North-East.
2. The manuscript versions of the epic (in some of the extant versions Buddhist elements predominate).
3. The printed abridged version of the epic, edited by rñin-ma-pas in Kham (Derge-rDzogs-chen dgon-pa).
4. Oral versions of the epic strongly coloured by local folklore. The Kesar Epic in its original form represented a typical heroic epic, a poetical record of ancient wars between Tibetan and Turkish tribes. In its original form the Kesar Epic must have possessed a pre-Buddhistic background, and even in the present text of the epic one finds frequent allusions to the ancient Bon faith of Tibet.

The language of the epic and names of localities mentioned in the epic all point towards the North-East of Tibet as the place of origin of the epic.

The date of the epic cannot be established, but the numerous parallels with the story of king Sron-btsan sgam-po (569–650) indicate that the epic must have taken shape after the Imperial period of Tibetan history, though the kernel of the epic must be older.

The Mongol version of the epic represents a translation from a Tibetan original. Mongol transcriptions of Tibetan proper names and names of localities show that the original must have been a North-East Tibetan version.

The word Kesar ~ Gesar represents probably a transcription of the Roman title *Caesar* adopted by the Tibetan and Tangut tribes of the North-East from Khotan.

Paper received 25.9.1941.

„ *published 31.10.1942.*

Nicholas Roerich



“The Sword of Gesar”

**Two Clay Figures of Kesar (Gesar) and Hbrug-mo
by a Tibetan Artist.**

By SUNITI KUMAR CHATTERJI.

The importance of the Saga of King Kesar (Gesar) of gLing in the life and literature of Tibet and Mongolia is sufficiently well known, and the paper on the Saga or Epic in its various forms and in its origins by Dr. George N. Roerich which is printed in the current issue of the JRASB., following the Society's recent publication of Francke's West Tibetan versions (1941), forms a valuable and an opportune contribution which has a great scientific value and is at the same time a very good introduction to the subject of the Kesar Saga for the general reader. The paucity of plastic representation of the characters of the Saga (barring the case of the few *thankas* of Buddhistic inspiration and bronze statuettes of Kesar-Kuanti of Chinese origin which have been noted by Dr. Roerich and myself) contrasts strangely with the very great popularity which the story enjoys in both Tibet and Mongolia. The Kesar story exerted such a fascination on myself¹ when seeing the Francke papers through the press that I felt very anxious to obtain, if possible, pictures or statuettes relating to it, but at Calcutta among Tibetan art dealers and at Darjeeling my efforts proved unsuccessful—Kesar (Gesar) and Hbrug-mo (Dugmo) and other characters were all well known, but no one knew of pictures or statuettes. During October of last year (1941) while at Darjeeling I came upon a painter and clay-modeller from Tibet who, I was told, was commissioned to paint some of the paintings at Ghoom monastery. He told me he was from Central Tibet, from Lhasa, and that he was to come down to Calcutta to decorate with paintings a Tibetan Buddhist temple which it was proposed to build at Bhavanipur in Calcutta. I spoke to him about the Kesar (Gesar) story, and he knew it well enough; and as he said that images and pictures were not generally known in Tibet, although if any patron wished they could be ordered from the modellers and painters in Lhasa and elsewhere in Tibet, I suggested that he should execute five images in clay for me—those of Gesar, of Hbrug-mo, of the Giant of the North, of the latter's wife the Dzemo who bewitched Gesar, and of the King of Hor. He readily agreed to do these for me, and after a preliminary discussion, in the course of which he drew sketches for my approval, I left him to his own

¹ I refer to my *Introduction* to Dr. A. H. Francke's 'Lower Ladakhi Version of the Kesar Saga', Royal Asiatic Society of Bengal, Calcutta, 1905-1941.

devices. So far he has supplied me with two figures only—the other three are not yet done, and it is very difficult to make the artist in Darjeeling fulfill his part of the contract from Calcutta. Without waiting for the other three, for one does not know when they will be ready, or whether they will ever be done at all, I am publishing pictures of the two I have so far received—those of Kesar (Gesar) and of Hbrug-mo (Dug-mo), as a pendant to Dr. Roerich's article.

The artist has not been able to make a satisfactory business of it—he is more at home in Buddhistic (Lamaistic) figures, some of his Dol-mas (Tārās) and Chen-re-sis (Avalōkitēśvaras) being admirable. The figure of Kesar is disproportionate. It has been my experience that artists or art-workers in the line of a tradition when commissioned to do something new or out of the way generally fail, unless they are real artists and of outstanding merit. But their work, if they are not interfered with, will give an unsophisticated if crude expression of the traditional atmosphere in which they live: and that itself has its value. The present artist (or artisan) has proved himself to be no exception to this. Although not very artistic, even if they have a certain crude vigour, and comparing unfavourably with the usual run of Lamaistic images which they even now make in Tibet, these two figures will serve to give one some idea of a present-day Tibetan artist's conception of what the National Hero and Heroine of his people should look like. He has followed his own ideas in the matter of dress and accoutrements of the two figures. Kesar is dressed like a Tibetan nobleman, in a cuirass, and he carries a bow and arrow, with a ring-guard on his right thumb, and Hbrug-mo is a Tibetan queen or lady of rank in her costume, with a copper vessel of holy water with flowers at the top, like a good Buddhist lady. The figures are presented for the appreciation of all who feel attracted to this great story of romance and adventure,—certainly one of the great epic and romantic tales in world-literature.

The name of the artist is Padma Dbañ Phyug (Pe-ma Wang-Chhuk), and he has signed the two figures as *Dbañ-Phyug-nas* (= *Wang Chhuk nä*) 'by Wang Chhuk'. The inscription at the foot of the image of Kesar is *Glin-Ge-sar-Rgyal-po* ('Gesar King of gLing') and that on the image of Hbrug-mo runs as *Señs-cañ Hbrug-mo* (Sheng-chang Dug-mo), with the artist's signature below.

The figures were exhibited, and the above note was read, before the Monthly General Meeting of the Society held on 3rd August, 1942.

Paper received 3-8-1942.

„ published 31-10-1942.



The Kashfu-l-Mahjūb of Abū-l-Ḥasan 'Alī al-Jullābī.

By L. S. DUGIN.

During the last thirty years or so a certain amount of literature has arisen in connexion with that earliest manual of Sūfiism written in Persian known as the *Kashfu-l-Mahjūb*, and an increased activity has been manifested in the East as well in re-editing that important work.

It will therefore not come amiss before directing our attention to the language, style and contents of the *Kashfu-l-Mahjūb*, and the time of its composition, those being the main objects of the present article, to take stock of its various editions and translations, and of its existing manuscripts.

The earliest edition of the *Kashfu-l-Mahjūb* seems to be the one mentioned by Arberry in his Catalogue of the printed books in the India Office Library,¹ as: "*Kashf al-mahjūb*, by Hujwiri. [A Sūfi manual], pp. 4,267, lith., 25 cm., Panjābī, Lahore [1874]." I am unable to add anything to this summary description, as all my efforts to secure a copy of that edition proved in vain, and no copy of it is available in the libraries accessible to me. But, even the British Museum does not seem to possess any copy of it, at least Edwards² does not speak of any such copy, and mentions³ only the so-called 1903 edition of the *Kashfu-l-Mahjūb*. I say 'so-called', because in the book itself we find nowhere any indication as to the date of its publication. Why Edwards attributes to it the above-mentioned date remains obscure: it is possible that the book in question reached the British Museum in that year as a new publication, just out. Nicholson, however, whose translation⁴ is based on that edition, refers to it⁵ as 'the Lahore edition' without giving any date, which he would certainly have done, were the edition dated. Zhukovsky calls it 'the undated (and pretty bad) Lahore edition'⁶. Denison Ross⁷ and Arberry⁸ follow in the footsteps of Edwards in attributing to it a date, which probably belongs to it, but which it does not bear.

¹ Catalogue of the Library of the India Office, Vol. II, Part VI. Persian Books by A. J. Arberry, Litt.D., Assistant Librarian, London, 1937, p. 242.

² Catalogue of the Persian Printed Books in the British Museum by Edwards, M.A., London, 1922.

³ *ibid.*, p. 113.

⁴ see below, footnote 1 to p. 321.

⁵ on the title-page and on pp. xxiii and xxiv of his Preface.

⁶ p. 56 of the Russian Introduction to his critical edition.

⁷ see below, footnote 1 on p. 323. ⁸ *vide* note 1 above.

Arberry describes it as: '[Another edition], pp. 328, *lith.*, 25 cm., Bhāwal Press, *Lahore* [1903].' It is difficult to say whether it is a mere reproduction (or reprint) of the earlier 1874 edition, or whether it is based on an independent manuscript. One feels inclined to think the latter supposition to be the more probable, as the natural tendency of the copyist would have been to reproduce page for page of his original, thus bringing forth a copy of approximately the same number of pages. Here, however, we find a difference of about 50 pages, the size of the page being in both cases the same.

Zhukovsky, when referring to this edition as 'a pretty bad one' is somewhat too exacting in his judgment. Nicholson, who took it as the base of his translation, speaks more leniently of it, when devoting to it a few words in his Preface.¹ The fact is that the book is written in an indifferent, though fairly legible *nasta'liq*-hand, and is full of clerical errors, which, however, as correctly pointed out by Nicholson,² 'are easy to amend'.

The next to appear was another Eastern edition, which was published in 1914 (= 1330 A.H.) in Samarqand.³ Copies of it being at present far more rare than the very manuscripts of the *Kashfu-l-Mahjūb*, in fact, as the matter stands, practically unobtainable, and the very existence of the edition being virtually unknown,⁴ the book deserves a more detailed description.

The size of it is, roughly speaking, 7 by 11½ in., a size never met with in European publications, but not so very uncommon in Eastern editions and, especially, Eastern manuscripts.⁵ It is an extraordinarily fine specimen of lithography, which, by its clearness, and the neatness of the characters can be only compared (barring, of course, the insurmountable difference in kind and style of the handwriting) with the best lithographs of the times of Nāṣiru-d-Dīn Shāh of Persia, best of all represented by the beautiful editions of the diaries of his journeys to Khurasān⁶ and Māzandarān.⁷

¹ *vide supra*, note 4 on preceding page. ² In his Preface, p. xxiv.

³ By Mullā Sayyid 'Abdu-l-Majid Muftī b. Mullā Sayyid 'Abdullāh al-Mudarris al-Ḥanafī.

⁴ Zhukovsky does not mention it either in his *Addenda*, nor in his *Corrigenda*, which were drawn up after 1914, nor does Nicholson refer to it in his Preface to the New Edition of his translation or in the list of Corrections appended to it. No mention of it is made either by Edwards or Arberry, so that we may take it for granted that there are no copies of it even in the British Museum or in the India Office Library. One copy of that Samarqand edition, however, is available in the library of the Royal Asiatic Society of Bengal, brought, several years ago, by the present writer from Afghanistan.

⁵ It is quite possible that the dimensions of the page were adopted to tally exactly with the original Ms. from which the transcript for the press was made.

⁶ سفرنامه مبارکه خراسان.

⁷ سفرنامه مبارکه مازندران.

The writing is a bold Central Asian *nasta'liq*. A detailed table of contents, on four separately numbered pages, precedes the text. Three abstracts regarding the author and his work are given after the text: one from the *Safīnatu-l-Awliyā* of Dārā Shukūh; the second from Hājī Halfa's *Kashfu-z-Zunūn*,¹ and the third from Vol. II of Sh. Samy-Bey's *Qāmūsul-A'lām*.²

The date of the publication (or rather of the completion of its printing) of the edition is given by two local poets in the shape of the usual chronograms.

Further follows a curious colophon by the editor, who explains that the work had cost him much trouble and had involved considerable expense. He, therefore, requests all future competitors to abstain from publishing any other edition of the *Kashfu-l-Mahjūb* for a period of two years without first obtaining his special permission to do so, failing which, he threatens them with judicial prosecution.

The book ends with the statement of the name of the scribe who had copied it out for the press³ and the date of the completion of the work of copying.

Two other Eastern editions have appeared more recently. The first of these two lithographs bears on its title-leaf the date 1923 and the corresponding Muhammadan date 1342 A.H. and is published by the same well-known firm of booksellers, Ilāhī-Bakhsh Muhammad Jalālud-Din of Lahore, who are responsible for the publication of the '1903' edition. The size of the page is more or less the same as of the two earlier Lahore editions. The number of pages is 328+1. On the outside cover the name of the press is given as 'Gulzār-i Hind Steam Press, Lahore', but on the title-page as 'Maṭba'ī Islāmiyya Steam Press, Lahore'. A brief biography of the author is added at the end of the book—a feature absent in the other two Lahore editions—wound up by two circular designs, of which one gives the mystical filiation of the author (entitled شجرة طریقت داتا صاحب),⁴ up to the

¹ Hājī Halfa's notice is very short and runs as follows: كشف المحجوب

لارباب القلوب فی التصوف للشیخ ابی الحسن علی بن عثمان الزنوی المتوفی سنة ۴۵۶

² The notice in the Turkish 'Dictionary of Names' by Sāmī Bey is also brief: پیر علی هجویری غزنه جوارنه واقع (هجویری) قریه سندن اولوب كشف المحجوب. i.e., 'the pīr 'Alī Hujvīrī was from the village Hujvīr in the neighbourhood of Ghazna. He wrote a book bearing the title *Kashfu-l-Mahjūb*. He died at Lahore in 456'.

³ Mīrzā Sayyid 'Abdussalām.

⁴ A footnote on p. 269 of that edition contains the same filiation under the heading شجرة طریقه مصنف این کتاب مستطاب رح given in verse as follows:

Commander of the Faithful 'Alī, and the other, with the heading *شجره نسب داتا صاحب*, is a genealogical tree showing his descent, again from 'Alī. This explains why *Jullābī* is called both on the cover and on the title-page '*Sayyid (sic!) Shaykh Makhdūm 'Alī Hujvīrī ma'rūf ba-Dātā Ganj-Bakhsh gumma-l-Lāhūrī*'. The number of pages is the same as in the Bhāwal Press edition; but the pages themselves do not coincide in the two editions. There is little doubt, however, that the edition under discussion is a reproduction of the older edition issued by the same publishers. It is, if anything, slightly inferior

ز دست شیخ ابوالفضل هدایت	علی هجویری آن پیر ولایت
بدست خدمت اسرار نهفته	ابوالفضل از علی حصری گرفته
رسید از دست ابوبکر شبلی	علی حصری بوی اسرار کلی
که در عالم شده او راهنای	شبلی از جنید آمد عطای
لباس پارسائی را چه خوش دید	جنید از سری سقطی بپوشید
به بر پوشید و شد والی فرقه	سری سقطی از معروف خرقة
چراغ خانقاه و پارسائی	شده معروف از داؤد طائی
.....	بداؤد از حبیب آن فتح است
علی را پیر کامل مصطفی بود	حسن بصری مرید مرتضی بود

The above merely reproduces a marginal note found on p. 267 of the so-called '1903' Bhowal Press edition (v.s.), in both cases referring to a mention of the name of the author in the text, where he is called *جلالی* (sic) in both the editions. In the earlier edition the last but one line has *بداؤد از حبیب آن فتح کامیاب است* and a blank is left in place of the second hemistich, like in the edition under discussion. The lameness (راهنائی) in l. 4) of the verses and the illiteracy of their author (سری instead of

سری in l. 5 and سقطی in ll. 5 and 6) show them to be a recent con-

coction, probably contemporary with the appearance of the first lithographed Indian edition of the '*Kashfu-l-Mahjūb*'. By *شیخ ابوالفضل* is, of course, meant *Jullābī*'s spiritual guide *Abū-l-Faḍl Md. b. al-Ḥasan al-Khuttalī*, who was himself a disciple of *Abū-l-Ḥasan 'Alī al-Hujvīrī*; see for that Nicholson's Preface, p. xvii. This mystic filiation may be considered, up to a certain point, judging by the references in the *Kashfu-l-Mahjūb* itself, as accurate. It concords, in fact, with the text of the *Kashfu-l-Mahjūb* as far as *Ḥabīb-i Rā'ī* (for whom see Lahore ed., p. 71 = Nicholson's translation, p. 90), but no justification is found in the text for directly connecting the latter with *Ḥasan-i Baḡrī* (for whom see Lahore ed., pp. 68-69 = Nicholson, pp. 86-87).

as handwriting goes, and the undotted final *nūns*, inadmissible in a Persian book, hurt the eye.

The latest Eastern edition of the *Kashfu-l-Mahjūb* appeared, as can be seen from the date on its cover (which replaces also the absent title-page), in September, 1931.¹ The size is approximately the same as that of the earlier Lahore editions. The number of pages is again 328, and again the pages do not coincide with the '1903' edition. The name of the publisher is given as: شيخ جان محمد اله بخش گنای. The printers are: 'Rifāh-i 'Amm Steam Press, Lahore'.—Here again the title of 'Sayyid' is attributed to our author. The outward appearance of the edition is very much the same as of the already discussed previous editions.

The critical edition of the *Kashfu-l-Mahjūb* by the late² Prof. V. Zhukovsky is a post mortem edition, having appeared only in 1926. The work was begun by the great savant as far back as 1900, and in 1901 the present writer (at that time one of Prof. Zhukovsky's students) was asked by Prof. Zhukovsky to assist him with the collation of the sheets ready for print with the various Mss. used by him for the edition. That humble collaboration, however, did not materialize owing to the technical difficulties of that plan, and the work was completed by Prof. Zhukovsky single-handed a couple of years later, and printed off, together with seven of its eight Indices, as early as 1905. The exhaustive³ scholarly Introduction (in Russian) to the edition was, however, completed and printed, as also the remaining eighth Index, only in 1914. Owing to the then prevailing circumstances, the folded, but unsewn, copies of the book remained stacked up on the premises of the Press, where it was printed, without seeing the light of publication. It was only in 1926, several years after Prof. Zhukovsky's death, that the book, to which a Russian and a Persian title-page, and two pages of a Preface were added, was finally issued.

The book has, to my knowledge, never been reviewed in India. It is equally unobtainable in this country as the above-mentioned Samarqand edition. And, being the critical edition of the work that interests us, it deserves a more detailed description.

Zhukovsky's Edition is a huge Imperial 8vo volume of 606 pages (text and Indices), plus an Introduction of 57 pages, and 7 pages Addenda and Corrigenda, i.e. 670 pages in all.

A. The text of the book is an Edition of the oldest existing Ms.⁴ of the *Kashfu-l-Mahjūb* in the Vienna

¹ The Muhammadan date is not given.

² He died of heart-failure on the 17th January, 1918.

³ It comprises 57 pages, see below.

⁴ The Ms. is undated, but seems to belong to the IX c. A.H., as supposed by G. Flügel, *vide infra*.

Imperial & Royal Court Library (at present, the National Library of Vienna) which is described by G. Flügel in Vol. III, 440, of his Catalogue.¹ Four other Mss. were used by Zhukovsky to check the readings of the Vienna Ms., and variants from them are given all through the book in special footnotes. These four Mss. were :

- B. A Ms. of the XIth century A.H. in the Public Library of Tashkent, described by E. Th. Kahl in his Catalogue² on p. 40;
- C. A Ms. in private possession secured from Samarkand, undated;
- D. A Ms. of the St. Petersburg University Library, early XIth century A.H.; and
- E. A Ms. of the School of Oriental Languages of St. Petersburg, described by Baron V. R. Rosen in his Catalogue,³ p. 291 of the IIIrd part concerned with the Persian manuscripts.

The Lahore edition, which was received by the editor too late for including variants from it in the above-mentioned footnotes, was used by him only in his *Addenda*.

Nicholson's translation, although it reached Zhukovsky some time before his Introduction was completed, was not used by him 'even for the last pages of the Introduction'⁴: his text having been printed off long before the news of a translation being prepared by Prof. Nicholson had reached him, he, in his own words, 'preferred to remain right to the end with his own mistakes and fallacies, but outside the sphere of any extraneous influences'.⁵

Nor was the Samarkand edition, with which he became acquainted only a short time before his death, used by him in any way for his Edition.

The Indices occupy 42 pages, and are eight in number. They are as follows:

1. **Names of persons, families and tribes,** (فهرست نامهای)
(اشخاص و انساب و قبایل). A particular feature of this most valuable Index (pp. 547-564) is that it not only contains references to the

¹ 'Die arabischen, persischen und türkischen Handschriften der Kaiserlich-Königlichen Hofbibliothek zu Wien', Vols. I-III, Wien 1865-1867.

² The Persian, Arabic and Turkish manuscripts in the Turkestan Public Library (in Russian).

³ Baron V. Rosen. Collections Scientifiques de l'Institut des Langues Orientales, III. Les Manuscrits Persans. St. Pétersbourg, 1886.

⁴ Introduction (in original), p. 56.

⁵ *ibid.*

pages of the *Kashfu-l-Mahjüb* itself, but gives (in square brackets, with distinguishing letters) the pages on which these names occur in: (A) *Tazkiratu-l-Awliyā* of 'Aṭṭār, Lahore¹ ed., 1306 A.H.; (B) *Nafahātu-l-Uns* of Jāmī, Nassau - Lees ed. of 1859; and (C) *Nāma-i Dānishvarān*, Tehran ed., of which, at the time of the compilation of the Index, only three volumes² had appeared.

2. Names of places (فهرست نامهای جایها).
3. Index of religions and sects (فهرست نحل و ممال).
4. Index of books quoted (فهرست کتب). Two figures accompany each name of a book, showing the page and line cited.
5. Index of verses in Arabic (فهرست شعرهای عربی).
6. Index of quotations from the Qur'ān (فهرست سور و آیات قرآنی), giving chapter and verse.
7. Index of traditions quoted (فهرست احادیث).
8. Index of sayings of the Elders (فهرست اقوال مشایخ).

In brackets are given the names of the persons to whom each particular saying is attributed by Jullābī. An asterisk indicates that no name accompanies the saying in the text.³

An abridged English translation of Zhukovsky's Introduction, by Sidney Jerrold,⁴ appeared in 1929 in the 'Bulletin of the School of Oriental Studies, London Institution',⁵ in which all the technical parts were omitted, 'as being of no interest to those who have not the text before them',⁶ 'leaving only the literary portions of the Russian original',⁷ i.e. those concerned with the person of the author and passages of interest culled from his work. These passages were, most judiciously wherever possible, not re-translated from the Russian rendering, but taken bodily from Nicholson's English version.⁷ The translator has taken care to show where parts of Zhukovsky's Russian text were omitted in his translation, either indicating in brief what the omitted portion contained, or showing it by marks

¹ Nicholson's edition in the 'Persian Historical Texts' series was issued in 1905 (First Part, Vol. III of the Series) and 1907 (Second Part, Vol. V of the Series), and reached Zhukovsky when the Indices to the *Kashfu-l-Mahjüb* had already been printed off, v.s. p. 320.

² As stated by Zhukovsky in his note to the Index.

³ These details are given here in the hope to facilitate the use of Zhukovsky's Indices to such readers, as might come across his edition and, being unacquainted with the Russian language, would find some difficulty in using them.

⁴ Persian Šūfism. Being a Translation of Professor Zhukovsky's Introduction to his Edition of the *Kashf-Al-Mahjüb*.

⁵ pp. 475-488.

⁶ Note by E.D.R. (Sir E. Denison Ross) prefixed to the translation, p. 475, ll. 18-19.

⁷ *ibid.*, l. 16.

of omission. The translation is very carefully done, and the condensation effected with great discernment, so as not to make one feel the lacunae.

The splendid English abridged translation by R. A. Nicholson is too well known, both in its original edition,¹ and in its recent reprint,² to need any detailed description. Special attention may, however, be drawn to its brief Preface containing valuable information regarding the author and his work, and its Indices, more especially the one³ giving the technical expressions used in Šūfī terminology,⁴ which occur in the work under discussion.

An Urdū translation, under the title ظہیر المطالب ترجمہ اُردو, by one *Shāh Ṣāhīr Aḥmad Ṣāhīrī*, appeared in 1343 A.H. (=1925 A.D.).⁵ The name of the publishers is given as *Chirāghu-d-Dīn Sirāju-d-Dīn* of Kashmīrī Bāzār, Lahore.

The book consists of 544 lithographed pages of a very clear bold Indian *ta'liq*. The size of the page is somewhat larger than that of the above-described Indian editions of the Persian original. The first 22 pages contain an Urdū introduction by the translator dealing with Šūfīism.⁶ The introduction is subdivided into several chapters, of which the first does not bear any separate heading beyond the already mentioned⁷ general title. The second chapter is on 'The first man who was called a Šūfī'.⁸ The third—on 'What is Šūfīism and who may be called a Šūfī'.⁹ The fifth—on 'On the Unity of Existence'.¹⁰ The

¹ The *Kashf al-Mahjūb*, the oldest Persian treatise on Šūfīism by 'Alī b. 'Uthmān al-Jullābī al-Hujwīrī, translated from the text of the Lahore edition, compared with Mss. in the India Office and British Museum, by Reynold A. Nicholson, Litt.D., Lecturer in Persian in the University of Cambridge, formerly Fellow of Trinity College, and printed for the Trustees of the 'E. G. W. Gibb Memorial'. Volume XVII, Leyden & London, 1911.

² The *Kashf al-Mahjūb*, etc., New Edition. By Reynold A. Nicholson, etc., London, Luzac & Co., 1936.

³ Index II, Subjects, Oriental Words and Technical Terms.

⁴ The English equivalents of which are given in the text of the translation and could in future serve as a starting point for fixing in English the true meanings of Šūfī terms.

⁵ There must have existed an earlier translation of which the one under discussion seems to be entirely independent, cf. for that also note 4 on next page.

⁶ مقدمہ تاریخ تصوف مع حالات پیر علی مخدوم مجبوری مصنف کتاب کشف المحجوب.

⁷ vide preceding note.

⁸ سب سے پہلے کون شخص صوفی کہلایا.

⁹ علم تصوف کیا ہے اور صوفی کسکو کہتے ہیں.

¹⁰ مسئلہ وحدۃ الوجود.

sixth and the last contains a biography of the author of the *Kashfu-l-Mahjūb*.¹

In one passage² in the general part of the introduction *Jāmi's Nafahātu-l-Uns* is referred to, but otherwise no sources are mentioned, beyond 'some historians',³ according to whom *Jullābī* is supposed to have been born on the 10th of *Rabī'u-l-Awwal* of the year 400 A.H. He is also alleged to be both a *Hasanī* and *Husaynī sayyid*.

Another Urdu translation by *Mawlānā Shamsu-l-Hind İzadī*, who styles himself '*Sūfi-yi ma'navī*', was published in 1346 A.H. (=1927 A.D.)⁴ at Lahore.⁵ This translation seems to be, as one might expect, independent of the just mentioned rendering by Moulvi *Zahīr*. The full title (on the cover) of this publication runs: کشف المحجوب اردو مع فقیر نامہ مشہور بہ کشف الاسرار تصنیف لطیف حضرت اقدس برگزیدہ زمان قلب دوران جناب فیضاب شیخ مخدوم علی مجہوری معروف بہ دانا گنج بخش نم لاہوری. On the inside title-page is added the information: مع مختصر سوانح عمری (sic.) حضرت دانا گنج بخش رحمۃ اللہ علیہ. The book contains, in fact, not only an Urdu translation of the *Kashfu-l-Mahjūb*, but also a translation of the small pamphlet known as *Kashfu-l-Asrār* alias *Faqīr-nāma*, attributed (wrongly, in my opinion) to the pen of *Jullābī*.⁶

¹ شمعہ مختصر حالات حضرت سید علی مجہوری.

² p. 4, l. 19.

³ بعض مورخین p. 20, l. 14.

⁴ Unless, of course, which is more than probable, it should prove to be a mere reprint of some earlier publication: the learned compiler of the 'Catalogue of the Persian Mss. in the collection of the Asiatic Society of Bengal', which appeared in 1924, mentions, in fact (p. 552, under No. 1149), 'also a Hindustani translation', without, however, any indication as to the date or place of its publication. So far, I have been unable to trace that seemingly earlier translation of the *Kashfu-l-Mahjūb*: the translation of *Zahīrī* just described cannot be meant, as it appeared a year after the publication of the 'Catalogue'.

⁵ By the same publishers as the 'Bhawal Press' edition (of '1903') and the later 1923 edition of the Persian original, v.s. pp. 317-318.

⁶ The little tract has a pagination of its own (pp. 1-16) and is preceded by a brief foreword (دباجہ) in Urdu, and, without any apparent reason or connexion by an Arabic *qasida* said to be by the Fourth Imām *Zaynu-l-'Abīdīn*. The Urdu *Kashfu-l-Asrār* seems to have been at first printed separately (copies of it can be obtained) and later included under the same cover with the translation of the *Kashfu-l-Mahjūb*. The original tract in Persian seems to have been published three times at least, as may be seen from *Arberry's* (v.s. p. 315) mention of it. *Edwards* (v.s. p. 315) mentions only the earliest of the three editions and commits the mistake of labelling it 'stories and sayings of Sūfi saints, from the *Kashfu-l-Mahjūb*'. Following in his steps, *Arberry* calls it 'selected passages from the preceding (i.e. from the *Kashfu-l-Mahjūb*)'. A cursory perusal

There is no scarcity of manuscripts of the *Kashfu-l-Mahjüb*, although Zhukovsky is, on the whole, right when saying¹ that 'generally speaking, they are not very common'. Since then,² however, a few more manuscripts of the work have come to light.³ More to the point, even now, is his remark⁴ that 'the existing manuscripts are mostly not very old'.

Taken in the chronological order they are as follows:—

1. The Vienna⁵ Ms., supposed to belong to the IX c. A.H. = XV c. A.D.
2. The Paris⁶ Ms., supposed to belong to the IX c. A.H. = XV c. A.D.
3. The Bodleian⁷ Ms., dated 905 A.H. = 1500 A.D.
4. The St Petersburg University⁸ Ms., dated 1011 A.H. = 1602 A.D.
5. The British Museum⁹ Ms., dated 1019 A.H. = 1610 A.D.
6. The India Office Ms. No. 1773,¹⁰ dated 1019 A.H. = 1611 A.D.
7. The Tashkent¹¹ Ms., dated 1046 A.H. = 1646 A.D.
8. The RASB.¹² Ms., dated 1092 A.H. = 1681 A.D.
9. The India Office Ms. No. 1774,¹³ dated 1095 A.H. = 1684 A.D.
10. The Berlin¹⁴ Ms., supposed to belong to the XVII c. A.D.

of its first pages shows, however, that it is nothing of the kind. It is an entirely independent *risāla* attributed in its first lines to the author of the *Kashfu-l-Mahjüb*, and mentioning the latter work as completed some short time before. Yet, neither the contents, nor the style and language do in any way justify that pretension. I am inclined to consider it as a very recent forgery, probably contemporaneous with the earliest Indian edition of the *Kashfu-l-Mahjüb*. Needless to say that no mention of such a work under the name of our author is made by *Haji Halfa*.

¹ p. 53 of his (Russian) Introduction.

² 1905, when he was completing the above Introduction, as stated by himself therein on p. 56.

³ As, for instance, those in the collections of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, see below.

⁴ *ibid.*

⁵ Flügel's Catalogue, No. 334. This is the Ms. edited by Zhukovsky, *v.s.* p. 319.

⁶ In the Bibliothèque Nationale, described by Blochet (Vol. I, p. 261) under No. 401.

⁷ Described by Ethé under No. 1245.

⁸ Used by Zhukovsky for his edition, *v.s.* pp. 319-320.

⁹ No. Or. 219, described by Rieu on p. 343 of his Catalogue. Used by R. A. Nicholson for his translation.

¹⁰ In Ethé's Catalogue, used by R. A. Nicholson for his translation.

¹¹ Described in Kahl's Catalogue, *v.s.* p. 320 and footnote.

¹² No. 1149 in the Society's Collection.

¹³ Of Ethé's Catalogue, used by R. A. Nicholson for his translation.

¹⁴ Described by Pertsch under No. 247.

11. The Paris¹ Ms., supposed to belong to the XVII c. A.D.
12. The RASB.² Ms., supposed to belong to the XVIII c. A.D.
13. The RASB.³ Ms., supposed to belong to the XVIII c. A.D.
14. The RASB.⁴ Ms., supposed to belong to the end of the XVIII c. A.D.
15. The RASB.⁵ Ms., dated 1245 A.H. = 1829 A.D.
16. The St. Petersburg⁶ Ms., undated.
17. The Samarqand⁷ Ms., undated.
18. The India Office Ms. No. 1776,⁸ undated.
19. The India Office Ms. No. 1777,⁹ undated.
20. The India Office Ms. No. 1778,¹⁰ undated.

To the above may be added a Ms. dated 1288 A.H. = 1871 A.D., said to have been copied from a somewhat older Ms., bearing the date 1222 A.H. = 1807 A.D., in the valuable Habibganj Library.¹¹ There may be quite a few more Mss. scattered in other private libraries in India, Persia and Afghanistan.

It will be seen from this list that out of the total number of the existing manuscripts only three can boast of any antiquity, viz. the Vienna, the Paris and the Bodleian Mss. That antiquity is again only comparative, the earliest of these manuscripts having been written some four centuries after the author's death.

After these somewhat lengthy, but necessary, explanations, in which we have tried to summarize what is known about the *Kashfu-l-Mahjüb*, we must turn our attention to the untranslated¹² part of Zhukovsky's Introduction to his edition.

Being chiefly concerned with Jullābī's¹³ language and style, we may leave aside the enumeration of his (unfortunately lost) other works, the long list of Jullābī's sources and

¹ In the Bibliothèque Nationale, described in Blochet's Catalogue (Vol. I, p. 261) under No. 402.

² No. 1150 in the Society's Collection.

³ No. 1151 in the Society's Collection.

⁴ No. 403 in the Curzon Collection.

⁵ No. 1152 in the Society's Collection.

⁶ In the Library of the School of Oriental Languages, described by Rosen in Vol. III, p. 291, of his Catalogue, v.s. p. 320.

⁷ v.s. p. 320.

⁸ Of Ethé's Catalogue.

⁹ *ibid.*

¹⁰ *ibid.*

¹¹ The valuable private library of the Hon'ble Nawwab Sadr Yar Jang Mawlana Habibur-Rahman Shirwani of Habibganj, which I had already the occasion to mention elsewhere, see for that JASB., Vol. I, 1935, p. 74.

¹² see note on p. 475, ll. 20-22 of S. Jerrold's translation.

¹³ In the present sketch I have adopted the *nisba* Jullābī not because Zhukovsky had done so, but because both 'Attār in his

their exhaustive discussion by Zhukovsky, as well as the comparative list of passages in the *Kashfu-l-Mahjūb* and in 'Attār's *Tazkiratu-l-Awliyā*, showing 'Attār's borrowings from Jullābī, as given by Zhukovsky in the untranslated¹ part of his Introduction.

Having, however, (to quote once more the note prefixed to Sidney Jerrold's translation by E.D.R.²) 'the text before us', the present writer made up his mind to translate literally all what Zhukovsky has to say on the language of the *Kashfu-l-Mahjūb*, marking in footnotes the individual cases, where he found it impossible to share the view of the great savant. Zhukovsky, however, quotes the expressions and words discussed from his own Edition. As these quotations would be of very little value to the reader, I decided to give, along with Zhukovsky's page and line, the page and

Tazkiratu-l-Awliyā and Jāmī in the *Nafahātu-l-Uns* do not give him the *nisba* *Hujviri*, which Nicholson uses all through in his translation of the *Kashfu-l-Mahjūb*, but not in his remark regarding 'Attār's mention of him (*Tazkiratu-l-Awliyā*, Nicholson's edition, Second Part, p. 27).—It is true that Dārāshukūh calls him, in his notice,

و جلاب و هجور, حضرت پیر علی هجوری

دو علمه است از علمات شهر غزنین که انتقال کرده اند از یکی بدیگری. Now, یکی is certainly *Jullāb*, and دیگری *Hujvīr*. He is called on the title-page of the

Samarqand edition الجلابی الزنوی. But the most convincing proof it would seem to me, is the way in which he refers to himself at the

very beginning of his book, on p. 2, l. 6: قال علی بن عثمان بن علی الجلابی.

الزنوی ثم الهجوری. This statement seems to me to incorporate four

distinct features: (1) that he was born and lived for some time in *Jullāb* which was a quarter of Ghazna or a suburb of Ghazna; (2) that he later

(ثم) transferred his residence to *Hujvīr*, which did not constitute a part of Ghazna in any way (otherwise, he would have placed the words

الزنوی ثم الهجوری before, not after, the *nisba* الزنوی; (3) that Dārāshukūh

is wrong in saying (*v.s.*) that *Jullāb* and *Hujvīr* were both quarters of *Ghaznīn*; and (4) that Samy-Bey (*v.s.* note 2 on p. 317) is right in his statement (whatever his source might have been) that '*Hujvīr* is a village in the neighbourhood of Ghazna'.—A *nisba* is generally given to a man from his birthplace, not from places where he might have later resided, however, long. Therefore, the author of the *Kashfu-l-Mahjūb* is to be called always *Jullābī*, not *Hujviri*, nor *Lahūri* (although he died and was buried at Lahore, and probably wrote a great part of his book in that place). Besides all that, he severally refers to

himself throughout the book as من که علی بن عثمان الجلابی ام.

¹ *v. s.* note 12 on preceding page.

² *v. s.* note 1 on this page.

line¹ of the Lahore edition of 1923 (= 1342 A.H.), as the most accessible, which involved collating first page by page the critical Edition with my copy of the said Lahore edition and marking in it the beginning of every page in Zhukovsky's text.

Before proceeding with the enumeration of the peculiarities of Jullābī's style and language, Zhukovsky stresses the point² that the Ms. used by him for his Edition is the oldest known,³ and which had, quite obviously, been copied from, and collated with, another Ms. still much older, and that it, therefore, 'contains examples of rare Persian words and expressions, as well as etymological and syntactical peculiarities'; that 'in more modern manuscripts, as time goes on, these rare words and peculiarities little by little disappear and are replaced by the successive copyists with more and more modern expressions'.⁴ His conclusion is that the original text might have contained, in the same way, even a greater number of archaic expressions than the old Vienna manuscript of the IX c. A.H. used by him for his Edition.⁵ After dealing with the peculiarities in question, we shall see whether we can unreservedly subscribe to the views of the great savant in that respect.

Examples of the peculiarities noticed by Zhukovsky in the text of the Vienna Ms. of the *Kashfu-l-Mahjūb* are recorded by him as follows:⁶

1. Peculiarities in spelling and alternations of sounds :

(Which can only occur in the oldest Codices). ک and ه in composition with other words often lose the final *hā-i havvaz*. Thus: ازانک، چنانک، بدانک، آنک، آج.

ک, in whatever meaning, is often written کی.

هيج چير is used along with هيج چير.

نی " " " " نه.

می " " " " می.

Instead of the spelling تلخ, one encounters the spelling طخ [56, 15], but (L 37, 3) has, as one might have expected, the normal spelling تلخ.

¹ I enclose in what follows the page and line of the critical Edition in square brackets [], and the page and line, preceded by the letter L, of the Lahore edition in round brackets ().

² Introduction, p. 40.

³ The Vienna Ms., v.s. p. 320 and note on the same page.

⁴ v.s. note 2.

⁵ *ibid.*

⁶ Page and line being given according to his Edition of that manuscript.

Instead of ترکیدن - طریقیدن [121, 10], but (L 78, 14) has تریقیدن, which is a variant given by Zh. from his Ms. D¹.

Instead of اندر آنجا and از آنجا the Vienna Ms. has everywhere the spellings اندرنجا and از نجا.²

د³ after short vowels is not always used.⁴

The substitution of ب for و, and, conversely, of ف for ب, occurs in the following passages⁵:

نوشتن [458, 2], but [L 276, 6] has the usual نوشتن.

نوشت [233, 10], [267, 9] = (L 146, 17) and (L 166, 19), as usual نوشت.

برزیدن [51, 19; 441, 6, 9] = (L 39, 4; 266, 14, 16), where we find the usual spelling ورزیدن.

ناورزیدن [71, 9] = (L 46, 9), where we find ناورزیدن.⁶

برزش [14, 16; 19, 1]⁷ = (L 10, 10; 12, 17).⁸

برزگر [14, 1] = (L 9, 23).⁹

¹ v.s. p. 320.

² Which has not been preserved in the Edition. To me it would seem rather more probable, that such a misspelling stands instead of اندرنجا and از نجا, the contraction of the sound ɪ being fairly common in general, whilst the omission of a long *alif* would be rather surprising. No passages being indicated by Zh. in this instance, it is difficult to say definitely, which of the two surmises would prove to be the correct one.

³ i.e. instead of the ordinary د (*dāl-i muhmala*).

⁴ In Zh. Edition it has therefore not been preserved.

⁵ The list does not seem to be meant as exhaustive: I take it as merely a few more salient examples of such substitutions of sounds (v.s. preceding page and note 2 on this page).

⁶ I have intentionally avoided calling it 'usual': the negative particle نا is normally used only in compound words, i.e. in combination with nouns and adjectives, e.g. ناگاه, ناکام, نامرد, نابکار, ناکس, ناگزیر etc., but it is only *admissible* to use it with the Infinitive and the Participles of verbs. In Standard Persian these latter combinations would be viewed with disfavour, but are very common in Tājiki (v. my 'Stray Notes on Kābuli Persian', pp. 39-40).

⁷ Zh. omits to record the case (58, 18) = (L 34, 8), where he also has برزش, but L ورزش.

⁸ In the first case L has the usual ورزش, but replaces it, in the second case, by پذیرش, which might be a lapse of the copyist.

⁹ Misled by the analogy, Zh. seems to have made here a mistake: the word is always spelt and pronounced برزگر, it is in that form that it also is found in L, and I have never heard, or seen in modern print (except in dictionaries), the form ورزگر.

سکوان [262, 2] = (L 163, 19).¹ But دربان [272, 4] = (L 169, 15) and ستوربان [272, 5].²

زبانہ [148, 12] = (L 95, 12), where we find the usual زبانہ.

زبان [214, 19] = (L 135, 4) „ „ „ „ „ زبان.

2. Peculiar grammatical forms and constructions:

(a) of nouns :

The use of the Plural termination ان for inanimate objects :

خران [150, 14] = (L 96, 20).³

اندوہان [220, 16, 17] = (L 138, 17, 18).⁴

درختان [287, 16] = (L 177, 18).

کنہان [380, 16]⁵ = (L 229, 17, 18).⁶

A Double Plural form :

لناتہا [398, 8] = (L 240, 11).⁷

An unusual Plural form in گبرکان : [360, 7] = (L 218, 2)⁸ (cf. E. Browne, 'Description of an old Persian commentary on the Kur'ân', JRAS., 1894, July, p. 433, and تاریخ بیهقی, Tehran edition of 1307 A.H., p. 388).⁹

A so far unknown form of Plural ممکن from مکی : 10

¹ L has, instead, an illiterate spelling سک بانى, obviously meant for سکبان.

² L (169, 15) replaces the word ستوربان by امیر.

³ Which is usual even in modern written language as well, although not in ordinary speech.

⁴ Here L has in both cases اندوہا.

⁵ Z h. omits mentioning here that the same form occurs again in the next line of his numeration.

⁶ L has in the first instance گوناہا, and in the second, same as Z h., گوناہان.

⁷ L has the Arabic plural form لنات.

⁸ Where L has an even more unusual گبریان (in modern speech, and even print, we would normally expect گبرها). I, personally, am not at all sure that the form in the V. Ms. should not be read گبرکان (Plural form گبرک or گبرہ, which both could be considered as pejorative forms of گبر).

⁹ Even these two supporting quotations fail to make me change my opinion.

¹⁰ Here I beg again to differ: the Plural of مکی may be ممکنان, but ممکن is certainly an unnecessary Plural formation from the simple مکه, which is in itself a kind of plurale tantum.

[308, 1] = (L 188, 9) ¹; [476, 17] = (L 287, 11) ²; along with
 ممکنان [17, 17]. Cf. Browne *ibid.*, 493 = (L 12, 2). ³

The oblique case particle را used with the nominative case:

... نصاری را و رهبانان را اندر شدت اجتہادشان اندر مشاهده اندی

[135, 2] = (L 87, 2). ⁴

ویرا اندر مجاہدت شانی عظیم داشت [199, 6] (cf. our ⁵ edition of
 the *Asrāru-t-tawhīd*, Preface, p. 7, and Nicholson's
 edition of the *Tagkiratu-l-Awliyā*, II, p. 9) ⁶ = (L
 125, 15).

¹ L has instead, as would be expected, the usual همه.

² L replaces it by ایشان, which is one of the variants given by Zh. in a footnote of the corresponding page.

³ L has, however, here as well, the more usual همه.

⁴ L drops in both cases the را and replaces the final unusual اندی by بودندی.

⁵ Zhukovsky's.—I feel myself compelled to disagree with the late Editor: the particle را cannot be used to denote a Nominative case. What actually happens is that the author begins the sentence in one construction and changes midway into another construction: the sentence beginning نصاری should end not as مشاهده اندی but as مشاهده شدی or some such like expression. The beginning of the sentence is constructed with a Dative case. That the mistake is not that of a copyist (as supposed by Nicholson (v. note 6 on this page), who says that he 'formerly regarded them as errors of the copyist', but the author's, becomes clear from the way in which later copyists tried to straighten the sentence out by omitting the را.—The reference to the *Asrāru-t-tawhīd* (which is slightly better as to its style than the *Kashfu-l-Mahjūb*) fails to convince me. As regards the *Tagkiratu-l-Awliyā*, we shall return elsewhere to the question of its style and reasons for which, it would seem, it was adopted.

⁶ In a footnote on the same page, Zh. points out, quite correctly, that the first of the examples (نقلست که مدتی احمد را آرزوی عبد الله مبارک) chosen by Nicholson (l.c.) is not quite to the point, احمد being a Dative case used in conjunction with آرزو کردن, an impersonal expression, meaning 'to have a longing'.—To make it clear, we may point out that آرزو کردن is all through the book used by Jullābī in the same sense as, say, درد کردن is used in ordinary colloquial: احمد را پایش درد میکرد 'to A. his foot gave pain'. The above cited sentence from the *Tagkiratu-l-Awliyā* could, in consequence, be roughly translated as: 'In Ahmad there was a longing, etc.'

The same particle *ra* occurs in combinations already preceded by a preposition in the following instances:

از برای ویرا [31, 15] = (L 21, 1).¹

از برای خدایرا [92, 15] = (L 67, 7)²; [452, 3] = (L 272, 22).³

بهر چیرا [390, 16] = (L 235, 21).⁴

از برای باطل را [392, 11] = (L 236, 19).⁵

از برای چیرا [441, 7] = (L 248, 9-10).⁶

از برای خداوند را [436, 19] = (L 293, 19).⁷

از برای هوای نفس را [437, 1] = (L 293, 19).⁸

از کاهل و مدد جمل را [148, 15]. Cf. BROWN, *o.c.* 434, our⁹ editions of the *Asrār-u-t-tawhīd*, p. 91 (ز چیرا), *Hālāt-u-Sukhanān*, Preface, p. 5; Nicholson, *l.c.*; the British Museum Ms. Or. 249,¹⁰ where on fol. 6 there occurs the expression از ترس خداوند را, and in Firdawsi's *Yūsif-u-Zalīkhā* (ed. by Ethé, Oxford, 1908), for instance, verse 965: از بهر یعقوب را. The same phenomenon occurs in the Iranian dialect of *Sada* (see my⁹ 'Materials for the Study of Persian Dialects',¹¹ II. 15, 19 and 21, 37) = (L 95, 14).¹²

Whenever a word having a *ya-i vahdat* appended to it is syntactically connected with the following word (*not an adjective*),¹³ the *izāfa* is dropped.¹⁴

¹ L has naturally از برای وی.

² L has not از برای الخ, but simply برای خدا.

³ In L: از برای خدای.

⁴ In L بهر is dropped.

⁵ L drops the را.

⁶ v. preceding note.

⁷ v. note 5.

⁸ v. note 5.

⁹ Zhukovsky's.

¹⁰ The Ms. bears no title and the name of the author is not mentioned. It contains the biographies of *Abū-Sa'īd b. Abī-l-Khayr* and of *Abū-l-Hasan Kharagānī*.

¹¹ In Russian, and, so far, not yet translated.

¹² L has this passage in the following form: گروهی از مترجمان مرا کاهل دهند و جمل را بدان احرار الخ.

¹³ The italics are Zhukovsky's not mine.

¹⁴ That peculiarity does not belong to the *Kashfu-l-Mahjūb* or its Vienna Ms., but is a peculiarity of the Persian language at large: how an unaccentuated *yā* could be followed in Persian by an *izāfa*, I cannot imagine. I, therefore, omit the several lines of examples cited by Zhukovsky in this place and proceed with the next paragraph of his Introduction.

The very frequent use of the Dative case in را, mostly indicating an aim, where in more modern language preference is given to the prepositions: در, به, برای etc.:

تا [36, 4] 'all that I said in order to ...'

= (L 22, 12-13)¹;

که [5, 20] 'this book I compiled so that ...'

= (L 5, 3).²

تا [53, 13] 'in the hope that ...' = (L 35, 7).³

که [66, 16] 'in that sense that ...' = (L 43, 8).⁴

ازین ده امام معروف مر تصوف را یکی وی بوده ست

ten imams known in the *taṣawwuf*, one was he ...'

= (L 85, 8-9).⁵

را [157, 9] 'for the honour of Islam, and the saving of bodies and the

satisfaction of God, exalted be He ...' = (L 100, 19-20).⁶

Arabic *maṣḍars* and participles, whether used singly or in combination with Persian auxiliary verbs, demand an oblique case:

نمود [42, 3] = (L 27, 16-17).⁷

ویرا [190, 10] = (L 120, 8).⁸

¹ L has این جمله برای آن گفتیم تا.

² L drops and replaces تا by که, thus: من این کتاب آنرا ساختم که.

³ L adds a که before تا, thus: امید آنرا که تا.

⁴ Here L fully coincides with the Edition.

⁵ The same in L with the exception of the verb at the end, which is وی بوده ست, — ویست.

⁶ L replaces مر by برای از, but has preserved the را, thus: از برای عز اسلام و نجات تنها و رضای خداوند را.

⁷ The را which is essential in the example is preserved in L, but the sentence appears here in a slightly modified form: و نسبت اضافت خلق. مر همه چیز را نمود.

⁸ L has او را instead of ویرا, but otherwise coincides with Zh.'s quotation, but his own text has بیضاورد (with vocalization as indicated) which would seem to point not to the well-known city of Bayzā, but to some other locality of the name of Bayzāvārd. Zh., however, corrects it later in his list of misprints into بیضاورد.

آن یکی حفظ بنده مر احکام ظاهر را بر خود و دیگر حفظ حق مر احوال
 باطن را بر بنده [499, 17] = (L 300, 16-17).¹

[63, 16] = (L 41, 9).²

مر حق را منکر شد [33, 6] = (L 21, 20).

[104, 14] = (L 68, 18).³

[190, 4] منکر نیند مر کمال فضل و صفاء حال و کثرت اجتهاد و ریاضت ویرا
 = (L 120, 4-6).⁴

[186, 16] = (L 118, 8-4).⁵

[304, 6] = (L 186, 9-10).⁶

Along with it and even in connection with the same words, we meet with prepositional constructions, for instance, منکر with به and بر:

[105, 9] = (L 69, 7).⁶

[125, 2] = (L 80, 17).

[190, 7] = (L 120, 6).

[542, 20] = (L 326, 6), etc.

A similar construction, where the oblique case is governed by a Persian word having the meaning of an Arabic participle is also met with:—

[7, 17] = (L 6, 6). خریدار کشته

[10, 8] = (L 7, 18).⁷ خریدار خود را

An extremely curious use of the combination ازان with a view to avoid repeating the same word:

¹ L inserts باشد between بنده and مر, آن before دیگر, but otherwise coincides in wording with the text of the Edition.

² L only differs by adding است to جامع.

³ L omits جلّ جلاله.

⁴ L has منکروی نیند, but has اورا instead of ویرا.

⁵ L has the more modern باشد, instead of بود.

⁶ The Edition has ایشان, but L has ایشان.

⁷ L coincides with the Edition, except that it has آمد instead of the final آمده.

ازان آنک [487, 14] = (L 293, 11).¹

ازان بده ... و ازان بده ...
[491, 8] = (L 295, 14-15).²

Comparative and superlative degrees formed from nouns:

هرکه نیکو خوتر وی صوفی تر [44, 6] = (L 29, 3-4).³

دوستر دوستان [59, 2] = (L 38, 15).⁴

زاهدتر از تو هرگز ندیم [104, 8] = (L 68, 11).

دوسترین زنان [318, 15] = (L 194, 19).

دشمنترین دشمنان [260, 15] = (L 162, 15).⁵

In the compound verb دوست داشتن 'to love, to like, to be fond of' very often stands in the comparative degree:

[466, 7] = (L 281, 8).

[515, 8] = (L 310, 15).

[546, 1] = (L 328, 5).

Degrees of comparison in nouns have been observed by us⁶ in ordinary modern speech as well, *e.g.* این ازان خوتر است. Cf. Browne *o.c.*, 434, Nicholson *o.c.*, II. 9, and in the *Asrār-i-tawhīd*, 468, 10: هزاربار مریذتر.

¹ L has, naturally, in both cases, آنک, and replaces از آن by the more intelligible میان.

² Here the expression ازان has been preserved even in L.

³ L has only, instead of نیکو خوتر تر - نیک خوتر, which offers a second example of the comparative degree formed from noun نیک خوتر being a noun derived from the adjective نیک. Here I may add that in Persian there does not exist such a strict distinction between nouns and adjectives, as we are used to see in Latin and Greek and in the Roman and some Germanic languages.

⁴ The Edition has دوستر دوستان ابوحامد مروزی بودست (with a variant given in the footnotes درست تر), but L has: دوسترین ابوحامد مروزی بوده است, which gives more sense and is more in accordance with the general theme of the chapter.

⁵ دشمنترین دشمنان is, in my opinion, good Persian, the more so as it is here a mere translation of the well-known Arabic saying ascribed to the Prophet اَعْدَىٰ عَدُوِّكَ نَفْسُكَ الَّتِي بَيْنَ جَنْبَيْكَ

⁶ They are very common, both in modern speech and print. cf. also note 3 on this page.

The comparative degree (even in its Arabic form) is constructed, as is generally usual, with كَ، از، for instance:

[21, 8] = (L 14, 8).¹

[24, 9] = (L 16, 9).²

[453, 18] = (L 273, 19).³

But there are cases where it occurs also with a simple *izāfa*:

مجهولتر همه قوم [109, 8] = (L 71, 7).⁴

این اعز آن [320, 10] = (L 195, 19).⁵

The final ت and د in words taking the comparative degree are dropped before the comparative degree termination:

مختتر [21, 8; 243, 14; 521, 9] = (L 14, 8; 152, 18; 314, 21).⁶

بلنتر [77, 15] = (L 50, 9).⁷

بتر [288, 8] = (L 177, 22).⁸

دوستتر [397, 17] = (L 240, 8).

دوستتر *passim*, although the full form is used as well:

دوستتر [453, 18] = (L 273, 19).

سستتر [468, 18] = (L 282, 19).

One cannot pass under silence the incomprehensible addition of the preposition به to adjectives used as adverbs:

¹ The Edition has: نزدیک فاسق دوستتر کی یک و اندر دوزخ خیمه زدن، whilst in L the passage runs: و اندر دوزخ خیمه زدن دوستتر، مسئله الخ، ازان بود بر فاسق که یک مسئله از علم بکار بست.

² Edition: فاضلتر است از فقر، L: فاضلتر کی فقر.

³ The passage runs: و سهل بن عبد الله رض گفت شکم پر از حر دوستتر، گوید، دارم که پر از طعام حلال، in L the pious formula is omitted and کفت substituted for گفت.

⁴ L, however, has مجهول از همه.

⁵ L has, however, این اعز ازان بود.

⁶ In all these cases L has مختتر.

⁷ The Edition has: و خود بر بامی بلندتر رفتند، whilst the wording in L is: و خود بر بام بلندتر از من بر شدند.

⁸ L has, of course, بدتر.

[241, 15] غنا مرحق را نامیست بسزا و فقر مر خلق نامیست بسزا.¹ = (L 16, 11).²

[303, 16] = (L 186, 5).³ و بدرست ولی اند

[418, 18] = (L 252, 17).⁴ وصال باشکارا کرد

[452, 11] = (L 273, 5).⁵ بناحوب

The Adverb in a sentence is often placed anywhere:

[252, 6] = (L—).⁶ عظیم کاری شکرست

The frequent use of verbal nouns (=the Infinitivus apocopatus)⁷ and abstract nouns derived from the Past Participle⁸:

[12, 5] = (L, 9, 1).⁹ شناخت آب

[18, 18] = (L 12, 16). پذیرفت شریعت

[29, 5] = (L 19, 9-10).¹⁰ کردارد امر

[46, 3] = (L 30, 6-7). یافتش را هرگز نیافت نباشد

[356, 4] = (L 215, 21-22). از گفت بی گفت شدم

[466, 7] = (L 281, 3).¹¹ گفت بی دید

¹ An obvious misprint: the sentence occurs [24, 14-15]. It runs there as follows: 14 غنامر 15 حق را نامیست بسزا و فقر مر خلق را نامیست بسزا.

² L has the same except that in both cases there stands نامی بسزاست. I must add here that, although بسزا is an adjective, سزا itself is a noun, and becomes an adjective only by the addition of the preposition به (or a prefix, as it may be). This example, therefore, does not answer the purpose.

³ L has also بدرست, which is strange, but must be attributed to the Persian illiteracy of the author (of which we shall speak later) and to the mechanical copying of the text by the successive scribes, whose Persian, probably, was of the same kind as that of the author's.

⁴ L has آشکارا.

⁵ See note 2 on this page.

⁶ L has not got a part of the sentence, the copyist having jumped over a phrase beginning پس آنچه to another beginning پس آن.

⁷ Which is in reality the stem of the Past Tense.

⁸ By means of a *yā-yi maṣdar*.

⁹ L has, however, شناختن.

¹⁰ L has از گذاردن امر او.

¹¹ L has دیدار instead of دید.

فرا گفتی آید [466, 11] = (L 281, 6).¹

داشت وی [477, 8] = (L 287, 17).²

کستی [147, 18] = (L 95, 2).

رسیدی [147, 17; 390, 18] = (L 94, 4; 235, 25).³

کذاشتی [254, 1] = (L 258, 20).

سیر خوردی [419, 18; 420, 1, 2] = (L 253, 10-11; 253, 11, 12).

Pronominal suffixes are added to nouns ending in a long vowel directly, without the usual connecting *yā* :

دستاهش [145, 16] = (L 93, 15).⁴

انتاهش [209, 16] = (L 132, 4).⁵

They occur in a similar combination with the conjunction *va* :

تاش بر کردند [466, 18] ⁶ = (L—).⁷

In two of the Mss. used for the Edition there occurs an example of the particle *ra* admitted after a pronominal suffix :

کرداندشان را [266, 18] ⁸ = (L 166, 12).⁹

Examples of a pleonastic use of pronominal suffixes occur in the following phrases : آنرا کی نامش از حق فقیرست اگرچه امیرست فقیر است [27, 15] = (L 18, 9-10).

کار مریدانی باشد کی ویرا از مکابره شہوت و موانست هوا باز ستاندش [102, 16] = (L 67, 15-16).¹⁰

¹ L has بگفتار آید.

² L has داشت حق, as also given in Edition as a variant occurring in another of the Mss. used by Zh. instead of داشت وی.

³ L has in the first instance رسیدن (which is also given as a variant in the Edition); but in the second instance رسیدگی.

⁴ L has دستاهش. I may add that دستاهش would be good colloquial Persian in modern speech.

⁵ L has انتاهش. v., for the rest, the preceding note.

⁶ The numeration in Zh. Introduction is not correct: the words occur in (466, 3-4).

⁷ In L the words گفت تاش بر کردند are altogether omitted.

⁸ Thus in the footnote, as variant, the text of the Edition has, however, no *ra* after کرداندشان.

⁹ L most unexpectedly has کرداندشان را.

¹⁰ L has مریدان, and بود instead of باشد.

Here we must not omit mentioning the use of دیگر یک instead of the simple یک:

باشد [234, 8] = (L 147, 17).¹

یکی مقیمان و دیگر یک مسافران [443, 2] = (L 263, 12).²

It is very characteristic that the subject, when in Plural, and the predicate, whenever the latter consists of a noun with a *verbum substantivum*, are made to agree:

علماء غافل آنان باشند که [19, 19] = (L 13, 8).

فقراء مداهنین آنان باشند کی [20, 7] = (L 13, 14).³

صوفیان آنانند که [42, 12] = (L 28, 2).

ما متحانیم [92, 12] = (L 61, 8).⁴

دوازده گروهند و ازان دو مردودند [164, 8] = (L 104, 22).

آنان کی کافراند [256, 16] = (L 160, 15).⁵

پس اولیا کواهانند [279, 19] = (L 173, 19).⁶

ایشان رسیدگانند [288, 10] = (L 178, 4).⁷

آنان کی محفوظانند [307, 6] = (L 187, 23).⁸

دوستترین کسان مستهلکانش و مقهوران
3-4).

پنج حواس سپاه سالاران علم و عقلند [415, 4] = (L 250, 17).⁹

این قوم کیانند [536, 18] = (L 322, 21).¹⁰

¹ L has دیگری, which in my opinion (the final *yā* being a *yā-yi vahdat*) is equivalent to دیگر یک.

² In L the یک is simply omitted.

³ L has, on the contrary: اما قراء مداهن آن باشد.

⁴ L has محتاجانیم, which changes the sense, but does not change the construction.

⁵ L same, but the spelling is کافراند.

⁶ L same, but the spelling is گواهان اند.

⁷ L has another wording, which, however, does not affect either sense or construction: ایشان رسیدگان باشند.

⁸ Here, however, L has the more usual آنانکه محفوظ اند.

⁹ L same, but the auxiliary verb is written separately: عقل اند.

¹⁰ L has گروه instead of قوم.

(b) In verbs:

The particle of continuity *ی* is often placed in the sentence anywhere, sometimes very far from the verbal form to which it belongs:

ننی وجود نمود [33, 15] = (L 22, 5).¹

ی طریق معاملت کنی [73, 18] = (L 47, 15).²

ی بهتر از وی طلب کردم [193, 18] = (L 122, 8).³

ورا ی انسان خوانند [248, 5] = (L 155, 11).⁴

عجمی را ی ریاضت عربی زبان کنند [253, 17] = (L 158, 18).⁵

ی مجاهدت بدان عمل رسانند [254, 1] = (L 158, 20).⁶

ی چندین آفت مبتلا دارد [264, 5] = (L 164, 22).⁷

The particle *ی* is equally used with the Imperative, the Future, the Perfect Tense and the Pluperfect:

ی مبین [76, 5] = (L 49, 10).⁸

برین قیاس میکن [283, 5] = (L 175, 10).⁹

ی خواهند بود [268, 18] = (L 147, 17).¹⁰

میخواهست دید [301, 10] = (L 185, 5).¹¹

ی بسته‌اند [408, 5] = (L 246, 15).¹²

ی زده بودند [536, 12] = (L 322, 17).¹³

With the Pluperfect even the *yā-yi hikāyat* is used:

ی جرمی کرده شده بودی [57, 3] = (L—).¹⁴

ی پیش نهاده بودی [460, 18] = (L 277, 18).¹⁵

¹ L has ننی وجود ی نمود.

² L, however, has instead: اگر دعوی ملامت میکنی.

³ L has بهتر از وی طلب میکردم.

⁴ L has ویرا انسان میخوانند.

⁵ L has the particle prefixed to the verbal form: میکنند.

⁶ In L the text is slightly corrupt: مجاهده بدان عمل رسانند.

⁷ L omits the ی.

⁸ L omits the ی.

⁹ see the preceding footnote.

¹⁰ see the preceding footnotes.

¹¹ L has exactly the same wording, and I cannot see how it could have been expressed otherwise.

¹² L has ی.

¹³ L omits the ی.

¹⁴ L omits the whole sentence here quoted.

¹⁵ L has اندر پیش نهادی.

The presence of the particle *می* or *می* does not exclude the possibility of using at the same time the *yā-yi hikāyat* :

می یافتی [76, 16] = (L 49, 17).¹

می بودی [76, 17] = (L 49, 17).

می بودی [150, 5] = (L 96, 14).²

می خواندی [447, 8] = (L 269, 19).

می میکردی [447, 4] = (L 269, 19).³

می نمودندی [511, 2] = (L 308, 1).

In verbal forms the particle *می* may stand before the negative particle, and, in verbs compounded with prepositions, before the preposition:

می نیاری [12, 17] = (L 9, 9).⁴

می ندهید [31, 19] = (L 21, 8).

می نه بند [43, 18] = (L 28, 17).

می ننکرست [403, 17] = (L 244, 1).⁵

می برکشی [59, 5] = (L 38, 17).⁶

می برخیزد [248, 6] = (L 155, 11).⁷

The particles *می* and *می* can stand along with the particle

8

می بشناسیم [7, 20] = (L 6, 8).

می بیاید [193, 12] = (L 122, 4).⁹

*می بستند*¹⁰ [408, 4] = (L 246, 15).¹¹

می بدارید [475, 10] = (L 286, 14).¹²

می بسام [519, 10] = (L 313, 16).¹³

¹ L omits the *می*.

² See the preceding note.

³ See note 1.

⁴ L omits the *می*, and changes the verb *عمل نکنی*, like in one of the variants cited in the Edition.

⁵ In L the *negative* particle is omitted.

⁶ L omits the *می* and uses the Past Tense *چرا برکشیدی*.

⁷ L drops the *می*.

⁸ The sense of it being just the opposite of the particle *می* (or *می*): continuity versus finiteness.

⁹ L omits the particle *به*: *میاید*.

¹⁰ This is an obvious misprint: the text of the Edition has *می بستند*.

¹¹ L has *می بستند*.

¹² L drops the particle *به* and changes to the 3rd person: *میدارند*.

¹³ L drops both the particle *می* and the particle *به*: *سام*.

The particle ^٢باید, which sometimes is pronounced ^١باید (باید), [144, 14] = (L 74, 16)¹, can be tacked on before a negative particle of a verbal form:

بنتوان [222, 11] = (L 139, 19).²

بنکرد [333, 4] = (L 202, 21).³

بنفتد [407, 8] = (L 246, 4).⁴

بنخورد و به خفت [417, 15] = (L 252, 6).⁵

بنکشت [487, 2] = (L 293, 2).⁶

بنمود [545, 1] = (L 327, 14).⁷

The particle ^٣باید occurs before the Infinitive and the Past Participle of verbs as well:

دست بداشتن [71, 9; 243, 15] = (L 46, 9; 152, 15).

بدانستن [34, 3] = (L 22, 10).⁸

بفروخته [172, 14] = (L 109, 14).⁹

بشولیده [546, 2] = (L 328, 6).

بشده [494, 2] = (L 297, 6).

ببود [401, 8] = (L 302, 1) (cf. Firdawsī, Y. & Z., 886 and *Asrāru-t-tawhīd*, p. 8, Intr.) also in forms containing the *yā-yi hikāyat*:

بایستادی [282, 17] = (L 175, 7).

برفتی [282, 17] = (L 175, 7).

بستدی [417, 14] = (L 252, 6).

بیامدندی [511, 1] = (L 307, 17).

¹ L has simply باید.

² L omits the particle and has simply نتوان.

³ L has another verb altogether, without بنیدارد: بنیدارد.

⁴ L has simply نفتد.

⁵ L has only the negative particle.

⁶ L reverses the order of the two particles, which is equally un-Persian: نه بکشت.

⁷ L has only the negative particle.

⁸ L omits the particle: دانستن.

⁹ L omits the particle: فروخته.

The negative particle نه (with the Infinitive also نا):

(نا طلبیدن [47, 20] = (L 31, 9).

نا کردن [48, 1] = (L 31, 9).

نا خفتن [459, 5] = (L 276, 22).

نا گفتن [466, 7] = (L 281, 8)).

stands sometimes quite far from the verbal form to which it belongs:

هیچ چیزی ندیدم که نه حق را اندران بدیدم [112, 1] = (L 73, 1).¹

اگر نه دعوت طبع و ضلالت عقل بر شما مسلطی [115, 11] = (L 75, 7).²

کی وی نه بخداوند تعالی جاهل بود [176, 17] = (L 111, 19).³

هیچ کس نیست کی نه شیطان و پرا غلبه کرد دست [262, 18] = (L 164, 5).⁴

(Cf. in the *Ta'rikh-i-Guzida*, Gibb Memorial Series XIV, I, p. 769: 'اگر نه شهوت بودی غفلت بر خلق ظفر نیافتی').

The omission of the personal termination in all, except one, verbs of the same form, standing next to, or near by, each other in a sentence (v. Short grammar of Modern Persian by Salemann & Zhukovsky, p. 44,⁵ and cf. Nicholson, o.c., II, 10).

The examples of such omission are ever so many:

طبع را از ادراک معانی برداختند و حدیث حق بینداخت [65, 15] = (L 42, 13-14).

می خوردند و پوست بر سر من می انداخت [77, 18] = (L 50, 10-11).⁶

ر میدند و بایستهای خود نهفت و بستند و پاسبان بر گاشت [93, 19] = (L 62, 2).⁷

¹ L has اندران ندیدم که حق را اندران بدیدم

² L has می خوردند instead of مسلطی, but otherwise its wording fully coincides with that of the Edition.

³ L fully coincides with the Edition, except the spelling of the initial ک, which is spelt in the usual manner.

⁴ L fully coincides with the Edition, except that هیچکس is written in one word, and کرده است in two.

⁵ Quoted from the Russian edition of 1890, which is a translation by the joint authors themselves of 'Persische Grammatik mit Litteratur, Chrestomathie und Glossar', von Carl Salemann und Valentin Shukovski, Porta linguarum orientalium, Berlin, 1889, 8° min. Unfortunately, I have not got to hand that little book to give the parallel quotation from the original.

⁶ L has می انداختند.

⁷ L has all in ordinary Plural: نهفتند, بستند, بر گاشتند.

= [218, 4] اندران شهر راه یافته اند و صورت این طریق را قبیح گردانیده
(L 137, 5-6).¹

[227, 18] = (L 143, 10).² توبه کردم و باز کشت

[240, 10]³ نامت از دیوان سعدا پاک کردیم و در دیوان اشقیا ثبت کرد
= (L 151, 13-14).⁴

[252, 18] جملة محققان مجاهدت اثبات کرده اند و آنرا اسباب مشاهدت گفته
= (L 158, 3-4).⁵

[300, 15] من نهمت از راه توکل برداشته ام و آن را از وحشت حرص نگاه داشته
= (L 184, 18).

[303, 6] = (L 185, 20-21) نقلان حمد کتب ساخته اند و بسیاری جمع کرده

[304, 10] = (L 186, 12).⁶ آن گروه رسیده اند و یافته و بفرمان دعوت باز آمده

آنانکه از رنج مجاهدت رسته باشند و بسته و برسیده و
[312, 18] = (L 191, 6-7) بدیده و بشنیده الخ

[333, 9] = (L 203, 1-2).⁷ کتابی ساخته ام و نام نهاده

[333, 14] = (L 203 4-5).⁸ آلت اظهار الحاد خود ساخته اند و نهان کرده

[354, 16] = (L 215, 5-6).⁹ عاجز شدیم و از همه باز ماند

[413, 11] = (L 249, 18).¹⁰ چون طعام پیش آوردندی بخوردی

[484, 17] = (L 291, 21).¹¹ طرفی از مقامات بیان کرده ام و میان حال و مقام فرقی کرده

[517, 14] = (L 312, 14).¹² گفته اند و شنیده

¹ L has after گردانیده.

² L has باز گشتم.

³ An obvious misprint: the sentence occurs [241, 10-11].

⁴ L has in Singular کردم پاک and نبشتم (instead of کرد ثبت کرد).

⁵ L has the last verb in the usual form گفته اند.

⁶ L has at the beginning ایشان instead of آن گروه.

⁷ L has نام نهاده instead of نام کرده شد.

⁸ L omits even the اند after ساخته.

⁹ L has باز ماندیم.

¹⁰ L has .. بخوردندی.

¹¹ L has نام نهاده instead of the final کرده.

¹² L has شنیده اند.

دیدى ديدى [525, 14] = (L 317, 18).¹

[535, 18] = کرايت داشته اند و پرهيز کرده و غلو نموده
(L 322, 8).²

An unusual way of expressing the Subjunctive Mood by forms of the Past Tense with a final *yā* tacked on³ (cf. our⁴ edition of the *Asrāru-t-tawhīd*, Introduction, p. 7)⁵ (there also occurs in a passage, if it is not a mere error made by the copyist of the V. Ms., that, instead of the Subjunctive Mood, as would be expected, simple Future Tense is used):

چون خواهد کى خواهد نهاد [208, 17] = (L 131, 14).⁶

[92, 12-13] = (L 61, 5).⁷ چيزى معلوم نداشتيم که بتو فرستاديم

نيامده اند کى نکرستندى و بخريدندى و يکريدندى
[105, 10-13] = (L 69, 8-10).⁸ برسيدندى و بيريدندى

[149, 6] = (L 96, 1). اهل نيافت تا نشر کردى

[242, 1] = (L 151, 21). پيوسته من دوست داشتمى که کرسنه بودى و نصيب خود بديگر دادى

[271, 4] = (L 169, 8). بايستى تا همه مؤمنانرا کرامت بودى

[271, 9] = (L 169, 6). بايستى تا پيغامبر را بودى

[310, 1] = (L 189, 16).⁹ پيش از آنکه بزمين آمدى

¹ L has مزمار instead of مزامير, and ديدندى instead of دیدى.

² L has instead of it: کرايت داشته اند و مريدانرا حذر فرموده اند و خود پرهيز کرده اندران غلو نموده اند.

³ Which seems to be, as far as I can see, a *yā-yi (sharṭ-u-) jazā*, with the *yā-yi sharṭ* omitted in the protasis, and the *yā-yi jazā* preserved in the apodosis.

⁴ Zhukovsky's.

⁵ My own copy of the *Asrāru-t-tawhīd* being irretrievably lost, and copies of it being unavailable in the Calcutta libraries, I am unable to say to what this quotation refers. It may be added, by the way, that a reprint of Zhukovsky's Edition has been published recently in Tehran, but I have not seen it.

⁶ The sentence in the Edition runs: چون حق تعالى خواهد کى عوان بچه را: تاج کرامت بر سر خواهد نهاد. In L, however, the wording is as follows: چون حق تعالى خواهد تا عوان بچه را تاج و مملکت دهد, which seems to be less corrupt than the passage in the Edition.

⁷ L has چيزى معلوم نداشتيم که بتو فرستاديم.

⁸ L omits نيامده اند and has all the other verbs of the sentence in Participle form: نکرسته, خريده, برگزيده, رسيده, بريده.

⁹ L has مى آمدند and آنکه.

عَاج نَبود تا بوده کشتی [360, 19] = (L 218, 10).¹

خوردندی تا بَرِستندی [420, 6] = (L 253, 16).²

نزدیک بود که دین برمن تباه شدی [476, 6] = (L 287, 4).³

The *yā* of 'condition and consequence' (*yā-yi shart-u-jazā*) used in connection with forms of the Aorist and of the *verbum substantivum*, and with the 2nd Person of the Past Tense (cf. *Asrāru-t-tawhīd*, p. 7 of the Introduction⁴; Browne, *o.c.*, p. 435, and Nicholson, *o.c.*, pp. 7-8):

اگر دین کربان گیر ایشان کرددی تصوف بهتر ازین کنندى و بدارندى

کنندى ننکردى و [17, 12-16] = (L 11, 22-12, 1).⁵

اگر نه آنستى ازشان این نکشدى [78, 2-3] = (L 50, 11-12).⁶

اگر نه رعوت طبع و ضلالت عقل بر شما مسلطى سخن ازین سنجیده تر کویدى [115, 11] = (L 75, 7).⁷

[131, 17] = اگر بقاضى الحاجات عالمى از چون خويشتنى حاجت نخواهدى (L 84, 18).⁸

[135, 1] = اگر بعمل بى علم بدو راه باشدى نصارى را . . . اندر مشاهده اندى = (L 87, 3).⁹

[138, 1] = (L 89, 2-3).¹⁰ اگر اندر دوزخ . . . مکاشفندى . . . یاد نیامدى

[189, 8] = (L 119, 13).¹¹ اگر بحقیقت بشناسدى ازین سرای فانی بکسلى

¹ L omits the words تا بوده کشتی.

² L has خوردند تا بَرِستندى.

³ L has: شدى instead of شرد.

⁴ See footnote 5, p. 344.

⁵ The text in L seems to have been somewhat corrupted by the copyist in his effort to straighten out some of the forms unfamiliar to

him. It has anyhow, at the beginning: اگر دین گریبان ایشان گیرندى تصرف

کنندى، ننکردندى، ندادندى، and further: بهتر ازین کنندى.

⁶ L has کشیدى.

⁷ L has (as already pointed out in footnote 2, p. 342. مسلط بودى instead of گویندى، and سنجیده تر instead of مخته تر؛ مسلطى instead of کویدى.

⁸ L has وابستى instead of عالمى، and نخواهدى instead of نخواهدى.

⁹ L has نصارى instead of باشدى، فانی instead of بعمل، عمل instead of اندى، and بودندى instead of نصارى را.

¹⁰ L has یاد نیامدى and مکاشف بودندى.

¹¹ L has بکسلى، omits فانی and has بشناختى.

-¹ (L 142, 6) = [225, 17] اگر دوام آن روا نباشدی نه محب محب باشدی
² (L 145, 14) = [231, 10] اگر بینندی برهندی
 (L 162, 10-11) = [259, 19] اگر من با ایشان نباشی ... مغرور شونی
³ (L 213, 22) = [352, 10] اگر عجب صورت گیردی آنجا بایدی کی
 (L 226, 17-18) = [375, 18-14] اگر کافران بدانندی ... نجات یابندی
 (L 226, 18-19) = [375, 14] اگر عاصیان بدانندی نجات یابندی و ... ظاهر شونی
⁴ (L 314, 8) = [520, 1] و اگر نیستی ایشان نکنندی
 و از روی جواز جایز باشدی که این هر یک اندر همه اعضا شایع باشدی
 (L 306, 11) = [509, 2]
 (L 317, 17) = [526, 10] اگر ... سماع کننددی از همه آفات آن برهندی
 (L 86, 12) = [134, 7] اگر خود را ندیدنی و همه عالم را بدیدنی

With the forms of the Aorist there also occurs the *yā* of *desire* (or 'optative' *yā*—تَمَنَّا) (after کاشکی):

- (L 318, 17) = [528, 10] کاشکی ما اِزین سماع سرسبر برهی
 (L 318, 19) = [528, 12] کاشکی برهدی (cf. examples from the *Tazkiratu-l-Awliyā*, Nicholson, o.c., 10).

Here we may add an example of a similar combination, which is, however, hard to explain:

- [115, 15] = من بخواب دیدم که قیامتسی و جمله خلق اندر حسابگاهندی
 (L 75, 9-10).¹⁰

¹ L drops in both cases the final *yā*, and has باشد and نباشد.

² L drops the اگر, and has simply بینندی برهندی.

³ The text in L coincides in everything with the Edition (except the spelling که instead of کی), but the د (*dāl*) in گیردی looks suspiciously like a و (*vāw*), which might be explained by the copyist failing to understand what he was writing.

⁴ L has شدندی instead of شونی.

⁵ L has another wording: اگر حلال نبودی ایشان نکرددی.

⁶ L has in both cases simply باشد.

⁷ L drops the superfluous *yā* in both cases.

⁸ L has برستی.

⁹ L has کاشکی برابر برهدی.

¹⁰ L drops the initial من; has قیامت است and اندر حسابگاه قایم اند.

A form of the Imperative, made more emphatic by means of adding an *alif* at the end:

مه ایستدا (corresponding to the Arabic فَلَاحِفْنَ) [227, 17] = (L 143, 12).¹

The formation of the simple Future by means of the ordinary Infinitive, instead of the infinitivus apocopatus:

ورا بخوام کشتن [411, 5] = (L 248, 8).²

Forms of the Past Tense, wherein the *verbum substantivum* stands before the Participle, and the negative is attached to the former (cf. A short Grammar of Modern Persian by Salemann and Zhukovsky, p. 54).³

پس گرفتاریست فتاده همیشه [30, 4] = (L 20, 1-2).⁴

ویرا اندر غیب کاری افتاده نیست [399, 11] = (L 241, 7).⁵

The use of apocopated Past Participles:

کرد از ناکرد اولتر داند [330, 3] = (L 201, 10).⁷

داند ناکرد از کرد اولتر داند [330, 4] = (L 201, 10).⁸

همیشه بود [501, 9] = (L 302, 1).

The use of rare forms—3rd pers. Plur. of the Aorist and the Pluperfect from the verb بودن and imparting to it the meaning of 'to become', by prefixing to it the particle ب:

بود [27, 17; 76, 4; 261, 11; 369, 17; 386, 2; 452, 13] = (L 18, 11⁹; 49, 9⁹; 163, 11⁹; 223, 15⁹; 233, 8⁹; 273 6¹⁰).

بوده بود [132, 13; 194, 7; 318, 9; 417, 13] = (L 85, 7¹¹; 122, 13¹¹; 194, 15¹²; 252, 8¹²).

بوده بودند [318, 11] = (L 194, 16).¹³

¹ L has ایستد نه.

² L has این را instead of ورا and کشت.

³ v.s. footnote 5, p. 342.

⁴ L has: پس کاری فتاده میشکی.

⁵ The original has [499, 11], an obvious misprint.

⁶ L has نه افتاد است, which is also quite un-Persian.

⁷ L has in both cases the full Infinitive form.

⁸ v. preceding note. Here the final داند is omitted.

⁹ L has باشند.

¹⁰ L has بود.

¹¹ L has بوده.

¹² L has بود.

¹³ L has simply بودند.

سديک خاطر ببود [502, 10] = (L 302, 10).¹

نبوده و پس ببود [501, 8] = (L 302, 1).

The formation of the Passive by means of the verb آمدن :

داشته آيد [89, 11] = (L 58, 19).

گفته آمده است [174, 5]² = (L 110, 9).

In the case of a verb compounded with an Arabic *masdar* it is admissible to complement the latter by a whole sentence:

طلب قوتی که ازان چاره نیست میکنم [286, 15-16] = (L 177, 7).³

Finally, we may mention an incomprehensible form گفتا, which has been preserved by us⁴ in the text:

دو پير بودند يکي مسعود نام و يکي شيخ ابوعلی سياه گفتا [418, 8] = (L 252, 10).⁵

(c) In Prepositions and Adverbs.

Prepositions can be omitted, the examples of such omission, are, however, few:

جائی خفته باشد [297, 9] = (L 182, 18).

The Preposition بی is very often accompanied by the complementary Preposition از (cf. Browne, o.c., 439):

بی از آنکه [4, 7, 8-9; 126, 15; 168, 7 2; 225, 8; 365, 9, 15; 418, 9] = (L 4, 5, 6 8; 81, 18; 106, 22 9; 141, 12; 221, 8, 7; 252, 14).

¹ L omits ببود.

² The original has [184, 5], which is an obvious misprint.

³ In L the wording is: طلب قوتی میکنم که ازان چاره نیست.

⁴ Zhukovsky.

⁵ L has گفتندی, which does not make the matter clearer. That latter form is also recorded by Zh. as a variant in a footnote on the respective page. Out of curiosity, I looked up the passage in the Samarqand edition (p. 391, 8-9), where, however, no form of the verb گفتن is found, and where the text runs: در مرو دو پير بود يکي مسعود نام و يکي شيخ ابوعلی سياه. رحمة الله عليهما مسعود بدو کس فرستاد که الخ.

⁶ I find it good Persian and, I think, the addition of any preposition where *place*, not *direction* is meant, would have made it unidiomatic.

⁷ The original has [165, 2], an obvious misprint.

⁸ In L 4, 6 the copyist has jumped over a whole line and added it afterwards in the margin. That marginal addition has, however, بی آنکه.

⁹ L has بی آنکه.

But also:

آنکه [225, 8; 327, 5] = (L 141, 16; 199, 18).

With the Arabic *بعد* *after*, the Preposition *از* is, on the contrary, placed before and an *izāfa* is used to connect that combination with what follows (by analogy with the Persian (از پس):

آن از بعد آن [144, 9; 212, 12; 418, 19; 494, 4] = (L 92, 19; 133, 16; 1 252, 20; 297, 7²).

(آنکه) از بعد آنکه [81, 10; 82, 19; 99, 11; 175, 1; 339, 13; 383, 18; 546, 5] = (L 52, 19³; 54, 1³; 65, 12; 110, 19; 206, 15; 4 231, 14; 328, 9).

این از بعد این [325, 1] = (L 198, 18).

The Adverb *باز* *again* used as a Preposition (cf. Nicholson, *o.c.*, 13):

باز جای خود آمد [207, 1] = (L 130, 8).⁵

باز دنیا آید [344, 9] = (L 209, 7).⁶

رجوع شان باز آن مقام اصلی خود بود [484, 16] = (L 291, 20).⁷

The Preposition *با* *with*, used in the meaning of *to*, *in*:

با تون کر ما به اندر آمدم [77, 2] = (L 49, 20).⁸

با سر مقصود آمدم [251, 15-16] = (L 157, 13).⁹

با سر معاملات رویم [374, 3] = (L 225, 22).¹⁰

باز کردی با دنیا [389, 13] = (L 235, 7).¹¹

با سر معاصی نشود [461, 16] = (L 278, 10).¹²

¹ L has ازان.

² L has آن پس.

³ L omits بعد.

⁴ L has آنکه.

⁵ L has here (I should say, correctly, from the point of view of Standard Persian) *باز بجای خویش آمد*: in this case the verb denotes action, and direction is implied by it, whilst in the case discussed above (p. 348, footnote 6), the verb denotes state, and place is meant.

⁶ L has باز آید دنیا, cf. preceding note.

⁷ L has بدان instead of آن.

⁸ L has تون.

⁹ L has بر سر.

¹⁰ L has بر اسرار معاملات آیم.

¹¹ L has, of course, به دنیا.

¹² L has بر سر معاصی نروم.

A *yā* of indefiniteness (*yā-yi vaḥdat*) is admissible in connection with an Adjective used adverbially:

بر روی آب خوشی رفت [109, 5-6] = (L 71, 9).¹

* * * *

Here we may record some archaic or rare words and combinations, which may be useful from the point of view of Persian lexicography. They are as follows:

آرزو خواستم *to express a wish, to wish*:

وقتی آرزو خواستم [163, 2] = (L 104, 4).²

آرزو کردن *to excite somebody's desire, something* (Nomin. case) *to be wished by somebody* (Dat. case):

ابن عمر را ماهی آرزو کرد [238, 14] = (L 149, 29).

آنک آرزو کند ویرا [239, 5] = (L 150, 6).³

For further examples of such a construction, see *Asrāru-t-tawhīd* 89, 9, 14; *Tazkiratu-l-Awliyā*, Nicholson's edition, I, 109, 17; II, 11 (v.s. p. 330, footnote 6), and also the old British Museum Ms. Or. 249, dated 698 A.H., ff. 7^r, 10; 8^v, 5, 6.

آسان باب, *easily obtainable, easily found* [399, 4] = (L 241, 2).

آگاهانیدن, *to inform, to let know* [224, 7] = (L 141, 2).

آماسیدن, *to burst* [121, 10; 403, 13] = (L 78, 13; 243, 21).

پذیر اسلام *receptive to Islam* [506, 14] = (L 305, 4).

امیدوار in the meaning of *a promising person, on whom one can rely*:

مر پدر را خلیی نیکو و امیدوار ست [215, 7] = (L 135, 8-9).

اندوهگن *sad, sorrowful* [59, 11; 139, 4] = (L 38, 21⁴; 89, 16⁵).

¹ L has an entirely different wording: و بر روی آب دریا بگذشت.

² L has بآرزو.

³ L coincides with the Edition, except the spelling of آنک.

⁴ L has اندوه گینان.

⁵ L has اندوهگین.

داشت *faith, confidence* [143, 2; 374, 1] = (L 92, 8; 225, 20¹).

داشت *faith and affirmation* [146, 8] = (L 94, 4).²

برک *possibility, power* [202, 9] = (L 127, 12).³

برینش (from بریدن) *cutting, cutting off* [261, 15] = (L 163, 14).⁴ The root برین has been preserved up to our days in Iranian dialects, see my⁵ 'Materials for the Study of Persian Dialects', I and II s. v. بریدن.

زده کار *sinful* (in combination with the verbs شدن, کردن and کشتن): [74, 18; 75, 1; 537, 15; 538, 4] = (L 48, 11, 13; 323, 7, 12).

بساوش *rubbing, touching*: [509, 2] = (L 306, 10).⁶

سودن (Imper. بساو) *to rub, to touch*: [263, 15; 415, 4; 509, 9, 10; 519, 5, 10, 13; 530, 3] = (L 164, 17; 250, 17; 306, 15, 16; 313, 14, 7 16; 314, 1; 319, 13).

بشولانیدن *to disturb, to trouble*: [373, 7] = (L 225, 15).⁸

بوده کشتن *to become, to come into existence*: [311, 16; 360, 19] = (L 190, 17; 218, 10).⁹

بیوس *expectation*: [127, 12; 273, 8] = (L 82, 6; 170, 6 10).

¹ L has باور دارد. It seems to me as if Zh. had misunderstood the construction: we have to do here not with compound noun باور داشت, like in the preceding case, but with the verb باور داشتن in the 3rd Person Sing. It is immaterial, whether in the Present (as L) or in the Past (as Edition) Tense.

² L has only داشت باور, omitting the استوار.

³ L has an entirely different wording (the copyist having probably misunderstood the sentence) and has ترک instead of برک.

⁴ L has تربیشش.

⁵ Zhukovsky's.

⁶ L has here, somewhat indistinctly, an Arabic equivalent لمس, and it is obvious that the scribe wrote at first some other, and longer, word, then licked it off whilst it was still wet (which accounts for the above-mentioned indistinctness or smudge) and wrote on that place the word لمس, the *sin* of which he made as long as permissible, still leaving a little blank space after the preceding word.

⁷ L has بسودن instead of شنیدن.

⁸ L has توکل مرا بشولاند instead of توکل من تاه شود.

⁹ L omits here the sentence تا بوده کشتی, which occurs in the Edition.

¹⁰ L has هوس.

داشت *firmness, steadfastness*: [187, 15] = (L 118, 17).

پسندکار and پسندکار *contented, satisfied*: [10, 2; 48, 18; 54, 18; 63, 18; 188, 1; 503, 7] = (L 7, 18; 32, 1; 35, 22; 41, 7; 118, 20; 303, 4).

پسندکاری *content, satisfaction*: [220, 19] = (L 138, 20).

پسند *sufficient*: [315, 1; 374, 8; 402, 9; 423, 15; 449, 14] = (L 192, 14; 225, 21; 243, 8; 255, 18; 271, 11).

پیوندانیدن *to attach, to join*:

پیونداندن [396, 18] = (L 239, 14).

چنیدن¹ *to commit oneself, to have to do with somebody, to be connected with somebody*: [300, 10] = (L 184, 15).

چون خود *like oneself*²: [346, 2; 358, 4] = (L 210, 7; 216, 22).

چون خوشستن² *like oneself*: [131, 18; 467, 9] = (L 84, 18; 281, 20).

محاصل آمدن *to follow, to result*: [264, 2; 379, 14; 498, 8-9] = (L 164, 21; 229, 2; 299, 4-5).

محاصل شدن. (same meaning): [267, 17] = (L 167, 5).⁶

حضرت *the capital (city)*: [110, 14] = (L 72, 7).

ستانی *mockery, jeering*: [76, 14] = (L 49, 15).⁷

خوار داشت *contempt, disdain*: [310, 18] = (L 190, 5).

خواستن *to wish, to desire*, is constructed with the apoco-

¹ Zhukovsky adds here 'and چنیدن', which is, of course, an impossible form, as the *hā-yi kuffī* can only occur in Arabic words. Thinking it to be a misprint in Zh.'s Introduction, I, at first, corrected it into چنیدن, which could be a variant (or an early Ms. spelling) of the above چنیدن, and is also found in dictionaries. Yet, the text of the Edition (p. 348, 14), as also L (p. 211, 19) have جحد, the whole sentence being: *و چون می بینم که گروهی از عاقلان بدو جحد و انکار کنند* 'when I see that a group of wise men deny and reject it'. I, therefore, omit the second quotation under this heading.

² I must confess that I am at a loss to find anything archaic or peculiar about that expression.

³ L has حاصل گردد.

⁴ L has حاصل شود.

⁵ L has حاصل آمد.

⁶ see note 4.

⁷ L has simply خنده, omitting ستانی.

pated Infinitive:

بدون خواست شد [199, 1] = (L 125, 12).¹

درست نخواستی کرد [203, 12] = (L 128, 7).²

در خواب خواستی شد [460, 18] = (L 277, 18).³

باز خواستم کشت [472, 18] = (L 285, 4) cf. Firdāwsi, *Yūsif u Zalīkhā*, v. 866, 1671, and *Asrār u t-tawhīd*, 285, 10.

دانستن in the sense of *to be able, to understand*:

بردارند دوخت [55, 12] = (L 36, 10).⁴

سخنان طریقت بدانیم شنید [55, 17] = (L 36, 10-19)

فرق دانی کرد [545, 6] = (L 327, 18).⁵

درگاه گرفت *to devote oneself entirely*: [212, 10] = (L 133, 15-16).

داشتن (باز) *دست to take off one's hands, to abstain from something, to refuse*, is constructed either, in the usual way, with the Preposition از, e.g.:

[80, 3] = (L 51, 20).

[97, 5] = (L 64, 1).

[156, 1] = (L 100, 1-2).

[293, 18] = (L 180, 19);

Or with an oblique case, with را or without; or with an *izāfa*:

ناکردنی را دست بداشتم [14, 11] = (L 10, 6).⁶

حکم رعایت را دست 7 بدارندی [17, 13-14] = (L 11, 22-23).⁸

¹ L has, instead of it: میرفت.

² L has: نخواهی, which considerably changes the meaning, *نخواهی* being a mere Future.

³ L has: بخواب اندر خواستی شد.

⁴ L has: برداند دوخت, which seems to be a better reading: in the Edition anyhow *بر* is marked with an asterisk.

⁵ L has: فرق توانی کرد.

⁶ L has: از ناکردنی دست باز داشتم.

⁷ In Zh.'s Introduction: بداردی, but in the text of the Edition بدارندی.

⁸ L has a slightly different wording: دست ندادندی, giving the sentence just the opposite meaning.

بعضی از فرایض بکند و بعضی دست باز دارد [381, ۵] = (L 229, 22—230, 1).¹

بعضی از نوافل دست بدار [391, 2] = (L 236, 2-8).

فریضه دست بدارد [416, ۵] = (L 251, 8).²

دست بداشتن جمله حظوظ نفسانی [42, ۵] = (L 27, 18).³

دست بداشتن ریا [71, ۹] = (L 46, ۹).⁴

دست بداشتن مشغولی خلق [72, ۵] = (L 46, 18-19).⁵

دست بداشتن محبوب خود [243, 15] = (L 152, 15).⁶

That construction with an *izāfa* has been noticed in the *Tazkiratu-l-Awliyā* by Nicholson, *o.c.* 18, but he does not mention the construction with the oblique case in را, although examples of it occur there: II, 325, 5.

دشوارِ یاب *hard to find, rare*: [166, ۹] = (L 106, 2).⁷

دَنک *small coin*: [287, 14] = (L 177, 17).⁸

راندن بر *to ascribe, to attribute to something*: [325 2, 3, 7, 17] = (L 198, 13,⁹—16, 199, 2¹⁰).

معنی (or به) راندن بر *to understand (or interpret) in the sense of*:

اگر بران معنی رانی کی [169, 4] = (L 107, 18).¹¹

چون بمعنی دیگر رانی [41, 15] = (L 27, 11-12).

¹ L puts از before بعضی in the second instance.

² L has فریضه دست.

³ L has بداشتن باز, but does not otherwise differ from the Edition.

⁴ L has ریا.

⁵ The wording in L is different: ترک جاه و دست بداشتن از ریاست, instead of ترک جاه و ریاست و دست بداشتن الخ, as in the text of the Edition.

⁶ L has محبوب از.

⁷ L has: دشوار یافته شود.

⁸ L has دانگی, which is also one of the variants given in a footnote in the Edition.

⁹ Omitted in L.

¹⁰ L has: گروهی برآند, which is probably a slip of the pen, since the copyist has faithfully reproduced the preceding instances occurring in the Edition.

¹¹ L has an unintelligible: و اگر بران بدانی که.

راه خوردن in the meaning of راه زدن *to attack, to cut the way*:

بروی راه خوردند [154, 8] = (L 99, 1).¹

رعایت کردن بر *to respect, to maintain, to preserve*:

بر اقامت مذهب وی رعایت میکرده است [323, 12] = (L 197, 18-19)

(such a construction must have originated under the influence of Arabic, where the Proposition *علی* or *؟* would have been used).

روزگار مرد *a man of (his) time, a man of prominence*:

[306, 4] = (L 187, 9).²

زکوة گزارد *the fulfilment of the zakāt*: [405, 8] = (L 245, 1).³

سبک داشت *disrespect, disdain, inattention*: [144, 18] = (L 93, 5).

سران *head-side, top-side* (opp. پایان):

[240, 11] = یکی بر سران وی و یکی بر پایان وی نشست

(L 151, 1-2).⁴

سلام کری *greeting, salutation*: [466, 14] = (L 269, 14-15).⁵

سوار بودن *to be prominent, to excel in something*:

[185, 8] = (L 117, 4).⁶

شکسته *a small part; something; a trifle*: [137, 12] =

(L 88, 18).⁷

شنواندن *to make hear; to inform*: [27, 4; 279, 9; 400, 8] =

[L 18, 1; 173, 12; 241, 15).

¹ L has زدند.

² L has عجب روزگار مردی بوده است, instead of حجت روزگار بوده است of the Edition, where, in a footnote حجت is also given as a variant for عجیب.

³ L has the Infinitive in its full form: گزاردن.

⁴ L has: یکی بر سرگاه وی نشست و یکی بر پایگاه وی.

⁵ L has سلام گوئی, which the Edition also gives as a variant from two different Mss.

⁶ L has سواره.

⁷ The original has [132, 12], which must be a misprint, as the word is found not on p. 132 of the Edition, but on p. 137. L has here: نان شکسته 'a broken loaf'.

being a *Sūfī*; professing *Sūfism* :

صوفی کړی کردن [172, 12] = (L 109, 13).¹

a man of good life : [299, 12; 318, 3] = (L 184, 5; 194, 11).

a good-natured man : [318, 3] = (L 194, 11).

فتادن to fall.

تا کسی درینجا نفدت [184, 8] = (L 116, 14).²

کرفتاریست فتاده [30, 4] = (L 20, 1).³

captivated, charmed, in love : [170, 14] = (L 108, 12).

cf. Nicholson, o.c., II, Pref. 22.

فرا to; in : [123, 7; 126, 12; 137, 12; 151, 6; 179, 6] = (L 79, 18; 81, 16; 88, 18; 97, 5; 113, 11).⁵

فرا گفت آمدن to start talking : [466, 11] = (L 281, 6).⁶

fated, predestined : [490, 10] = (L 295, 2).

حال کامل perfect as to state, or life [515, 3] = (L 310, 15).

کدواده is generally given in dictionaries 'the building of a wall, or of a house'.⁷ *Jullābī* (in the Vienna Ms.) uses it twice:

کدواده بلا [59, 12] = (L 38, 22).⁸

کدواده اصفیا [504, 2] = (L 303, 13).⁸

¹ L has تصوف instead of صوفی کړی, which would have been more to the point in the context.

² L has: تا کسی اندرین نفدت.

³ L has: پس کاری فتاده.

⁴ L has here: فرا وی دادم instead of دادم بوی دادم, as in the Edition.

⁵ L has داد بمن instead of the داد من of the Edition.

⁶ L has بگفتار آید.

⁷ I find in Steingass 'foundation of a house'; Anandraj gives the meaning: بنای خانه و عمارت and mentions the existence of another form of the same word کولاده, of which he says: نیز بمعنی بنیان خانه است, which fully coincides with Steingass' explanation: Zh. must have been misled by the somewhat vague meaning of بنا, if by 'dictionaries' he means some Persian 'Farhang'.

⁸ L has گواره.

But in both cases all the other Mss. have instead of it کُورَه 'cradle'. There arises the question whether the former word was not used by *Jullābī* in the meaning of the latter, which possibility is fully justified by the context.¹

ک used in the sense of بَلَك: [176, 9; ² 461, 2] = (L 111 13; ³ 277, 23³).

کانه *small: trifling; one only:*

درم کانه [80, 12] = (L 52, 6).⁴

دینار کانه [127, 4] = (L 82, 1).

کرای کردن used impersonally in the sense 'to be worth while':

کرای گفتار او نکند [2, 7] = (L 2, 1).⁶

¹ The question may be left open.

² In the original p. 176, l. 8

³ L has بَلَك.

⁴ L omits کانه.

⁵ In the original کرا کردن stands after کامل حال (not after کد واده, as one would have expected, the order followed in Zh.'s list being alphabetical), the confusion having seemingly arisen through the absence of the second *sarkash* (never used in older Mss. and not used even in our days in Persia, except in dictionaries). The word کرای (with a *yā*) was mistaken for کرا (with an *izāfa*), in the sense of 'hire'. The word is, of course, as I would say, un-Persian (see for that my 'Stray Notes on Kābuī Persian', pp. 83-86 s.v. *karā*, *karāh* and *karāhī*. کرای کردن is also un-Persian even in two ways: in the first instance it is a case of verb splitting' (as described by me, *ibid.*, p. 28), it being used instead of the verb گراییدن or گرایستن, which verb, with a somewhat uncertain meaning, does not seem to have even been current in Persia proper. We find it in dictionaries, and P. Horn records it in his 'Neupersische Schriftsprache' (in the 'Grundriss d. iranischen Philologie, Vol. I, Part 2, p. 742, l. 25) with the meaning '*neigen zu*, etc.', i.e. 'to incline, to be inclined'.

⁶ In L the sentence is hopelessly muddled: که گرای گفتار نام او نکند, i.e. 'whose name a decent person will not mention'. The sentence, however, could be translated, in my opinion: 'whose name I am not inclined to disclose' (for such impersonal turns of sentence v.s. what Zhuko-
rsky himself has to say s.v. آرزو کردن).

For the same expression used in a personal form, v. *Asrāru-t-tawhīd* 287, 3 and *Nafahātu-l-Uns* 319, 6¹ (= *Kashfu-l-Mahjūb*, 301, footnote 36).² Cf. also *Kashfu-l-Mahjūb*:

- دعی ترا کرا نکند [409, 10-11] = (L 247, 12).³
 پای (sitting on the floor) cross-legged: [433, 19] =
 (L 261, 21)⁴; cf. *Asrāru-t-tawhīd* 270, 15.
 گسلانیدن to tear off, to break off: [396, 18] = (L 239, 15).
 بپیزی to declare, to decide upon something, to take a
 stand on something:
 ترک معاذه بگفته [22, 8] = (L 15, 1).⁵
 ترک اسباب ظاهری و باطنی گفته اند [22, 15] = (L 15, 6).
 چون طالب ترک ملکیت بگفت [28, 10] = (L 18, 19-20).⁶
 ترک آن نکوید [30, 18] = (L 20, 12).⁷
 فغانی کلی کوئند [43, 1] = (L 28, 8).⁸
 ترک حان عزیز خود بگفت [45, 7] = (L 29, 18-19).⁹
 بقول طریقت بگوئی [52, 18] = (L 34, 18).¹⁰
 ترک شریعت و متابعت آن نکوید [71, 7] = (L 46, 7-8).¹¹
 ترک سلامت خود بکوید [74, 8] = (L 48, 1).¹²

¹ The original has p. 319, l. 5 (i.e. of the Nassau Lees' edition), which is a misprint.

² The footnote in question gives a sentence added in one of the secondary Mss. used by Z h., which runs as follows: که شخصی کرای آن نکند (آنها زیارت نکند) کنند (var. گران).

³ L has گرائی.

⁴ L has کرد پای نشسته بود, as against بود پای دراز کرده نشسته بود of the Edition.

⁵ L drops the Preposition.

⁶ L has ملک, instead of ملکیت, which is also one of the variants given in the Edition.

⁷ L has ترک آن گیرد.

⁸ L has: که فنا کل گوئید.

⁹ L drops the Preposition.

¹⁰ L has گوئی, instead of گوئی, which changes entirely both the construction and the meaning of the sentence.

¹¹ The wording in L is different: ترک متابعت آن تا بری از شریعت نماند (پیش گیرد).

¹² v.s. note 5.

ترک مشغولی دنیا بگفت [149, 17] = (L 96, 10).¹

بفرمان خدای بگوید [278, 14] = (L 173, 4).²

بترک کلوخ گفتن راست نیاید [289, 6] = (L 178, 12).

بمجاز تهریت بر ذات باری تعالی بگویند [304, 2] = (L 186, 7).³

بقدم ارواح بگویند [361, 1] = (L 218, 11).

بترک علم بنت لبون هم نشاید گفت [407, 1] = (L 246, 8).⁴

باستفراق علم گفتن [497, 14] = (L 299, 8).

Such a construction is also encountered in the old Persian commentary on the Qur'ān, described by Browne, o.c. (507 بتقلید گوید), although the author of the article does not mention it in his description. Numerous examples can be found in the *Asrār-u-t-Tawhīd*, e.g. 268, 8, 16; 283, 5.

گویانیدن *to make tell*: [466, 1, 8] = (L 280, 20;⁵ 281, 1).

ماناکه *probably*: [148, 16] = (L 95, 14).

ماندن *to leave*:

با هر کسی بمقدار سرمایه وی چیزی بماندی [120, 8] = (L 77, 20).⁶

بمان [121, 12] = (L 78, 15).⁷

عیال را چه ماندی [289, 9] = (L 178, 15).⁸

محواییدن *to destroy, to throw away*:

طلب صفاء باطن را از دل بمحاییده [35, 18]⁹ = (L 23, 18-14).¹⁰

یاد آن از دل خلق بردای و بمحای ای فراموش گردان [429, 12] = (L 259, 6).¹¹

In the latter example the words ای فراموش گردان one would be inclined to consider as an explanatory sentence added by one of the copyists. Yet the text of the other Mss., where the

¹ In L the wording is slightly different: ترک شغل و مشغله دنیا بگرفت.

² In L the verb is omitted.

³ L coincides with the Edition barring slight differences in the sequence of the words.

⁴ L has گرفت instead of گفت.

⁵ L has here (in the first case only) بگفتار آرند.

⁶ L only omits وی.

⁷ L has بگذار, instead of بمان.

⁸ L has باز گذاشتی, instead of ماندی.

⁹ The other Mss. used for the Edition have محو کرده.

¹⁰ L has also محو کرده.

¹¹ L omits the words: بردای و بمحای ای.

words *فراموش کردن* and *بردای و بجاو ای* are omitted and the words retained, do not allow of such an interpretation.¹ Unfortunately, in the abstracts by Muḥammad Pārsā,² the passage in question does not occur. Anyhow, the verb is formed from the Arabic *محو*.

دل مشغول *one whose mind is occupied* :

برفت کلام خود مشغول دل شده [20, 3] = (L 13, 11).³

نابیوس unexpected, unusual :

جایکاهی نابیوس [292, 14] = (L 180, 7).⁴

نگاهداشت preservation, guarding : [444, 20] = (L 268, 15).⁵

نهاد و برداشت 'putting down and picking up' : [454, 4] = (L 274, 4).

نیکو خواست benevolence : [148, 5] = (L 95, 7).

واخریدن to deliver : [265, 13] = (L 165, 18).

همیشگی permanent : [30, 4] = (L 20, 2).

یادکرد remembering, mentioning : [106, 20, 21; 195, 4] = (L 70, 1 bis; 122, 23).⁶

یوسیدن to seek, to solicit :

... جاه بیوسند [20, 10] = (L 13, 16).⁷ Cf. in Persian

dialects: *my* ⁸ 'Materials', I, II, *s.v.* *جستن*.

Zhukovsky further mentions that 'Jullābi's style is not free from Arabic expressions'; that he uses 'Arabic

¹ All the four other Mss. used by Zhukovsky being far younger than the Vienna Ms., I do not see any reason, why the interpretation proposed by him should be rejected. It only proves that the later copyists found in the original (or originals) from which they were copying the same unintelligible (or unusual) words together with a good explanation thereof, so they retained the latter and dropped the former. As Zh. does not give any filiation of the Mss. used by him, one cannot be sure that they are not copied, all or some of them, from the Vienna Ms., or its prototype, or some intermediate Ms.

² The author of *Faṣḥu-l-Khiṭāb* (described in Rieu's Catalogue, 863), which consists of such abstracts from Jullābi's work.

³ L omits *دل*.

⁴ L has *نامعهود*.

⁵ Written in one word in L, with the *izāfa* after it marked.

⁶ L has in all the three cases *یادکردن*.

⁷ L has *جاه طمع دارد*.

⁸ Zhukovsky's.

expressions and words attributing to them meanings not current in Persian'; that 'through translating literally from Arabic, he introduces expressions foreign to the spirit of the Persian language.

Some instances of Arabic expressions, not generally used in Persian, are then noted by Zhukovskiy, as occurring in the *Kashfu-l-Mahjūb* such as:

باسرها *wholly, entirely*: [7, 15; 221, 12] = (L 6, 4; 139, 5).

لعمري *by my life! in truth*: [309, 6; 351, 2] = (L 139, 6; 213, 4).

مع هذا *withal; notwithstanding*: [110, 8] = (L 72, 8).²

ای, less often یعنی (which is followed by an explanation in Arabic of some Arabic expression).³

اوراق *leaves (of a tree)*: [287, 15] = (L 177, 18).

مابین و فشتان *and there is a great difference between*: [158, 18; 230, 13; 484, 5] = (L 101, 16; 145, 4; 291, 12).

و مثلهم
و امثالهم } *and the like*.⁴

Zhukovskiy finally points out that *Jullābī* often concludes his Persian arguments by a whole sentence in Arabic, which generally begins with *لأن* or *؛*. In most cases it is impossible to say, whether these 'because' and 'then' belong to the author or have been bodily taken with the sentence quoted by him from the Arabic source he used for his work. More than a

¹ The expression is, however, quite current in Persian.

² Omitted in L.

³ The passages enumerated by Zh. in that connection are so numerous, that I abstain from reproducing them, the more so as *یعنی* is quite good Persian, and *ای* is not seldom used in Persian (mostly in combination with other Arabic expressions, such as *أَيَّ بَعْبَارَةٍ أُخْرَى* 'or, in other words', etc.), even in speech.

⁴ I omit here the tedious enumeration of passages where these expressions are found, as well as that of the passages, where their Iranian equivalents *مانند این*, *مانند آن*, *مانند بدین* are used by the author of the *Kashfu-l-Mahjūb*. I also omit the enumeration of whole Arabic expressions and their Persian parallels, as noted by Zh., and of such Persian expressions as seemed to him to belong to the same category with regard to the construction.

score of such instances are enumerated. One case, where لَنْ has been replaced by its Persian equivalent از آنج is quoted: [325, 9] = (L 198, 11).¹

* * *

As already said² the examples of the peculiarities of Jullābī's language, quoted in the preceding pages, have been bodily taken (barring such emendations, as imposed themselves, and omission of a few passages that seemed to have no direct bearing on the subject) from the part of Zhukovsky's Introduction left untranslated by Sidney Jerrold.³ My purpose in doing so was twofold: in the first instance to make these interesting materials accessible to students of the *Kashfu-l-Mahjūb* by supplementing Zhukovsky's quotations with exact references to page and line of a current Indian edition of the work⁴; in the second instance, to have at my disposal a sufficient number of examples, showing the peculiarities of the language used by the author of the *Kashfu-l-Mahjūb*, more especially such as would point to the local speech of his birth-place. In that respect, however, the results proved to be somewhat meagre, but not altogether disappointing. In the footnotes accompanying my translation of Zhukovsky's list a few of the more blatant peculiarities attributable to the influence of the local speech have been pointedly noted. They are, as said, very few, and the gravamen of the case does not so much lie with such isolated examples as with the general trend of the text characterized by minor details, such as the improper⁵ use (and position) of particles and prepositions, which is analogous with that prevalent in *Tājiki* (or *Kābuli*) Persian. To this we have to add the immoderate use of causative verbs inexistent in Standard Persian, the use of the verb آمدن as an auxiliary verb,⁶ the occasional splitting of verbs.⁷ All such deviations are recorded by Zhukovsky in his Introduction under the term 'peculiarities', and we have no means to ascertain whether he considered them as archaic, but such was probably the case.⁸ From the moment, however, that I undertook my

¹ L has پس.

² v.s. pp. 326-327.

³ v.s. p. 326 and footnotes to the same page.

⁴ v.s. note 1 on p. 327.

⁵ From the point of view of Standard Persian.

⁶ v.s. p. 348.

⁷ See for that my 'Stray Notes on Kābuli Persian', pp. 28-29.

⁸ Although his prolonged studies of Iranian dialects and particularly, his prolonged stay in Turkestan, when collecting materials for his monumental work on 'The Ruins of Old Merv', may have influenced him, which could account for the great circumspection shown by him in defining the forms discussed by him as 'peculiarities'.

study of the kind of Persian used at present in Afghanistan,¹ I came to the firm conclusion that many of these peculiarities, usually considered as archaic, are nothing of the sort, and are not governed in any way by the factor of time, but belong to a certain locality, namely to the large strip of land extending from Bukhara and Samarcand to the confines of India, and comprising the present day Khorasan² and Afghanistan. Or, in other words, these 'peculiarities' are geographical, not historical. I think to have definitely proved elsewhere³ 'the identity of the Tājiki language of Bukhara not only with the colloquial language of present day Afghanistan, but also with the 'old language of Herat',⁴ as represented by the peculiarities of the *Tabaqātu-ṣ-ṣūfiyya* of Anṣārī. Unfortunately, Khurasan in the wider sense of the term⁵ was always, and quite correctly so, considered to be 'the cradle of Persian literature', so that whatever peculiarities were found in the earlier works of Persian writers hailing from Khorasan, they were considered as natural idioms of Persian of a certain period, whilst, in reality, they were merely part and parcel of the local vernacular of all periods. In poetry such peculiarities⁶ became less apparent owing to a certain rigidity in the versified sentence. They were also liable to be considered as instances of poetic licence, and as such to be discounted.

In the earlier periods (to which belong the *Kashfu-l-Mahjüb* and its author) the intercourse between the parts of Iran comprised in the limits of present day Afghanistan and Persia proper was less hampered than it became since the influx of the Central Asian Turcs who, conquered India and the adjoining parts of Iran in the XVI c. A.D. and founded their independent empire, which became known as the Empire of the Great Moghuls. The influence of Central Asia with regard to language became paramount in the countries under their sway, and the Persian of Persia proper ceased to a great extent to exert the amount of influence it used to wield over the language of those countries.⁷

That state of things explains why the language of the *Kashfu-l-Mahjüb* does not display even a greater number of peculiarities

¹ The results of which are expounded in my 'Stray Notes on Kābuli Persian'.

² Previous to the establishment of the independent Durrāni dynasty (1747 A.D.) in Afghanistan, the western portion of that country belonged to Persia and was considered to be a part of Khorasan.

³ In my 'Stray Notes on Kābuli Persian'.

⁴ W. Iyanow. *Tabaqat of Ansari in the Old Language of Herat*, JRAS, 1923.

⁵ v.s. note 2.

⁶ Except, of course, what regards particles and prepositions, as well as isolated words, unusual as far as Standard Persian is concerned.

⁷ The language of Afghanistan does not seem however to have become entirely crystallized in its present form before the accession to power of the Barakzāi dynasty in the XIX c. A.D. and the foundation of the present day independent Afghan kingdom.

akin to the present day language of the mother-country of its author.

Other factors, however, such as *Jullābī's* extensive travels which also comprised Persia proper,¹ where he had occasion to hear Standard Persian spoken on every side² must have influenced his style. On the other hand, he could hardly have been influenced to any appreciable extent whatever by any literary productions of his time in Standard Persian, which were certainly scarce, if not altogether inexistent, the medium of expression being in his time chiefly, if not exclusively, Arabic.³

That circumstance fully explains one point, overlooked by *Zhukovsky* in his excursus on the peculiarities of *Jullābī's* language, namely the syntactical appearance of the phrase in the *Kashfū-l-Mahjūb*.

The construction of the sentence in Persian is rather rigid as regards the place occupied by the subject and the predicate, the former always beginning, and the latter closing the sentence, or, in other words, a personal form of the verb indicates the end of the sentence and, so to say, plays the rôle of a full stop.⁴ For the sake of greater emphasis, certain parts of the sentence

¹ The places which he says having visited are mentioned in the *Kashfū-l-Mahjūb* in the following passages, as recorded by *Zhukovsky* in his Introduction (pp. 4-5):

<i>Māvarannahr</i>	..	Z h. 56 = L 37, 2; Z h. 476 (not 417, as given by Z h.) = L 287, 12.
<i>Āzarbāijān</i>	..	Z h. 64 = L 41, 14; Z h. 535 = L. 322, 2.
<i>Bastām</i>	..	Z h. 77 = L 50.
<i>Khurasān</i>	..	Z h. 77 = L 50, 5; Z h. 191 = L 120, 16; Z h. 434 = L 262, 3.
<i>Nishāpūr</i>	..	Z h. 213 = L 134, 2 (here L has a superfluous گف).
<i>Sarakhs</i>	..	Z h. 287 = L 177, 14.
<i>Tūs</i>	..	Z h. 301 = L 184, 20.
<i>India</i>	..	Z h. 110 = L 72, 8; Z h. 531 = L 320, 12.
<i>Syria</i>	..	Z h. 116 = L 75, 18; Z h. 209 = L 131, 16; Z h. 300 = L 184, 16 ff; Z h. 447 = L 270, 8.
<i>Baghdād</i>	}	.. Z h. 191 = L 120, 16.
<i>Khuzistān</i>		
<i>Fārs</i>		
<i>Farghāna</i>	..	Z h. 301 = L 185, 2.
<i>Mayhana</i>	..	Z h. 301 = L 185, 8.
<i>Merv</i>	..	Z h. 323 = L 197, 20; Z h. 524 = L 316, 9.
<i>Iraq</i>	..	Z h. 449 = L 271, 7.
<i>Bukhara</i>	..	Z h. 460 = L 277, 20.
<i>Turkestan</i>	..	Z h. 531 = L 320, 13.

² With the exclusion of *Māvarannahr*, *India*, *Farghāna*, *Merv*, *Bukhara* and *Turkestan*, the other places are either in Persia proper itself, or Persia has to be traversed to reach them from Ghazni.

³ Like Latin was in mediaeval Europe, or like Sanskrit still is in India the medium of intercourse between pandits from the North and their colleagues of the South, with the sole difference that Arabic was and is, at the same time, a living language.

⁴ That order is not necessarily adhered to in poetry.

may occasionally be placed after the predicate. That is, however, what *Jullābī* does constantly in the *Kashfu-l-Mahjūb*. A few examples may serve to show the trend of his construction:

و از حول و قوت خود تبرا کنم اندر گفتار و کردار Z h. 1, 12-13 = L 2, 9.¹

که مرا این حادثه افتاد بدوبار Z h. 2, 3 = L 2, 14.

و دیگر کنای کردم هم اندر طریقت تصوف Z h. 2, 6 = L 2, 16.²

که مؤلف آن بدان فن و علم عالم بوده است و محقق Z h. 2, 11 = L 3, 8.

حفظ آداب خداوند بود عز و جل Z h. 2, 14 = L 3, 1.

و تسلیم امور بخداوند سبحانه و تعالی باشد و نجات از آفتاب کوناگون Z h. 2, 17-18 = L 3, 7-8.

جز تسلیم چه روی باشد مر قضا را Z h. 3, 1-2 = L 3, 10.

از بند دفع کند اندر کل احوال وی Z h. 3, 2-3 = L 3, 11.

برمن واجب شد حق سؤال تو کردن³ Z h. 3, 20 = L 3, 23-4, 1.

These examples, which could be multiplied, seem to show, if anything, a certain influence of Arabic, without, however, strictly adhering to the Arabic construction, where the predicate begins the sentence and is immediately followed upon by the subject (if any). *Jullābī*'s construction lies between the two, neither being strictly Iranian, nor wholly Arabic.⁴

The plan and the scope of the *Kashfu-l-Mahjūb* are specified by the author in the introductory part of the work as follows:

قال السائل و هو ابوسعید الهجویری بیان کن مرا اندر تحقیق طریقت تصوف و کیفیت مقامات ایشان و بیان مذاهب و مقالات ایشان و اظهار کن مرا رموز و اشارات ایشان و چگونگی محبت خداوند عز و جل و کیفیت اظهار آن بر دلها و سبب حجاب عقول از کنه و ماهیت آن و نفرت نفس از حقیقت آن و آرام روح باصفوت آن و آنچه بدین تعلق دارد از معاملات آن⁵

¹ Zhukovsky's edition, page and line = Lahore edition, page and line, see for these abbreviations, pp. 326-327, *supra*.

² In L with a slightly different wording.

³ L گذاردن.

⁴ One must, however, bear in mind that this particular peculiarity of *Jullābī*'s style has nothing whatever to do with the local speech of his native place and is shared by him with a great many writers of his epoch (and even later epochs), who were accustomed to write mostly in Arabic and wrote, as it were, only occasionally in Persian.

⁵ Z h. 7 = L 5; Nicholson's translation, pp. 6-7.

and also:

و مقصود تو معلوم گشت و سخن اندر غرض تو درین کتاب مقسوم گشت¹

The last phrase explains, to a certain extent, the somewhat intricate plan of the work, of which Blochet² quite correctly says that it consists of two distinct parts. Personally, I am inclined to consider the *Kashfu-l-Mahjūb* as a mere *tazkira* of famous early *Šūfīs* similar to (or, rather, the prototype, and one of the chief sources, of) such works as ‘Aṭṭār’s *Tazkiratu-l-Awliyā* or Jāmī’s *Nafahāt*,³ with the sole difference that, as opposed to the latter two works, the part in the *Kashfu-l-Mahjūb* dealing with the tenets of *Šūfīsm* is very extensive,⁴ and that it does not precede, but follows upon the chapters of the book concerned with the ‘lives of saints’ grouped by their various categories. The first six chapters⁵ of that part as well are of a general character.

The table of contents prefixed by Zhukovsky to his edition being a veritable synopsis of the book, we thought it best to give it here in its entirety, the more so as none of the Indian editions⁶ has any table of contents whatever, and in Nicholson’s translation the table of contents comprises only the headings of the chapters and does not contain the titles of their subdivisions.

That detailed table of contents is as follows:⁷

L 2-8	۱۱-۱	..	..	..	..	مقدمه مصنف
L 8-14	۲۱-۱۱	..	..	..	..	باب اثبات العلم ⁸
L 14-22	۲۳-۲۱	..	..	..	..	باب الفقر

¹ Zh. 1 = L 2; Nicholson’s translation, p. 1.

² Catalogue des manuscrits persans de la Bibliothèque Nationale, I, 262; see for that also Zhukovsky’s Russian Introduction, p. 13, note 3.

³ Both of whom have extensively drawn on the *Kashfu-l-Mahjūb* for the subject matter of their respective *tazkiras*, as well as several other authors of later times, like Dārā-Shukūh in his *Safīnatu-l-Awliyā* and Muḥṣi Ghulām Sarvar in his *Khazīnatu-l-Ashfiyā*.

⁴ 200 pages in Zhukovsky’s edition (= 120 pages in the Lahore ed. of 1342 A.H.—1923 A.D.).

⁵ 78 pages in Zh. (= 50 pages in L.).

⁶ The Samarqand edition (v. *supra*, pp. 316-317) has a detailed table of contents, which, although omitting individual names, coincides otherwise with the one given by Zh., but as it is even less accessible than Zhukovsky’s edition, it need not be taken into account.

⁷ The Arabic figures denote the pages of Zhukovsky’s critical edition. The accompanying European figures with the letter L indicate the corresponding pages of the Lahore lithograph of 1923 (= 1342 A.H.): I maintained the former for the sake of completeness, and introduced the latter to facilitate reference.

⁸ In Nicholson’s translation the Chapters are numbered from I to XXV, beginning with the chapter ‘On the Affirmation of Knowledge’.

L 22-32	٢٩-٣٣	..	..	..	..	باب التصوف
L 32-42	٦٥-٣٩	..	..	..	..	باب مرقمه داشتن
L 42-44	٦٨-٦٥	..	..	..	..	باب اختلاطهم في الفقر و الصفة
L 44-50	٧٨-٦٨	..	..	..	..	باب بيان الملازمة ¹
L 50-55	٨٥-٧٨	..	..	..	..	باب في ذكر انتمهم من الصحابة و التابعين ²
L 50-52	٨١-٧٨	..	..	..	..	ابوبكر عبد الله بن عثمان الصديق
L 52-53	٨٢ - ٨١	..	..	..	..	ابو حفص عمر بن الخطاب
L 53-54	٨٣-٨٢	..	..	..	..	ابو عمرو عثمان بن عفان
L 54-55	٨٥ - ٨٣	..	..	..	..	ابو الحسن علي بن ابي طالب
L 55-63	٩٧-٨٥	..	..	..	..	باب في ذكر انتمهم من اهل البيت
L 55-57	٨٨-٨٥	..	..	..	..	ابو محمد الحسن بن علي
L 57-58	٨٩ - ٨٨	..	..	..	..	ابو عبد الله الحسين بن علي بن ابي طالب
L 58-60	٩٢-٨٩	..	..	..	..	ابو الحسن علي بن الحسين بن علي بن ابي طالب
L 60-62	٩٣-٩٢	..	..	..	..	ابو جعفر محمد بن علي بن الحسين بن علي بن ابي طالب
L 62-63	٩٧-٩٣	..	..	..	..	ابو محمد جعفر بن علي بن الحسين بن علي الصادق
L 63-65	٩٩-٩٧	..	..	..	..	باب في ذكر اهل الصفة
L 65-70	١٠٧-٩٩	..	..	..	..	باب في ذكر انتمهم من التابعين و الانصار
L 65-66	١٠١-٩٩	..	..	..	..	اويس قرني
L 66-67	١٠٣-١٠١	..	..	..	..	هرم بن حيان
L 67-69	١٠٥-١٠٣	..	..	..	..	ابو علي الحسن بن الحسين البصري
L 69-70	١٠٧-١٠٥	..	..	..	..	سعيد بن مسيب
L 70-127	٢٠٢-١٠٧	..	..	..	..	باب في ذكر انتمهم من اتباع التابعين الى يومنا
L 70	١٠٨ - ١٠٧	..	..	..	..	حبيب عجمي
L 70-71	١٠٩ - ١٠٨	..	..	..	..	مالك بن دينار

¹ Here ends the first half of the general or theoretical part of the *Kashfu-l-Mahjub*.

² Here begins the historical or biographical (*tazkira*) part of the book.

L 71	١١٠ - ١٠٩	..	ابو حليم حبيب بن سليم الراعى
L 72	١١١ - ١١٠	..	ابو حازم المدني
L 72-73	١١٢ - ١١١	..	محمد بن واسع
L 73-76	١١٧ - ١١٢	..	ابو حنيفة نعمان بن ثابت الخزاز
L 76-77	١١٩ - ١١٧	..	عبد الله بن المبارك المروزي
L 77-80	١٢٣ - ١١٩	..	ابو علي فضيل بن عياض
L 80-82	١٢٨ - ١٢٣	..	ابو الفيض ذوالنون بن ابراهيم المصرى
L 82-83	١٣٠ - ١٢٨	..	ابو اسحق ابراهيم بن ادم
L 83-84	١٣٢ - ١٣٠	..	بشر بن الحارث الخافى
L 84-86	١٣٣ - ١٣٢	..	ابو يزيد طيفور بن عيسى البسطامى
L 86-87	١٣٦ - ١٣٣	..	ابو عبد الله الحارث بن اسد المحاسبي
L 87-88	١٣٧ - ١٣٦	..	ابو سليمان داود بن نصير الطائي
L 88-89	١٣٨ - ١٣٧	..	ابو الحسن سرى بن المغلس السقطي
L 89	١٣٩ - ١٣٨	..	ابو علي شقيق بن ابراهيم الازدى
L 89-90	١٣٩ - ١٣٨		ابو سليمان عبد الرحمن بن عطية الداراني
L 90-91	١٣٩ - ١٣٨	..	ابو محفوظ معروف بن فيروز الكرخي
L 91-92	١٣٩ - ١٣٨	..	ابو عبد الرحمن حاتم بن عنوان الاصم
L 92-93	١٣٩ - ١٣٨	..	ابو عبد الله محمد بن ادريس الشافعى
L 93	١٣٩ - ١٣٨	..	ابو عبد الله احمد بن حنبل
L 93-95	١٣٩ - ١٣٨	..	ابو الحسن احمد بن ابي الحواري
L 95-97	١٤١ - ١٣٩	..	ابو حامد احمد بن خضرويه
L 97	١٤٢ - ١٤١	..	ابو تراب عسكر بن الحصين النسفي
L 97-98	١٤٢ - ١٤١	..	ابو زكريا يحيى بن معاذ الرازى
L 98-100	١٤٦ - ١٤٣		ابو حفص عمر بن سالم النيسابورى الحداد
L 100	١٤٨ - ١٤٦		ابو صالح حمدون بن احمد بن عمارة القصار
L 100-101	١٤٩ - ١٤٧	..	ابو السرى منصور بن عماد
L 101-102	١٥٠ - ١٤٩	..	ابو عبد الله بن عاصم الانطاكى
L 102-103	١٦١ - ١٦٠	..	ابو محمد عبد الله بن خبيق
L 103-104	١٦٣ - ١٦١		ابو القاسم الجنيدي بن محمد بن الجنيدي القواريرى
L 104-105	١٦٦ - ١٦٣	..	ابو الحسن احمد بن محمد النورى

L 105-107	١٦٩-١٦٦	.. ابو عثمان سعيد بن اسمعيل الميصرى
L 107-108	١٧٠ - ١٦٩	.. ابو عبد الله احمد بن يحيى بن الجلا
L 108	١٧١ - ١٧٠	.. ابو محمد رويم بن احمد
L 108-109	١٧٢ - ١٧١	.. ابو يعقوب يوسف بن حسين الرازى
L 109-110	١٧٣-١٧٢	.. ابو الحسن سمنون بن عبد الله الخواص
L 110	١٧٣	.. ابو الفوارس شاه بن شجاع الكرماني
L 110	١٧٥ - ١٧٣	.. عمرو بن عثمان النمكى
L 110-111	١٧٧-١٧٥	.. ابو محمد سهل بن عبد الله التستري
L 111	١٧٧	.. ابو عبد الله محمد بن الفضل البلخي
L 111-113	١٧٩-١٧٧	.. ابو عبد الله محمد بن علي الترمذى
L 113	١٨٠ - ١٧٩	.. ابوبكر محمد بن عمر الوراق
L 114	١٨١ - ١٨٠	.. ابو سعيد بن احمد بن عيسى الخزاز
L 114-115	١٨٢ - ١٨١	.. ابو الحسن علي بن محمد الاصفهاني
L 115-116	١٨٣ - ١٨٢	.. ابو الحسن محمد بن اسمعيل خير الساج
L 116	١٨٥-١٨٣	.. ابو حمزة خراساني
L 116-117	١٨٥	.. ابو العباس احمد بن مسروق
L 117	١٨٦ - ١٨٥	.. ابو عبد الله بن احمد بن اسمعيل المغربي
L 117-118	١٨٧ - ١٨٦	.. ابو علي الحسن بن علي المجوزجاني
L 118-119	١٨٨ - ١٨٧	.. ابو محمد بن احمد الحسين الميصرى
L 119	١٨٩ - ١٨٨	.. ابو العباس احمد بن محمد بن سهل الادمي
L 119-121	١٩٣-١٨٩	.. ابو المقيث الحسين بن منصور الخلاج
L 121-122	١٩٣ - ١٩٢	.. ابو اسحاق ابراهيم بن احمد الخواص
L 122	١٩٣	.. ابو حمزة البغدادي
L 122-123	١٩٥ - ١٩٣	.. ابوبكر محمد بن موسى الواسطي
L 123-124	١٩٧-١٩٥	.. ابوبكر دلف بن جحدر الشيلي
L 124	١٩٧	.. ابو محمد بن جعفر بن نصير الخلدی
L 124-125	١٩٨ - ١٩٧	.. ابو علي بن محمد القاسم الرودباري

- L 125 ١٩٩ - ١٩٨ .. ابو العباس القاسم بن مهدي السيارى
- L 125 ١٩٩ .. ابو عبد الله محمد بن خفيف
- L 125-126 ٢٠٠ - ١٩٩ .. ابو عثمان سعيد بن سلام المغربي
- L 126 ٢٠١ - ٢٠٠ .. ابو القاسم ابراهيم بن محمد بن محمود النصرآبادى
- L 126-127 ٢٠٢ - ٢٠١ .. ابو الحسن على بن ابراهيم الحصرى
- L 127-134 ٢١٣-٢٠٢ .. باب في ذكر ائمتهم من المتأخرين
- L 127-128 ٢٠٣-٢٠٢ .. ابو العباس احمد بن محمد القصاب
- L 128 ٢٠٣ .. ابو على الحسن بن محمد على الدقاق
- L 128-129 ٢٠٥ - ٢٠٣ .. ابو الحسن على بن احمد الخرقانى
- L 129 ٢٠٦ - ٢٠٥ .. ابو عبد الله محمد بن على المعروف بالداسانى
- L 130-131 ٢٠٨-٢٠٦ .. ابو سعيد فضل الله بن محمد الميهي
- L 131 ٢٠٩ - ٢٠٨ .. ابو الفضل محمد بن الحسن الختلى
- L 131-132 ٢١٠ - ٢٠٩ .. عبد الكريم ابو القاسم بن هوازن القشيري
- L 132 ٢١١ - ٢١٠ .. ابو العباس احمد بن محمد الشقانى
- L 132-133 ٢١٢ - ٢١١ .. ابو القاسم على الكركانى
- L 133-134 ٢١٣-٢١٢ .. ابو احمد المظفر بن احمد بن حدان
- L 134-137 ٢١٨-٢١٣ .. باب في ذكر رجال الصوفية من المتأخرين على الاختصار
- L 134-135 ٢١٥ - ٢١٣ .. آنچه بودند اندر شام و عراق
- L 135 ٢١٥ .. اما از اهل فارس
- L 135 ٢١٥ .. اما اهل قهستان و آذربايجان و طبرستان و گمش
- L 135 ٢١٥ .. اما از اهل کرمان
- L 136 ٢١٦ .. اما از اهل خراسان
- L 136 ٢١٦ .. اما از اهل ماوراء النهر
- L 136-137 ٢١٧ .. اما از اهل غزنين و سکن آن
- L 137-207 ٢٣١-٢١٨ .. باب في فرق فرقهم و مذاهبهم و آياتهم و مقاماتهم و حكاياتهم
- L 137-143 ٢٢٨-٢١٩ .. اما المحاسبية

L 137	٢١٩	..	..	الكلام في حقيقة الرضا
L 141	٢٢٢	..	..	الفرق بين المقام و الحال
L 143	٢٢٨	..	..	أما القصارية ..
L 143-147	٢٢٥-٢٢٨	..	..	أما الطيفورية ..
L 144	٢٣٠	..	..	الكلام في السكر و الصحو
L 147-148	٢٣٦ - ٢٣٥	..	..	أما الجنبية ..
L 148-153	٢٣٢-٢٣٦	..	..	أما النورية ..
L 148	٢٣٦	..	..	الكلام في حقيقة الايثار
L 153-165	٢٦٥-٢٣٢	..	..	أما السهية ..
L 153	٢٣٥	..	..	الكلام في حقيقة النفس و معنى الهوى
L 157	٢٥١	..	..	الكلام في مجاهدات النفس
L 162	٢٦٠	..	..	الكلام في حقيقة الهوى
L 165-190	٢٦٥-٢٦١	..	..	أما الحكيمية
L 165	٢٦٥	..	..	الكلام في اثبات الولاية
L 170	٢٧٦	..	..	الكلام في اثبات الكرامات
L 172	٢٧٨	..	..	الكلام في الفرق بين المعجزات و الكرامات
L 174	٢٨٢	..	..	الكلام في اظهار جنس المعجزه على يدى من يدعى الالهية
L 178	٢٩٠	..	..	الكلام في ذكر كراماتهم
L 185	٣٠٣	..	..	الكلام في تفضيل الانبياء على الاولياء
L 187	٣٠٧	..	..	الكلام في تفضيل الانبياء و الاولياء على الملائكة و المؤمنين ايضا
L 190-193	٣١٧-٣١١	..	..	أما الخرازية ..
L 190	٣١١	..	..	الكلام في الفناء و البقا
L 193-197	٣٢٢-٣١٧	..	..	أما الخيفية ..
L 194	٣١٩	..	..	الكلام في النية و الحضور
L 197-202	٣٢٢-٣٢٣	..	..	أما السبابة ..
L 197	٣٢٢	..	..	الكلام في الجمع و التفرقة
L 198	٣٢٥	..	..	أما التفرقة في الحكم
L 202-207	٣٣١-٣٣٣	..	..	أما الحلوية ..
L 203	٣٣٥	..	..	الكلام في الروح

L 207-215	٢٥٦-٢٢١ ..	..	كشف الحجاب الأول في معرفة الله تعالى
L 215-221	٢١٧-٢٥٦ ..	..	كشف الحجاب الثاني في التوحيد
L 221-225	٢١٢-٢١٧ ..	..	كشف الحجاب الثالث في الايمان
L 225-233	٢٨٦-٢١٢ ..	..	كشف الحجاب الرابع في الطهارة
L 227-233	٢٨٦-٢٧٨ ..	..	باب التوبة و ما يتعلق بها
L 233-244	٢٠٢-٢٨٦ ..	..	كشف الحجاب الخامس في الصلوة
L 236-244	٢٠٢-٢٩٢ ..	..	باب المحبة و ما يتعلق بها
			كيفية المحبة من الله تعالى باوليائه و من اوليائه
L 239	.. ٢٩٦	..	الى حضرته
L 244-249	٢١٢-٢٠٢ ..	..	كشف الحجاب السادس في الزكاة
L 246-249	٢١٢-٢٠٨ ..	..	باب الجود و السخاوة
L 249-254	٢٢٢-٢١٢ ..	..	كشف الحجاب السابع في الصوم
L 252-254	٢٢٢-٢١٩ ..	..	باب الجوع و ما يتعلق بها
L 254-260	٢٢٢-٢٢٢ ..	..	كشف الحجاب الثامن في الحج
L 257-260	٢٢٢-٢٢٧ ..	..	باب المشاهدات
L 260-288	٢٧٩-٢٢٢ ..	..	كشف الحجاب التاسع في الصحة مع آدابها و احكامها
L 265-268	٢٢٥-٢٢٩ ..	..	باب آدابهم في الصحة
L 268-271	٢٢٩-٢٢٥ ..	..	باب آداب الاقامة في الصحة
L 271-273	٢٥٢-٢٢٩ ..	..	باب الصحة في السفر و آدابه
L 273-275	٢٥٧-٢٥٢ ..	..	باب آدابهم في الاكل
L 275-278	٢٦٢-٢٥٧ ..	..	باب نومهم في السفر و الحضر
L 278-283	٢٧٠-٢٦٢ ..	..	باب آدابهم في الكلام و السكوت
L 283-288	٢٧٩-٢٧٠ ..	..	باب آدابهم في الترويح و التجريد
			كشف العاشر في بيان منطلقهم و حدود الفاظهم
L 288-305	٣٠٨-٢٧٩ ..	..	و حقائق معانيهم
L 289	.. ٣٨٠		فمن ذلك الحال و الوقت و الفرق بينهما
L 291	.. ٣٨٢		و من ذلك المقام و التمكين و الفرق بينهما
L 293	.. ٣٨٧		و من ذلك المحاضرة و المكاشفة و الفرق بينهما
L 293	.. ٣٨٨		و من ذلك القبض و البسط و الفرق بينهما
L 294	.. ٣٩٠		و من ذلك الانس و الهيبة و الفرق بينهما
L 296	.. ٣٩٢		و من ذلك القهر و اللطف و الفرق بينهما

L 297	..	٣٩٣	و من ذلك التني و الالبات و الفرق بينهما
L 298	..	٣٩٦	و من ذلك المسامرة و المحادثة و الفرق بينهما
			و من ذلك علم اليقين و عين اليقين و حق اليقين
L 298	..	٣٩٧	و الفرق بينهم
L 299	..	٣٩٨	و من ذلك العلم و المعرفة و الفرق بينهما
L 299	..	٣٩٨	و من ذلك الشريعة و الحقيقة و الفرق بينهما
L 300	..	٤٠٠	عباراتي كه استعارت پذيرد اندر كلام ايشان
L 301	..	٤٠١	الفاظي كه اندر توحيد خداوند تعالى استعمال كنند
L 302	..	٤٠٢	عباراتي كه بشرح حاجتند. باشند
L 305-328	٤٣٦-٤٠٨		كشف الحجاب الحادى عشر فى السماع و بيان انواعه
L 307	..	٤١٠	باب سماع القرآن و ما يتعلق بها
L 312	..	٤١٧	باب سماع الشعر و ما يتعلق بها
L 314	..	٤٢٠	باب سماع الاصوات و الالخان
L 316	..	٤٢٣	باب احكام السماع
L 318	..	٤٢٩	باب اختلافهم فى السماع
L 319	..	٤٣٠	باب مراتبهم فى حقيقة السماع
L 323	..	٤٣٨	باب الوجد و الوجود و التواجد و مراتبه
L 325	..	٤٣١	باب الرقص
L 325	..	٤٣٢	النظر فى الاحداث
L 325	..	٤٣٢	باب الحرق
L 327-328	٤٣٦- ٤٣٣		باب آداب السماع

No data of any historical worth, which could enable us to define more closely the time of Jullābī's arrival in India can be found in the *Kashfu-l-Mahjūb*. Details regarding his personal life are also extremely meagre: the titles of his other works, of which none seems to have survived, are scattered through the book and have been recorded in the shape of a list both by Nicholson¹ and Zhukovsky.² The names of places visited by him during his extensive travels are given by Jullābī³ throughout the book.³ Nowhere, however, does he mention in what order and when these places were visited by him. No names of temporal rulers of his time are given anywhere. Nor does he anywhere mention the time and the reasons of his settling in India.

¹ In the Introduction to his translation.

² In the Russian Introduction to his edition.

³ A detailed list of them is given by Zhukovsky in his Introduction. See also above note 1, p. 364.

One passage in the *Kashfu-l-Mahjüb*, however, is important in that respect throwing some light on his life in India and enabling us indirectly to draw some tentative conclusions as to the time of the composition of the work under discussion. The passage runs:

'My Shaykh had further traditions concerning him,¹ but I could not possibly set down more than this (*andar waqt-i man ðiqi búð ú bîsh az ín mumkin na-shud* ²), my books having been left at Ghazna—may God guard it!—while I myself had become a captive among uncongenial folk (*dar miyón-i nájinsán* ³) in the district of Laháwur, which is a dependency of Multán. God be praised both in joy and sorrow!⁴

The reading '*Laháwur*' must have been taken by Nicholson from one or the other of the India Office or British Museum Mss., used by him to check the text of the Lahore lithograph (from which his translation was made), which has:

و من اندر دیار هند در بلدة لهارنپور که از مضافات مولتان است الخ .

Thus: *Lahāranpūr* or *Lohāranpūr*.

The 1923 Lahore lithograph chiefly used by us in the present sketch, along with Zhukovsky's edition, has:

و من اندر دیار هند در بلدة بهنور که از مضافات ملتان است الخ .

Thus: *Bihnūr* or *Bahnūr*.

The 1931 Lahore lithograph repeats the preceding.

The Samarqand lithograph has:

بلدة لهانور که الخ .

Thus: *Lahānūr*

Zhukovsky's edition, based on the oldest Ms. of the *Kashfu-l-Mahjüb*,⁵ has merely:

و من اندر دیار هند در میان ناچسان گرفتار مانده الخ .

Two of the secondary Mss. used by Zhukovsky add: در بلدة لهانور که از مضافات ملتانست as given by the editor in a footnote.⁶

Of the five Mss. of the *Kashfu-l-Mahjüb* preserved in the Royal Asiatic Society of Bengal, Mss. Nos. 1149,⁷ 1151⁸ and 1152⁹ have got بلدة لهانور thus, once more, *Lahānūr*, and Mss. 1150¹⁰ and 403 (Curzon Collection)¹¹ omit the mention of the place altogether.¹²

¹ Abū Halīm Ḥabīb b. Salīm ar-Rā'ī.

² The transcription is Nicholson's.

³ v. preceding note.

⁴ Nicholson, o.c., p. 91.

⁵ v. *supra*, p. 319-320.

⁶ His Mss., B and D, v.s. p. 320.

⁷ Fol. 54.

⁸ Fol. 52r.

⁹ Fol. 78, v.

¹⁰ Fol. 63 r.

¹¹ Fol. 62 r.

¹² My thanks are due here to Prof. M. Mahfuz-ul-Haq who with his usual unfailing courtesy had copied out for me the

Of the two Urdū translations accessible to me, one¹ omits the whole passage quoted above from Nicholson's translation, and the other² omits the name of the place, saying merely:

اور میں علاقہ ملتان میں ناجسوں کے ساتھ گرفتار ہوا .

To sum up, we have before us four different spellings of the name of the 'township' (بندہ) in the district of Multan in India, where the author of the *Kashfu-l-Mahjūb* began³ writing his book and where he 'found himself stranded'⁴ in 'uncongenial surroundings': (1) *Lahāwūr*; (2) *Lahāranpūr* (or *Lohāranpūr*); (3) *Bihnūr* (or *Bahnūr*), and (4) *Lahānūr*.

Both Nicholson⁵ and Zhukovskiy,⁶ who had before them only one spelling each, take the word to stand for 'Lahore'.

We learn from the Imperial Gazetteer of India⁷ that 'Lahore City was not at this time⁸ a place of great importance' and 'was governed by viceroys as the headquarters of a province, but during the reign of Masūd III (1099-1114), it was made the seat of the government of the⁹ empire'. Its connexion with Multan seems to have been only incidental and of very brief duration, when 'in 1034 Lahore was seized by Nialtigin, the revolted governor of Multān. He, however, was expelled, and in 1036 Lahore was made the capital of the Ghaznavid dominions east of the Indus'.¹⁰

We see from the above that, though a town of little importance in the days of our author, Lahore was never really (and hardly could ever have been, seeing the distance that separates them) 'a dependency of Multan'. Also, at the time of its temporary seizure by the rebel governor of Multan (1034 A.D. = 426-27 A.H.) Jullābī was certainly still a very young man and could hardly have been writing his great work, the outcome

respective passages both in the five above-mentioned Mss. and in the Samarqand edition.

¹ By *Shāh Zahīr Aḥmad Zahīrī*, p. 142.

² By *Mawlānā Shamsu-l-Hind Izādī*, p. 104.

³ The passage in question occurs quite early in the book: p. 91 of Nicholson's translation, corresponding to p. 110 in Zhukovskiy's edition, where the text occupies 546 pages. It is found on pp. 65, 72 and 72 of the above-mentioned Lahore lithographs of 1903, 1923 and 1931, and on p. 115 of the Samarqand lithograph.

⁴ That is how I would be inclined to understand *giriḥtār mānda* or *g. shuda būdam* in this place: Zhukovskiy in his Introduction uses on p. 21 the Russian equivalent of 'detained' and on p. 30 speaks of Jullābī's 'captivity' (cf. also Sidney Jerrold's abridged translation, o.c., pp. 487-88).

⁵ In his Preface.

⁶ In his Introduction, v. note 4, *supra*.

⁷ Vol. XVI, 1908, under Lahore City. History, pp. 106-107.

⁸ i.e. in the XIc. A.D.

⁹ Ghaznavid.

¹⁰ *ibid.*, p. 106. The Punjab District Gazetteer, Vol. XXXA, pp. 26-27 merely repeats in this place the Imperial Gazetteer of India.

of a lifetime of travels and study. One would be more inclined to think of it as the work of his old age, completed, probably, a short time before his death, if 'Lahore' is really meant in this place. Yet, the so very different spellings of the name of the town and the reference to it as 'a dependency of Multan', arouse some doubts as to the identity of the place. These doubts, though not entirely dispelled, are somewhat mitigated by the existence of a very great variety of very strange ways of spelling the name 'Lahore'.¹

We find, in fact, the following spellings in the *Dīvān* of *Mas'ūd-i Sa'd-i Salmān* ²:

Lūhūr.³

Lahāvūr.⁴

Lūhāvūr.⁵

Lāwhūr.⁶

Lāhūr.⁷

Lūwhūr.⁸

Lūhāvar.⁹

As already mentioned ¹⁰ Zhukovsky takes it for granted that 'Lahore' is meant in the passage under discussion and draws from it the conclusion that the passage in question belongs to 'an earlier period' ¹¹ of Jullābī's life, implying by it that our author was at Lahore twice: once as a young man, when he found the surroundings so uncongenial that he had to mention the fact in the text of his book, in which he is, otherwise, extremely chary of any personal reflexions, and for the second time, when he is known to have settled for good in the very same place, to have built there a mosque, to have died and been buried there, and to have been extremely popular there both in his lifetime and for many centuries after his death.

I cannot think that that reasoning can be accepted. First of all, it is unlikely that a man dissatisfied with his surroundings in a place where he is 'stranded' would be inclined to return to the self-same place in order to settle there definitely. It is true that Zhukovsky expresses the opinion ¹² that 'according to certain indications' ¹³ his arrival and sojourn at Lahore were due to

¹ To which my attention was attracted by Prof. M. Mahfuz-ul-Haq, to whom I deem it my duty to express my heartfelt thanks.

² In the article by Mzā. Md. b. 'Abdul-Wahhāb Qazwīnī in the JRAS. for October, 1905.

³ *ibid.*, p. 14 (of the separate reprint) and p. 18.

⁴ *ibid.*, p. 15 (twice) and p. 17.

⁵ *ibid.*, p. 16.

⁶ *ibid.*, p. 17.

⁷ *v. supra*, p. 61 and note 6, there.

⁸ Russian Introduction, p. 30 (Sidney Jerrold, *o.c.*, p. 488).

⁹ Introduction p. 30 (= Sidney Jerrold, p. 488).

¹⁰ The italics are ours.

direct recommendation of his director, *Abū l-l-Faḡl-i Khuttalī*. I was, however, unable to find any such indications either in the passage devoted by the author to his said spiritual guide,² nor in the passages, where reference is made to India.³

If Jullābī, which is quite possible and even very probable, had visited India in his younger years, he would hardly have remained for any length of time in a place which did not appeal to him, nor would he have had time to start writing an important book on such an educational journey. We would rather expect him to be very much on the move, leaving as soon as possible places devoid of interest, prolonging his stay as long as circumstances permitted in places of pleasant associations, absorbing new impressions and acquainting himself with the ways and manners of religious men of the country.

In the passage that interests us we find him, however, in India, already deeply immersed in the composition of his *magnum opus*. The only conclusion we can draw from it is that his wanderings are finished, that he has come to India to settle there for good and that he puts his pen to paper to record the impressions and experiences of a lifetime. The question arises—where? If at Lahore, then not in Multan district, if in the district of Multan, then not at Lahore.

Now, we have at our disposal four different spellings of the place in India where that particular passage was written: (1) لہار ⁴; (2) لہاور ⁵; (3) بہار ⁶, and (4) لہارپور ⁷.

One of the most striking peculiarities in the Indian *ta'liq* writing is the absence of any difference in size between an initial *lām* and a dotted *markaz*.⁸ The initial *bā* or *tā* is, therefore, easily confused with an initial *lām*, or vice versa. The shape of the 4th of our spellings makes one think that لہارپور could be a misreading, say, for بہارتپور ('Bhāratpūr')⁹ or even لہارپور ('Bahāwalpūr'), substituting a *vāw* for the *rā* of لہارپور, were it not that the present capital of the state of that name was founded only in the middle of the XVIII century.¹⁰ But it actually is in the vicinity of Multan.¹¹

¹ The English translation has "Abdu'l".

² Z h. 208 = L 131.

³ Z h. 110 (= L 72); 313 (= L 192); 337 (= L 205); 399 (= L 241); 522 (= L 315), and 531 (= L 320).

⁴ Nicholson.

⁵ Zhukovsky.

⁶ Lahore lithograph of 1923.

⁷ Lahore lithograph of 1903, on which Nicholson's translation is based, but the reading in which he seemingly did not take into consideration.

⁸ In Persian *nasta'liq* an initial *lām* is three points in height, and a *markaz* one and a half point.

⁹ Not that it could have had anything in common with the present-day place of that name in Eastern Rajputana.

¹⁰ See for that 'Imperial Gazetteer of India' under 'Bahawalpur'.

¹¹ Some 75 miles distant.

Leaving alone the question of the correct reading of the name of the place, of which Jullābī speaks so unflatteringly, we may conclude with a certain degree of probability that Lahore was not meant in this place, whatever that place was. We also may infer from what has been said that, before making up his mind to settle definitely at Lahore, Jullābī had tried first one or two, or several, places in India with that intention.

As has already been noted,¹ one group of Mss.² and lithographs discussed in the present sketch contains the words در بلدة (?) که از مضائق مولتان است, and the other omits them.³

The question presents itself as to whether the above words constitute an interpolation by the copyist of the original Ms. from which the first group is derived, or an omission by the scribe who wrote the original of the second group? One would be inclined to think that the latter is the case. Why should a copyist, in fact, make such an interpolation, especially a twofold one, indicating not merely the name of a town (whatever that name may have been), but also the district in which that town was situated? As an indirect argument in favour of our view may also be considered the fact that the Mss. (and lithographs) containing the reference to town and district preponderate in number, while those omitting it constitute a meagre minority.⁴ It must be observed that the presence or absence of the sentence in question in certain Mss. does not at all indicate that all the Mss. of the one category are derived from one and the same original. One is rather entitled to suppose that, in our case, the Mss. containing the reference ascend to two or more originals, whilst those which omit it, being few in number, may easily be descended from one and the same defective original.

The conclusion that may be derived from the above lengthy, but necessary explanation is that, apparently, Jullābī, as already stated, came to settle in India and not necessarily at Lahore, in which place he ultimately settled for good. That

¹ pp. 374-375.

² Mss. B and D used by Zhukovsky for his edition (v. *supra*, p. 320); one or more Mss. used by Nicholson for his translation, as well as the 1903 Lahore lithograph; the R.A.S.B. Mss. Nos. 1149, 1151 and 1152; the Lahore lithographs of 1923 and 1931, and the Samarqand lithograph. Probably also some of the Mss. inaccessible to us (v. enumeration on pp. 324-325, *supra*).

³ The old Vienna Ms. on which is based Zhukovsky's edition. (The Mss. C and E used by him are defective and the folios on which the passage in question occurs seem to be missing); R.A.S.B. Mss. Nos. 1150 and 403 (Curzon collection).

⁴ Remain the Mss. inaccessible to us in the great libraries of Europe, some nine in number (v. list on pp. 324-325, *supra*), but, even if the inverse ratio should happen to be found in them, the Mss. containing the reference would be in the majority.

would seem to dispose of Z h u k o v s k y's hypothesis of Lahore having been the goal indicated to Jullābī by his spiritual guide.¹

All these considerations make us think that the *Kashfu-l-Mahjūb*, which seems to have been Jullābī's swan-song, was written, without any important interruptions, towards the end of his life.

As regards the date of Jullābī's death, which seemed doubtful to Z h u k o v s k y,² we can, with certain reservations, accept the date given in the inscription on his tomb,³ unless some new data should be discovered shedding more light on that question.

The fact is that the only tangible, although not absolutely certain, evidence is found in the inscriptions on the buildings surrounding the shrine of Jullābī⁴ at Lahore. They all give the date as 465, and are found over the entrance to the mosque near the shrine, in the shape of a chronogram on the gate of a sitting room near the *Khānqāh*, and, again on the inner gate of the *Khānqāh*.⁵

Calcutta, 25th July, 1941.

¹ v. *supra*, pp. 376-377.

² pp. 29-30 of his Russian Introduction (left untranslated by Sidney Jerrold), where he discusses the dates given by Dārā-Shukūh in his *Safīnatu-l-Awliyā*, in the *Riyāzu-l-Awliyā* of Bakhtāwar-Khān, in Mīr Ghulām-'Alī Balgrāmi's *Ma'āşiru-l-Kirām* and in Ghulam Muḥammad Lāhūrī's *Khazīnatu-l-Aşfiyā*, without coming to any definite conclusion.

³ See for that J. Horowitz, 'A List of published Muhamedan Inscriptions of India', in the 'Epigraphia Indo-Moslemica' for 1911 p. 102 under the heading *Lahore*, Nos. 900-902. It should be noted, however, that, as Horowitz himself says 'inscriptions found in India that bear earlier dates than the last decades of the sixth century of the Hijra can be shown either to have been imported into India from other countries . . . ; or else to have been executed long after the date that they bear', and here he mentions, as an example, 'Nos. 900-902 (Lahore) dated 465'. My thanks are due in this place once more to Prof. Mahfuz-ul-Haq for drawing my attention to Dr. Horowitz's article.

⁴ Or *Dātā Ganj-bakhsh*, as he is called nowadays in India.

⁵ v. note 3, above.

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**The Rājāvāḍī (Bhāwāl) Plate of Lakṣmaṇasena Deva.
(Additions and Corrections.)**

By N. K. BHATTĀCHĀRYA.

Dr. Randle's edition of the plate, published in the *Epigraphia Indica*, Vol. XXVI, pp. 1 ff., was improved considerably by the emendations of Dr. N. P. Chakravarti, Editor of the *E.I.* In my edition of the plate published above, pp. 1 ff., I think I could effect some improvements over the readings of Drs. Randle and Chakravarti. Distribution of the reprints of my article among the scholars of Bengal brought in some suggestions for further improvement, notably from Prof. Dīnēśa Chandra Bhaṭṭāchāryya, M.A., of the Hooghly College. I must express my gratefulness to this keen-sighted scholar for his painstaking labour of love in going through my paper so scrupulously and for sending me corrections and suggestions for improvement in reading, many of which are incorporated in the note below.

Page 21, bottom: All things considered, it is best to leave the reading as **मतापित्रोरात्मनश्च ।** So, the emendation goes and **सुश्रीदेवो** also disappears.

TEXT. ŚLOKA 1: Prof. Bhaṭṭāchāryya also supports the reading **देवत्वां स,** as made out by Dr. Randle. I concur. The translation would therefore be: 'The Five-faced god, on whose lap is his beloved Gaurī like a streak of lightning on the bosom of the autumn clouds; whose person assumed variegated appearance by holding (the god) Hari by a half of his body; who holds faces which are awesome with the brilliance of the three eyes resplendent like the sun;—may that god, the subduer of the demon Gaja, advance your affairs.'

ŚLOKA 2: Prof. Bhaṭṭāchāryya suggests **अमृतप्राधारधारा-
मृदम् । प्राधार:** means 'trickling out'.

ŚLOKA 7: Last line of the verse: For **यस्यातीव** read **यस्येतीव ।** **यस्य+इति+इव ।** **व्याप्यापि** is found on both the plates. Prof. Bhaṭṭāchāryya says that this must be corrected to **व्याप्यापि ।**

ŚLOKA 10: My reading of the last two lines of this śloka was as follows:—

चक्रो यन्मयजन्मनिस्सहमिलमिद्रातुबन्धच्छलात् ।

हृदयेनाधिपयोधिकञ्चकमिव त्यक्तं प्रसुग्धं वपुः ॥

Prof. Bhaṭṭāchāryya proposes to correct कृष्टेन into कृष्टोऽन and त्वत्त into त्वत्ता । He would explain the two lines thus:—

कृष्टोऽन (विष्णुना) अक्षिपयोधि (पयोधौ, अक्षयौभावसमासः)
प्रसुगर्धं वपुः कक्षकमिव निःसहमिलमिद्रानुबन्धच्छलात् त्वत्ता यन्मयजन्म
(लक्ष्मणसेनमयं जन्म) चक्रो (कृतं) ।

TRANSLATION: Kṛṣṇa, leaving his unconscious body like a gown in the ocean (His bed), under the pretext of falling irresistibly into an unbroken sleep, effected his birth as Lakṣmaṇa Sena.

If this explanation is accepted, my remarks about the painful birth of Lakṣmaṇa Sena cannot stand.

ŚLOKA 11: Prof. Bhaṭṭāchāryya wants to read प्रतिपद-मुपदास्यकिरे in the second line in place of प्रतिसदनपदास्यकिरे । This reading was suggested by Dr. Chakravartī also in the E.I. Dr. Chakravartī explains the line thus: 'The King of Kalinga, accompanied by his wives, often presented gifts to him (even) when he (Lakṣmaṇa Sena) was young.' Prof. Bhaṭṭāchāryya understands the line to mean that frequent presents of damsels were made to him (Lakṣmaṇa Sena) by the King of Kalinga, even when the former was in his first youth.

ŚLOKA 13: The text of the śloka, as made out by me, is given below.

यन्नारामद्रुमदलरुचा शैवलिन्यर्द्धगन्ति

शस्यव्याजाज्जयपदगुणे येषु रोमाक्षिता भूः ।

प्राणान्मुक्षत्यवनिपतयो नो च नर्थ्याननेन

यामास्ते ते सपदि ददिरे कोटिभः शासनानि ॥

The criticism of Prof. Bhaṭṭāchāryya made me look into the estampages of the plate again. Dr. Randle suggested शैवलिन्यर्द्धगङ्गाः । Dr. N. P. Chakravartī proposed शैवलिन्यूर्द्धगङ्गा । Prof. Bhaṭṭāchāryya suggests शैवलिन्यर्थगम्या or शैवलिन्यर्थगर्भा । I think the correct reading is शैवलिन्यूर्द्धगङ्गा । शैवलिनो means a river and not moss. The meaning is: 'Where the brooks had assumed half the sacredness of the Ganges by the beauty of the trees of the groves.'

In the second line, read जयपदगुणैर्येषु... ।

Prof. Bhaṭṭāchāryya's suggestion for the latter half of the third line is नो पुनर्थ्याननेन । The meaning would be,—the

princes would give up their lives, but not these villages.
अनेन = लक्ष्मणसेनेन ।

In the second line Prof. Bhaṭṭāchāryya suggests जनपदमुख्यैरेषु . . . which is the reading adopted by Dr. Randle. But the letter after ज्ञ is clearly य and not न ।

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REVIEWS OF BOOKS.

THE MINISTER AS A KING-MAKER (Kitabistan, 1941). By
DR. ISVARA TOPA. 8vo. 162 pp.

Dr. Topa's handy work has been enriched by a foreword from the late Rt. Hon. Sir Akbar Hydari in which he points out that 'Dr. Topa had every reason to congratulate himself on the task of synthetizing in an excellent manner the basic concepts and principles of the Arthaśāstra into a system of political thought'. The Arthaśāstra is not so much a work on political science as it is on governmental art. Dr. Topa has undoubtedly succeeded in embodying the principles underlying the governmental precepts in simple and elegant style and presenting a valuable running commentary on Kauṭilya's monumental śāstra. But one would have wished the author to notice the different chronological theories relative to Kauṭilya in his introduction.

It is certainly helpful to grasp the full significance of the governmental maxims when once the epoch of the political background against which they stand is at least reasonably determined. The author has, however, taken 'Viṣṇugupta Kauṭilya' as 'the minister of Candragupta Maurya'. But he has not given us any full reason for his arriving at this conclusion.

Secondly, the student of the subject would have liked him to refer more to the original Sanskrit text than to the translations of the same. Barring these the author deserves all commendation for the knowledge that he has added to the rich store of Kauṭilyan scholarship.

J. C. DE.

